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GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND.—I. 1

With an Introduction and Notes by Gen. JAMES GRANT WILSON.

The Greenback and the Gold Standard,
The Hon. MARRIOTT BROSIUS 11

Education in the Hawaiian Islands . . . . DANIEL LOGAN 20

The Union Label . . . . . M. E. J. KELLEY 26

Are American Parents Selfish? . . . ELIZABETH BISLAND 37

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

III.—The Southern States.

By M. G. MULHALL, F. S. S. . . . 43

The Housing of the English Poor . . . Lord MONKSWELL 52

Commercial Trend of China . . . THOMAS R. JERNIGAN, 63
U. S. Consul-General to China.

The United States and the Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies . . . . . THE MEXICAN MINISTER 70

The Warfare of Science with Theology,
The Rev. WALTON BATTERSHALL, D. D. 87

THE QUEEN'S PARLIAMENTS.—II.

By H. W. LUCY. 99

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.

By the Hon. J. B. EUSTIS 111
Late U. S. Ambassador to France.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Lynch-law Epidemics . . . . . F. L. OSWALD 119

The Storing of Atmospheric Electricity . . E. B. DUNN 121

Why More Men Do Not Marry . . KATE GANNETT WELLS 123

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JULY, 1897.

GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND, 1862-1880.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

Perhaps no person unconnected with the army contributed in so great a degree to General Grant's success in the Civil War as the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, to whom the following extremely interesting letters, and parts of letters, were addressed by the illustrious soldier during a period of eighteen years. These letters now appear in print for the first time. They are certainly of great historical value, and reveal in a very interesting way some of the strongest and most admirable traits of General Grant's character, and his views upon men and affairs in the United States and in some of the countries which he visited in the course of his tour around the world. His remarks upon the character and result of British rule in India, and upon the progressive spirit of the Japanese people, will be read with special interest. Mr. Washburne (1816-1887) was the member of Congress from Galena, Ill., where Grant was employed at the beginning of the war. The two men first met at that time; they immediately became friends, and during the great struggle Washburne was the constant supporter and sturdy defender of the Silent Commander, who would never defend himself from the shameful charges that were frequently made against his private character, and also as a soldier. When Grant became President he appointed Mr. Washburne his Secretary of State, but after occupying that high office for a few weeks, he was sent as the American representative to France. He filled that position with pre-eminent ability and signal distinction, publishing after his return to the United States a valuable and interesting work in two octavo volumes entitled *Recollections of a Minister to France*, 1869-1877.

JAS. GRANT WILSON.

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I.

La Grange, Tenn., November 7th, 1862.

Not having much of special note to write you since your visit to Jackson, and knowing that you were fully engaged, I have not troubled you with a letter. I write now a little on selfish grounds.

I see from the papers that Mr. * * * * * is to be called near the President in some capacity. I believe him to be one of my bitterest enemies. The grounds of his enmity I suppose to be the course I pursued whilst at Cairo toward certain contractors and speculators who wished to make fortunes off of the soldiers and government, and in which he took much interest, whether a partner or not. He called on me in regard to the rights of a post sutler for Cairo (an appointment not known to the law) whom he had got appointed. Finding that I would regard him in the light of any other merchant who might set up there, that I would neither secure him a monopoly of the trade nor his pay at the pay table for such as he might trust out, the sutler never made his appearance. If he did he never made himself known to me.

In the case of some contracts that were given out for the supply of forage, they were given, if not to the very highest bidder, to far from the lowest, and full 30 per cent. higher than the articles could have been bought for at that time. Learning these facts, I immediately annulled the contracts.

Quite a number of car-loads of grain and hay were brought to Cairo on these contracts, and a change of Quartermaster having taken place in the meantime the new Quartermaster would not receive them without my order, except at rates he could then get the same articles for from other parties. This I refused to give. The contractors then called on me, and tried to convince me that the obligation was binding, but finding me immovable in the matter, asked if General Allen's approval to the contract would not be sufficient. My reply was, in substance, that General Allen was Chief Quartermaster of the Department, and I could not control him. They immediately left me, and, thinking over the matter, it occurred to me that they would go immediately to St. Louis and present their contract for approval without mentioning the objection I made to it. I then telegraphed to General Allen the

facts, and put him on his guard against these men. For some reason, however, my dispatch did not reach St. Louis for two days. General Allen then replied to it, stating that those parties had been to him the day before, and knowing no objection to the contract he had approved it.

The parties then returned to Cairo evidently thinking they had gained a great triumph. But there being no money to pay at that time and because of the bad repute the Quartermaster's Department was in, they were afraid to take vouchers without my approval. They again called on me to secure this. My reply to them was that they had obtained their contract without my consent, had got it approved against my sense of duty to the government, and they might go on and deliver their forage and get their pay in the same way. I would never approve a voucher for them under that contract if they never got a cent. I hoped they would not. This forced them to abandon the contract and to sell the forage already delivered for what it was worth.

Mr. * * * * * took much interest in this matter and wrote me one or more letters on the subject, rather offensive in their manner. These letters I have preserved, but they are locked up in Mr. Safford's safe in Cairo. I afterwards learned from undoubted authority that there was a combination of wealthy and influential citizens formed, at the beginning of this war, for the purpose of monopolizing the army contracts. One of their boasts was that they had sufficient influence to remove any General who did not please them.

The *modus operandi* for getting contracts at a high rate, I suppose, was for a member of this association to put in bids commencing at as low rates as the articles could be furnished for, and after they were opened all would retire up to the highest one who was below any outside person and let him take it. In many instances probably they could buy off this one for a low figure by assuring him that he could not possibly get the contract, for if he did not retire it would be held by the party below.

II.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4th, 1867.

Your telegraphic dispatch in favor of the confirmation of General Dix,* also your letter, partly on the same subject, were

* As United States Minister to France.

duly received. I lost no time in communicating the substance of your dispatch to as many Senators as I could. I am glad to be able to announce to you this morning a fact which you will, no doubt, learn by telegraph long before this reaches you, that the Senate has confirmed him.

Reconstruction measures have passed both houses of Congress over one of the most ridiculous veto messages that ever emanated from any President.* Jerry Black† is supposed to be the author of it. He has been about Washington for some time, and I am told has been a great deal about the White House. It is a fitting end to all our controversy (I believe this last measure is to be a solution unless the President proves an obstruction) that the man who tried to prove at the beginning of our domestic difficulties that the nation had no constitutional power to save itself is now trying to prove that the nation has not now the power after a victory to demand security for the future. I hope you will see this message, Reverdy Johnson's remarks, and Governor Brown's (of Georgia) letter, and contrast the two latter with the former.

III.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 9th, 1869.

I have been pained to learn that a man upon whom I have conferred an appointment should have been a lobbyist to Congress (in the McGarrahan case) and failing to get the vote he wished from the committee having the matter in charge, should become the traducer of the committee which, it seems, were within one of being unanimous in their report. It seems that * * * * * has been acting in this way, and very much to the prejudice of Wilson particularly, the chairman of the committee. It may be that * * * * * is misrepresented in this matter, but I understand that the correspondents who are traducing Wilson give * * * * * as their authority. Now you know, and I presume * * * * * did, that there was no man in the Fortieth Congress for whom I had a higher regard than for the Hon. J. F. Wilson,‡ and that he was one of the men whom I confidently hoped to have connected with my administra-

* The quarrel between President Johnson and the Republican majority in Congress was at this time at its height. Every bill vetoed by the President was passed over his veto.

† The Hon. J. S. Black (1810-1883), Attorney General in Buchanan's Cabinet, and the successor of General Cass as Secretary of State.

‡ James F. Wilson (1828-1895) for two terms United States Senator from Iowa.

tion. To have him slandered over my shoulders, I feel as I would to have you, who stood by me through evil as well as through good report, slandered in the same way. I do not believe you care to have with you as Secretary of Legation a man guilty of such conduct. Of course this is presuming his guilt before hearing the other side. I would be but too glad to have the report authentically contradicted. But as the matter stands now Wilson feels terribly aggrieved, and I think very justly so. * * * * * has no doubt read what the correspondents Piatt and Boynton have said in this matter and knows how far they are sustained in them by his statements. His opinion of their opinion of the merits of the McGarrahan claim, or what they say about the report of the committee upon it, I have nothing to do with. The matter which concerns me is the statement that I have been influenced in my course toward Wilson by reason of dissatisfaction with his public acts, and that my notice has been called to them through some agency of * * * * *.

IV.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 7th, 1869.

Our mutual and much esteemed friend, General Rawlins,* expired yesterday after, as you are aware, years of gradual decline. Although he has lived far beyond what his most sanguine friends hoped, yet his final taking off has produced a shock which would be felt for but few of our public men. He retained his consciousness up to within a few minutes of his death. Although I was not with him in his dying hours, I am told that his greatest concern seemed to be for his destitute family. I was at Saratoga when his rapid decline commenced. The first dispatch I received indicating any immediate danger was on Saturday evening, or night, after the last train had left. I was compelled to remain until Sunday evening, and arrived consequently about forty minutes after he had breathed his last.

I have been intending for months to write you, and have no special excuse for not doing so, except that when I do get alone for an hour I always happen to have something to do. Whilst I have been away this summer I have been very much let alone by people who have an axe to grind, but there has scarcely ever

* John A. Rawlins (1831–1869) joined General Grant's staff in August, 1861, and served with him to the close of the rebellion. He became Secretary of War in 1869. Grant was greatly attached to him.

been a minute when there were not callers. You will see by the official statements that the first six months of the administration have been successful in improving the revenue collections, and somewhat in reducing expenses. The showing is a reduction of forty-nine million of the public debt. The actual decrease is greater. McCulloch* kept no interest account, consequently on the 4th of March no interest due that day, or coupons overdue but not presented for payment, appeared as a part of the public debt. We have actually paid about six million in gold of old coupons which the statements give no credit for. In addition to this, we have paid probably as much as two million in currency on contracts fulfilled and purchases made before the 1st of March, which is another *dead horse* paid for.

V.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jany. 28th, 1870.

I received your interesting personal letter a day or two ago and snatch a few moments to answer it. In reality I have no quiet time in which to write letters, scarcely to read the current news of the day. The continuous press of people continues yet about as it was last spring. You will see by the papers that the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment is assured. With this question out of politics, and reconstruction completed, I hope to see such good feeling in Congress as to secure rapid legislation and an early adjournment. My peace is when Congress is not in session. My family are all well and wish to be remembered to Mrs. Washburne, the children, and yourself. The Emperor has been kind enough to send me pleasant messages several times, which please say to him have been duly received and are highly appreciated.

Please convey to him my best wishes for a continuance of his good health and the happiness and prosperity of the people over whom he has been called to rule. It has been the desire of my life to visit Europe and particularly France, but so far I have been too busy. If spared to get through my present office, I shall take a year or two to visit those parts of the world I have not yet seen.

*Hon. Hugh McCulloch (1808–1895), Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur.

VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10th, 1870.

I have received your recent letters, two in regard to Gen. Robert Anderson. I do not know how anything can be done for the General at present, but I do know, or at least feel, that the American people will never permit his family to suffer. Should the worst happen, the General and his family will be taken care of. I would start the matter, and what is or has been done for Rawlins' and Stanton's families would probably be done for General Anderson's.

Congress is soon to adjourn. The reflection is almost a compensation for the suffering endured during its session. If it were not for the feeling of loyalty of the people, and the almost certainty that a Democratic success would be repudiation and surrender to old Southern leaders, there is but little doubt but that the Republican party would lose control of the country at the next election. Lack of attention to material interests, wrangling among themselves, dividing and allowing the few Democrats to be the balance to fix amendments to every important measure (and voting against the whole bill when brought to a vote), attacking each other and the administration when any individual's views were not conformed to, has put the party in a very bad light. I think everything will be right two years hence, and that members see the errors they have committed. I shall hope so at least. If we had had a short session of Congress, and harmonious, the party would never have been on as strong a footing as now. All that was necessary to do was to pass the appropriation bills, admit the outstanding States, pass a funding bill and promise the people a reduction of eighty million of taxes at their next session. We could well spare that amount if the public debt bore but five per cent.

VII.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., Aug. 22d, 1870.

When I wrote to you last, although it was but a few days before the declaration of war by France, I had no idea that such an event was even threatening. I was taken by surprise as Napoleon admits he was in one of [King] William's attacks.

The result, as we read right in our papers, has surprised me.

I supposed from the declaration of war coming from the French they would be all ready, while the Prussians might not be fully so, and therefore, at the beginning, the French would have it all their own way. The Prussian military system is so perfect, however, that I believed singlehanded they would be too much for the French in the end. The war has developed the fact here that every unreconstructed rebel sympathizes with France, without exception, while the loyal element is almost as universally the other way. Poor Napoleon, I suppose, will retire to private life.

VIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26th, 1872.

I wrote you a long letter just before the meeting of the Cincinnati Convention, but as I did not complete it before that event, and as most of the letter was upon the subject of that Convention, I did not send it. The work has been done and no one is satisfied but Greeley himself and a few Tammany Republicans who expect office under him, if he is elected, and who know that under no other man could they be appointed to office. I predict that Greeley will not even be a candidate when the election comes off. The Democracy are not going to take him, and his following in the Republican ranks is not sufficient to make up an electoral ticket, nor is it composed of respectability enough to put on such a ticket. His nomination has had a good effect, however. It has apparently harmonized the party by getting out of it the "soreheads" and knaves who made all the trouble because they could not control. The movement was egged on by the Democrats, the rank and file acting in good faith, until now the effect upon them is just what the leaders intended it should be upon the Republicans; it is dividing their party. Many of the Democratic papers, particularly in the South, have committed themselves so thoroughly that they will have to go to Baltimore on the 9th of July in support of Greeley. Many others will go there to break up the Cincinnati ticket by putting one of its candidates at the tail of a new ticket, and Adams, Davis, or Trumbull at the head. The old Hunkers will fight all such movements, and, in my judgment, will carry the day, but will create great disaffection in their ranks. We will soon see how my prediction comes out.

IX.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., August 26th, 1872.

Your confidential letter relating to the probable position of Curtin * was received during my last visit to Washington. He, Curtin, probably arrived in New York City yesterday, Sunday; but there is no communication between this and the outside world on Sunday except by telegraph, so that I do not know positively. I expect him to come and see me as soon as he does arrive, though I know he will be met on arrival, and everything possible will be offered him to corrupt him. The Greeleyites will be as liberal in their offers to him as Satan was to our Saviour, and with as little ability to pay. Curtin's defection would probably cost us the State of Pennsylvania in October so far as the Governor and legislature are concerned, but without him the Congressmen at large, three of them, and Judge of the Superior Court and other officers on the State ticket would be elected, and we would carry the State in November.

I do not often indulge in predictions, but I have had a feeling that Greeley might not even be in the field in November. If he is I do not think he will carry a single Northern State. In the South I give him Tennessee and Texas, with Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas doubtful, with the chances in our favor in all of them except Maryland. Missouri might also be added to the doubtful States.† This is the way matters look now, but they may be modified before November. We "shall see what we shall see" before long.

X.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., August 23d, 1875.

I have been intending for a long time to write to you, but I have so got out of the way of writing social letters that I have not now left a single correspondent—not even in my own family—except on official business. I have nothing now special to say further than that I am always glad to hear from you. In political matters you keep posted through the press, and are no doubt struck with the chronic annual scare of the Republicans lest the Democrats should get into power. Just now the Ohio election is

* Governor Curtin was appointed Minister to Russia by General Grant in 1869. On his return in 1872 he supported Mr. Horace Greeley for the presidency.

† Mr. Greeley carried only the States of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas.

frightening them. They seem to feel as though the loss of Ohio this fall would insure a Democratic victory next year and lead to inflation of the currency, repudiation, the undoing of all that has been accomplished by the war and Republican Administrations in the way of re-construction, and national disgrace. I take a much more hopeful view of the situation. I am anxious of course to see the Republicans carry Ohio. But if they should not I should not feel in the least discouraged. The fact is that while Ohio is sound by one hundred thousand majority on the financial issue, and the Republicans have not a sound platform on that issue, and the Democrats a very unsound and dishonest one, if Ohio is lost in this election it will be on this question alone. So much time elapses between nominations and elections that the Democrats will all be whipped into line on the ground that the question now at issue is only which of the two parties they would rather see control the State. They are not voting for an executive of the nation, nor for lawmakers who can legislate on the subject of national finances. In the Republican ranks there are very many men who are in debt, or whose business has slackened, that think an abundant currency would help them out of their difficulties, and who will not vote, or if they do vote, it will be against their party. I believe that if the Democratic party carries Ohio this fall, it will give the repudiationists—for inflation means repudiation—such a prestige in the nominating convention next year that the hard-money men of the party, including all from the Pacific Coast, all New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Texas, and some from other States, will split and put up two tickets as they did in 1860. If so, the race in 1876 will be an easy one. With a contrary result there will probably be but two tickets, both on a moderately sound financial platform.

I did not think of writing so much of a political letter as I have done, but it may interest you to hear private views on this subject. On the question of candidates for next year there seems to be nothing definite to base a prediction upon as to who will be the standard bearers.

(*To be continued.*)

THE GREENBACK AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY THE HON. MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

IT is a matter of deep public concern that many of the proposals to reform our monetary system include the retirement of the legal-tender notes known as "greenbacks," and the issue in lieu thereof of National Bank currency; and it brings into the field of public interest and discussion the question how this would affect the gold standard. While many of the complaints made against the greenbacks are grotesque enough to suggest the celebrated complaint of Sydney Smith against the solar system, when he said to his friend Jeffrey: "D—n the solar system; bad light, planets too distant, pestered with comets, feeble contrivance, could make a better with ease"—yet they raise a real question which requires grave and considerate treatment.

We will, perhaps, agree that it is requisite to the general tranquility and prosperity that we not only be able to maintain the gold standard, but that the people have faith that we will do so. As practical legislators we must deal with the question in this twofold aspect. Any proposal that does not command popular belief in its efficacy will be disquieting; while it is desirable, as far as possible, to compose the public mind. It is doubtful, indeed, if our malady will yield to any treatment against the dead weight of the people's lack of faith.

To maintain the gold-standard requires the command at all times of gold enough to liquidate our gold obligations as they mature. This requirement, easy as it is ordinarily, under certain conditions is extremely difficult, under some impossible. For example, under the conditions which prevailed from the resumption of specie payments down to 1892, a period of thirteen years, it was free from difficulty. On the first day the Resumption Act was in operation the current of gold set in

the direction of the Treasury. At the close of business on Monday, the second day of January, 1879, this message came to the Secretary from the office of the Sub-Treasurer in New York: "$135,000 of notes presented for coin and $400,000 of gold for notes." By 1887 our Treasury was richer in gold than any other in the world. Down to 1892 the gold movement was toward this country. The influx was so constant and so well assured that a depleted reserve was a thing undreamed of. It was realized, however, when conditions supervened which would have caused it under any possible currency system, and neither our greenbacks nor our banking system had any more agency in bringing it about than had the Turkish massacre of Armenian Christians.

Under conditions of commercial freedom and while the normal operation of the laws of exchange are uninterrupted, the distribution of gold among the gold standard countries is effected chiefly through the agency of price. If there is a dearth of gold in one country, the contraction of the money volume causes a fall in prices and a rise in interest which stimulates exports and attracts gold to replenish the stock and restore the equilibrium. This is the simple theory time out of mind, promulgated by political economists.

This automatic method of securing to each country its share of money may in practice undergo modifications due to modern extension of credit, the collection of customs duties, and the difference in the situation of debtor and creditor nations; but these considerations may be omitted for the present.

Under the modern régime of banks and credit currency, most nations find it convenient to regulate their gold reserve to some extent by artificial means, and their banking systems have been modelled with that end in view.

The Bank of England may stand for the European type, as far at least as its mode of guarding its reserves is concerned. Under that system this is the sequence of events: First, unfavorable exchange; second, outflow of gold and depleted reserves; third, raising of discount rates; fourth, contraction of currency; fifth, fall of prices; sixth, favorable exchange and return of gold.

Those who support the proposal to relegate the issue of paper money and the control of redemption to the banks exclusively

point to the Bank of England as an example of the better way of protecting the gold reserve. But it is obvious enough that such a method would be wholly abortive in this country under our free banking system, because unsuitable to our conditions. To put it in practice would require that banks exercise unrestricted liberty in fixing discount rates, as the Bank of England does. This might result in as many different rates of interest as there are banks and, moreover, would abrogate all State laws governing interest rates, subject to which all discounting is done in our national and State banks.

But suppose we pass these obstacles, how could the banks meet a situation such as we experienced in the recent panic which depleted our reserves? That was a situation not amenable to the normal operation of the laws of trade under which unfavorable exchange tends to work its own cure. In the midst of our trouble the trade balance was largely in our favor, but our securities held abroad came home for payment and turned exchange heavily against us. This unprecedented result was due to an unprecedented condition. Confidence at home and abroad was impaired in the stability of our standard and our ability to redeem our obligations in the money in which they were contracted. How such a condition came about I need not stop to inquire. In diagnosing a gunshot wound the surgeon does not care whether the gun was discharged by accident or design. That inquiry is for the prosecuting attorney. The condition existed, and we realized for the first time that the economic law which regulates the distribution of money under normal conditions is suspended under the pressure of shattered credit and confidence, and that in such case the rate of discount does not control the flow of gold. No rate of interest will attract capital when there is a doubt whether the principal will be paid.

Being a debtor nation, it was in accordance with every reasonable expectation that under such circumstances our securities held abroad should be presented for payment; and when similar conditions recur similar results will ensue, and we will be again subjected to the alternative of borrowing gold or suspending gold payments. No scheme of banking, no form of currency, and no mode of redemption can avert it.

Our annual foreign liability outside of our trade account and

unregistered in custom-houses amounts, it is believed, to $300,000,000, made up of the following items:

Interest on American securities	$200,000,000
Expenditures of American travellers abroad	75,000,000
Freights and insurance	36,000,000
	$311,000,000

Does any one in a lucid interval believe that we could continue any length of time to pay such a balance in gold? Under normal conditions a large proportion of it would be reinvested or paid in exports, but when the balance is increased by large amounts of securities returned, we have absolutely no recourse except to borrow the gold, or refuse to pay, or contract our currency until prices fall low enough to make our foreign creditors prefer our goods to our gold. It is estimated by well-informed persons that Europe holds $5,000,000,000 of American securities. If we should again yield to the solicitation of the wild and weird money vagaries which afflict a portion of our people, and confidence abroad is again shaken, we cannot expect to escape another inundation of securities which will expose us to the peril of a suspension of gold payments. When that event occurs, which we devoutly pray the good sense of our people may avert, and the question is exigent whether we shall borrow gold, or refuse payment, or lower the price of our goods and ship them off to liquidate our pressing obligations, by whom shall a question of such transcendent moment be decided, by the government or by the private banking corporations? I think the united acclaim of the American people will answer: "Let the government assume the duty, and hold on to the means of deciding a matter affecting the interests of all the people and the honor of the nation."

But it is suggested that the banks are better adapted to the regulation of our finances than the government, and that they have facilities for obtaining gold that the government does not enjoy. Is that true? In a crisis such as we have passed through, when gold had to be borrowed or bought, how could the banks have obtained it and distributed it in the requisite parcels to supply all banks that needed re-enforcement? Their credit is inferior to that of the government. They, taken singly (and they are independent of each other), are weak in influence and limited in means. They can issue no bonds that will command the world's gold. They have nothing to give but

commercial assets which cannot be exchanged for gold at a time when people are keeping their yellow metal in safe deposit vaults. I recall an instance cited before the Banking and Currency Committee, in which one man had a deposit of $240,000 in gold in a safe deposit vault, and others as large amounts as $40,000, and $50,000. Banks have no means of obtaining gold under such circumstances. But the government in an exigency can command gold from safe deposit vaults, or from the four corners of the globe, as long as the credit of the nation is good. With the reserve parcelled among 4,000 or 10,000 banks, as the case may be, with an export demand falling not ratably upon each, but unequally, the bank that could not meet the draft would suspend ; that would cause others to refuse payment. When the strain was on one section the banks in another would be reluctant to afford relief lest the stress should reach them the next day. The result would be that one at a time, and most likely in rapid succession, they would refuse gold payment. Our history is not without instances of specie suspension, more or less general throughout the country, when the banks were conducting our finances, and when conditions were much more favorable than have existed in the last four years. It is worthy of mention and a striking encomium on our currency system that the United States is the only debtor nation which is able to maintain the parity of all its money. I do not doubt that, but for the government's control of the agencies of redemption through the greenbacks, in the last four years we would have witnessed a most impressive if not distressing demonstration of the feebleness of banks in such a crisis, for while we cannot say it is demonstrably clear, yet the antecedent probabilities strongly favor the assumption, that they could not have maintained gold payments under the pressure of conditions then existing.

Assuming for the purpose of the argument that the banks without government aid could maintain gold redemption under normal conditions by the regulation of discounts, what would the operation be in practice ? They would raise the rate of discount, curtail loans, contract the currency and lower prices so as to stimulate exports and produce favorable exchange. No other mode of inviting the return of gold has been advanced by the friends of an exclusive bank currency. We would certainly deplore the necessity of obtaining gold by that process, for it in-

volves the reduction of American wages excepting as they are protected by defensive duties. But if the currency must be contracted and prices lowered in order to secure the requisite amount of gold, would it not be preferable for that operation to be conducted under government supervision through the agency of the greenbacks? It would be more uniform in effect and less incident to shocks and local disturbances. It is, moreover, easy of accomplishment without contravening any law or policy of the government as long as we have an adequate revenue; for the Treasury could retain the greenbacks in its vault temporarily, using them when conditions admitted of it to exchange for gold or to reduce the debt. In short, the greenbacks in connection with an adequate revenue are an agency in the hands of the government for the control within limits of the conditions which effect the movement of gold. So that whether we obtain our gold by borrowing, or by the slower process of contracting our currency and lowering prices so as to invite it from abroad, the government enjoys superior facilities for either operation.

From another point of view, the case leans strongly in favor of the greenbacks. A demand for gold to liquidate foreign balances must be met, whether the metal is in the vaults of the Treasury or those of the banks. Our debts must be paid in gold or goods. It is desirable from a business point of view to hold our reserve in such form as to make it most effective in meeting proper demands. It is consonant with reason and every man's observation that a consolidated reserve is more effective than a distributed one.

John Stuart Mill argues with great force that there ought to be a central establishment which is alone required to pay gold, the others being at liberty to pay their notes with those of the central establishment, the object being that there may be one body responsible for maintaining a reserve of the precious metal to meet any demand that could reasonably be expected to be made. This is the system of the United States, though it was not in existence when Mill wrote his great work on the *Principles of Political Economy*. It is also the English system. Our greenbacks sustain the same relation to our bank notes that the Bank of England notes do to the notes of the other English banks. This indirect or circuitous method of gold redemption has its

advantages, for it hinders the process just enough to prevent the presentation of paper for gold on too frivolous pretexts.

That the greenbacks make possible the "endless chain" which has drained our reserve is a plausible argument, but not a sound one, though it is advanced by eminent financial teachers. Professor Dunbar, in a recent article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, suggests that, if the borrowing of gold was caused by the endless chain of notes redeemed and re-issued, it was the business of Congress to apply an appropriate remedy by modifying the system of re-issue. Does not the learned professor see that he is prescribing for the symptom rather than the disease? The endless chain is not the malady, but one of the manifestations by which it is known. The malady is the unhappy condition of impaired confidence which sends our obligations home for payment. Cure that and the endless chain ceases. But the professor sins against logic in the same way when he says: "A currency which is exposed to such dangers as these cannot be called safe in any proper sense of the word." Quite true, but neither can a man be said to be in good health when he is shaking with ague, but it is the ague we doctor and not the shaking. Equally unsatisfactory is the suggestion that all our financial difficulties could be solved by a properly constructed banking bill. No one has undertaken to explain how any possible banking system, in which notes are issued redeemable in gold, could afford relief when gold obligations greater in amount than the gold at command are pressing for payment. When conditions exist which are incompatible with the safety of any kind of currency, a change in its form or character with the view of relief would not be more suitable than to change a patient's clothing to stop the shakes while you do nothing to cure the disease which produced them. Symptoms disappear with the disease which causes them. While the malady lasts it is better that symptoms appear, else the patient might die without knowing what killed him.

Under normal conditions of faith and confidence, easily maintained when our people are under the dominion of right reason, there will be no endless chain. For thirteen years we had none. But when conditions supervene which require it, it will be created in one place or another as long as paper currency is issued redeemable in gold. In such a case the endless

chain is the means of saving the nation's honor, for without it we could not obtain the gold to pay our foreign balances, and to condemn it when conditions require it is like condemning the pustules on a man's face when he has the small-pox, though they are the means of expelling the poison which otherwise would be fatal.

If the banks have the control of redemption, the endless chain will draw their gold as effectually as it draws it from the Treasury. When banks redeem their paper, it is issued to the next man who obtains a discount, and may come back for more gold; and so the chain continues until the banks raise the rate or stop discounting. Indeed, the desire to escape the export of gold to pay our debts by breaking the endless chain betrays an insensibility to the real nature of the situation. The better way to get rid of the endless chain is to inspire all who have fiscal relations with us with a confidence in the stability of our standard that will induce them to leave their money in American investments, and so forego the demand which sets the chain in motion.

But there is another difficulty of still greater gravity which seems not to have been much considered. The government has undertaken, and Congress has declared it to be its established policy, to maintain the parity of the two metals. When we have retired the greenbacks and parted with our gold reserve, what means are left the government to perform that undertaking and redeem that pledge? Having surrendered the means of performance, we must logically renounce the duty and relinquish all control over redemption—which is the agency through which we maintain the parity of our money—and thus voluntarily abdicate our sovereignty over our own money.

When this is done and the banks have assumed the responsibility, which the government has surrendered, of maintaining the parity of the metals, what facilities do they possess for this undertaking? To keep up the credit of their notes, issuing banks would have to elect, as the government now does, to redeem in gold. They might, under certain conditions, be required to redeem silver in gold. Who knows whether, with half of their reserves in silver, they would not redeem in white metal, either from choice or necessity, when paper was presented for gold to use in foreign payments; and, if so, the parity would be gone and we would be on a silver basis, for the holder of the paper

would have no recourse but to go into the market and purchase the gold, which would at once put gold at a premium.

With the volume of our money consisting of three nearly equal parts, of gold, and silver worth half its face, and paper worth nothing except as it acquires value by convertibility, it is a Herculean task, to which private institutions are wholly unequal, to maintain their parity. Only the power of the federal government, with the people's wealth and faith upholding it, is commensurate with such a task. Silver is now equivalent to gold in purchasing power. It is held to that equivalence by the power of a people's faith in the nation's pledges. We have witnessed how at times the strongest faith wavered and the stoutest hearts faltered in their belief in the power of the government to keep the metals at a parity. Does any one believe in the existence of a popular faith in the potency of private banking corporations that would be adequate to the undertaking? Is it not as plain as the way to parish church that while we are using silver on a gold basis with the disparity in value now existing, we must keep the government in a position to protect it or we will be liable under the pressure of a gold exigency quite within the range of possible occurrence to fall to a silver basis.

Ours is a new country with unrivalled resources, which have been and will continue to be, to a greater or less extent, developed by foreign capital. We will be a debtor nation for a long time. Our industrial activity, enterprise, and high rate of interest invite capital from abroad. The securities which cross and recross the ocean are American securities. In normal conditions of confidence there will be no difficulties. Any system of currency will do under favorable conditions, as any boat will sail on a smooth sea. But adverse conditions are liable to occur and our system of currency should be modelled with that in view.

The conclusion seems, therefore, irresistible that to deprive the federal government of the means of maintaining gold payments and preserving the parity of all our money, and to relegate those important and responsible functions to private banking institutions, would be full of peril to our gold standard, and a serious and constant menace to our financial interests.

MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

EDUCATION IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

BY DANIEL LOGAN, EDITOR OF THE HONOLULU "EVENING BULLETIN."

NOT least among the exhibits of civilization which the Republic of Hawaii is able to make to the world is its educational system. In the year 1896 about thirteen in every hundred, or a little more than one-eighth of the entire population of the group, were enrolled in the public and private schools. Taking by themselves the native Hawaiians of full and mixed blood, something like one in every seven of them was on the school registers last year. For many years in the past it was rare to find a native Hawaiian who could not read and write his native language. There is a change now, but without retrogression. It consists of a rapid advance toward an equally universal command of English by the native people. As will be seen by figures quoted later, schooling in the Hawaiian language has been all but abandoned.

Early in the civilized government of the Hawaiian Islands a department of education was instituted. It was an outgrowth of schools which were established by the American missionaries. At the outset, the public schools were taught in the Hawaiian language. Schools taught partly or wholly in English were started as the foreign population increased. In course of time, the better classes of Hawaiians, particularly those of chiefly rank, manifested a desire for an English education. Then English schools were instituted upon the request of a certain number of residents. The Royal School, now belonging to the public system in Honolulu, was established at that time and it was so named because there the young chiefs and scions of royalty were to be educated. Kalakaua and Liliuokalani studied there. English was taught as a classic in the large mission schools at an early period. It was recognized as the vernacular in 1876 at the impor-

tant Lahaina-luna seminary, afterward becoming in that institution the dominant medium of instruction. Gradually English came to predominate until last year, when teaching in this language became compulsory in all schools, private as well as public. The law requires that every child from five to fifteen years of age, inclusive, shall attend either a public or private school taught in English. Special police called "truant officers" are appointed in every district to enforce the compulsory attendance clause.

The following is a table showing the attendance of pupils, by nationalities, at all schools in the Hawaiian Islands for the year 1896:

Nationality.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Hawaiian	3,048	2,432	5,480
Part Hawaiian	1,152	1,296	2,448
American	219	198	417
British	105	151	256
German	152	136	288
Portuguese	2,066	1,534	3,600
Scandinavian	51	47	98
Japanese	242	155	397
Chinese	641	280	921
South Sea Island	15	13	28
Other Foreign	57	33	90
Grand total	7,748	6,275	14,023

The teachers and pupils of both government and independent schools, with the number of schools of each class, will be found separately enumerated in the following table:

	No. of schools.	Teachers.			Pupils.		
		Male	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Government	132	111	169	280	5,754	4,435	10,189
Independent	63	72	130	202	1,994	1,840	3,834
Grand totals	195	183	299	482	7,748	6,275	14,023

Of the foregoing there are two government schools taught in Hawaiian by as many male teachers, having 22 male and 26 female pupils, a total of 48. By nationalities, the teachers in government schools are classified thus: 49 Hawaiian, 53 part

Hawaiian, 105 American, 52 British, 2 German, 1 French, 1 Belgian, 5 Scandinavian, 11 Portuguese, 1 Chinese. The nationalities of teachers in independent schools are as follows: 15 Hawaiian, 10 part Hawaiian, 121 American, 24 British, 6 German, 4 French, 6 Belgian, 1 Dutch, 1 Scandinavian, 2 Portuguese, 2 Japanese, 11 Chinese.

Here is a comparative statement of school attendance in six years:

	1880.	1890.	1892.	1894.	1896.	1897.
Hawaiian	5,320	5,599	5,353	5,177	5,207	5,480
Part Hawaiian	1,247	1,573	1,866	2,103	2,198	2,448
American	253	259	371	285	386	417
British	163	139	131	184	200	256
German	176	199	197	208	253	288
Portuguese	1,335	1,813	2,253	2,351	3,186	3,600
Scandinavian	40	56	71	83	96	98
French	0	1	5	5	8	2
Japanese	54	39	60	113	261	397
Chinese	147	262	353	529	740	921
South Sea Island	16	42	36	35	29	28
Other foreign	19	24	16	34	52	88
Total	8,770	10,006	10,712	11,107	12,616	14,023

During the past year there has been a gain of 1,407, or 11 per cent. Hawaiians of full blood have increased 273, or 5 per cent.; part Hawaiians, 250, or 11 per cent. Portuguese have increased in number 414, or 13 per cent. Of the entire attendance, 56½ per cent. is Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, and 25 per cent. Portuguese. There is a significant increase in the number of Chinese and Japanese, although the proportion of these nationalities is still small. With such a variety of children of other tongues than that taught, it is not surprising to learn that high school studies are engaged in by but a small proportion of pupils. Mr. H. S. Townsend, Inspector-General of Schools, says in his report that in Honolulu only 4 per cent. of the children in the public schools are pursuing studies of this class, whereas in cities of similar size in America the average is about 10 per cent.

The figures given above show that, at the opening of the present year, between 12,000 and 13,000 children of Hawaiian and European nationalities—or the races entitled to the electoral franchise under certain property and educational restrictions—

were being educated in the English language within these islands. This is more than 12 per cent. of the entire population (census of 1896) of 109,000, whereof 46,023 are Asiatics who are not eligible for the franchise. So large a school attendance of the enfranchised nationalities augurs well for the wholesome growth of an intelligent body politic. At the same time, there seems to be no small significance in the recent immense increase of Chinese and Japanese pupils. Any who deplore this exhibit must be of narrow mind. While it does not imply insensate race prejudice to regard with serious apprehension the continued large influx of Asiatics, yet, as it is certain that a large proportion of those now in the country will, like the poor, be always with us, it is against sound wisdom to deprecate anything that will raise the grade of their intelligence. The more near an Asiatic is brought to Western ways, the less dangerous a competitor will he be in labor or business. Civilization breeds wants, and wants make the cheap man dear. At any rate, the remarkably increasing thirst of Asiatics in Hawaii for an English education speaks volumes for the potency of Hawaiian civilizing influences. The fact that our educational system is broad enough to accommodate, and hospitable enough to welcome, all comers reflects some glory on this little country. Even the public schools of the United States, whose praise is in all ends of the earth, are not doing more effective work than the schools of Hawaii in refining out the pure gold of humanity from the crudest of raw materials.

The Hawaiian public school system is essentially American. It employs American text-books almost exclusively, which, of course, include for the higher grades the cream of English classics. The only exceptions are Hawaiian geography and history. More than one-third of the teachers in all schools, public and independent, are American. It is no slight testimony to the efficiency of the system that Hawaiian and part Hawaiian teachers come next in number to American, and form but a little under one-third of the entire teaching staff. This is a happy result of the policy of training teachers at home, as these are acquainted from the first with the peculiar difficulties of conducting a school of mixed races. For many years home-trained teachers had to do their best to earn certificates by working upon the furnished syllabus of periodical examinations, but within the past few years there has been established at Honolulu

a normal school with a practice-school attached. From this institution a constant supply of scientifically trained teachers is assured, which, it is hoped, will soon overtake, or, at least, approach the demand. An admirable feature of the system is the virtually permanent tenure of the teacher's office. Teachers are employed during the year. Schools are in session, even in remote country districts, for forty weeks of the fifty-two. Once employed, teachers are privileged to remain in the service until they resign or are removed for cause. Removals are rare. Within a few years past a splendid *esprit de corps* has developed among the teachers. They have formed associations in the different islands for mutual improvement in the profession, and they hold a national summer school with the same purpose each year in Honolulu. Eminent educators from the United States are induced to become the principal lecturers before the summer schools. The Inspector-General, who is chief executive officer under the Board of School Commissioners, is in nothing more zealous than in stimulating the teachers to effort in this line of mutual improvement.

By an Act of the Legislature of 1896 the school system of Hawaii has been raised from the rank of a bureau to that of a department of the government. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is also Minister of Education and the President, *ex officio*, of a board of six commissioners, of whom three may be, and two are at present, ladies.

The Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii prohibits any aid from the public treasury to sectarian schools—another point of contact with the American school system. Formerly it was the regular practice of successive legislatures to pass grants of money to schools under the control of different religious denominations. Instead of becoming weaker from the withdrawal of public aid, the independent schools last year exhibited an increase of attendance proportionate to that of the public schools. There are several fine institutions, under both Protestant and Catholic auspices, firmly established in the islands. Oahu College, at Honolulu, a foundation of the American Mission, has now a handsome group of modern buildings. It has chairs established in the ancient and modern languages and natural philosophy, besides the usual academic branches. Students frequently graduate from it to enter universities in the United States for higher

education or courses in their affiliated schools of the learned professions. St. Louis College, also at Honolulu, is conducted by Roman Catholic Brothers, giving instruction from primary to classical grades, with music and drawing as specialties. It is only open to boys, but it has more pupils than any other school in the islands. Iolani College, owned and directed by the Anglican Bishop of Honolulu, with an able staff of instructors, is a high-class academy doing substantial work. The Kamehameha School for boys and girls, founded by the will of the late Mrs. Charles R. Bishop, a royal princess of Hawaii, besides giving tuition from primary to high school grades, inclusive, affords the benefits of manual training in various branches of industry. There is also a normal school for the training of teachers attached to this noble foundation. Manual training, it may be said, is being introduced into the common public schools of the country wherever practicable. Honolulu has long had a reformatory school in which agricultural and mechanical industry has been taught to the wayward lads sent there for reclamation.

Hawaii has practically a free school system, the only exception being a group centering in the Honolulu High School. This is under authority of a section of the new school law, which provides "that the department may, in its discretion, establish, maintain, and discontinue select schools, taught in the English language, at a charge of such tuition fees for attendance as it may deem proper; provided, however, that such select schools shall be established only in places where free schools of the same grade for pupils within the compulsory age are readily accessible to the children of such district."

Out of the total appropriated expenditures of the Hawaiian government for all purposes, $1,939,978.50, for the two years ending December 31, 1897, the amount for the support of public schools is $404,000. As the independent schools are also sustained out of the pockets of the people, the aggregate contributions of the population to the cause of education are in nowise shabby. On the whole, Hawaii may be proud of her schools. They will not be the least valuable part of the estate that she will bring into the American Commonwealth.

DANIEL LOGAN.

THE UNION LABEL.

BY M. E. J. KELLEY.

THE development of industry and the progress of economic thought have lately evolved in the union label an economic force which promises to grow constantly stronger as it becomes more widely known. It is sufficiently interesting, at any rate, to deserve more attention than it has hitherto received. Although the union label has been a valuable factor in strengthening three of the most powerful of the American trade-unions, and has exerted an incalculable influence in bringing about some changes that are of serious importance to society as a whole, it is within a year that it has begun to be noticed at all by the students of economics, or by anybody else outside the trade-unions. No mention of the label appears in any of the books on economics or sociology. Even Professor Ely, who has written exhaustively on the labor movement in America, apparently has never heard of the union label. The past year, however, has worked wonders for the spread of the label's particular light outside the ranks of the workers. Lectures on the subject have been delivered before the students of economics at Columbia, and one of the students has the label for his thesis. The National Labor Bureau has commissioned a special agent to investigate the union label. Consumers' Leagues, whose membership consists of wealthy buyers, have discussed it exhaustively. Evidently its day is near at hand.

To a great extent, no doubt, its neglect is due to the fact that American students of economics are forever studying the history of the English labor movement, with the conviction that the American organizations are bound to develop on identical lines, and that, given a similar situation, the step taken by the English unions twenty-five or thirty years ago is bound to be

followed by the American organizations of the present. They quite overlook differences in the American character and situation. The union label had never been heard of in England until a couple of years ago, when two delegates from the American Federation of Labor expatiated on its advantages at the convention of British and Irish trade-unions.

The union label is a distinctively American product. It originated with the cigarmakers, who used it at first on the Pacific Coast in the later seventies as a means of protection against Chinese industry, which was flooding the California markets with cigars and threatening to drive the white cigarmakers to starvation wages in order to compete with it. The feeling against the Chinese was particularly strong just then, and an appeal was made to the smoking public on æsthetic and sanitary, as well as ethical, grounds. Men were urged not to purchase goods made by leprous Chinese under all sorts of unhealthful conditions, but instead to buy the products of well-paid white citizens employed at living wages in decent shops. To distinguish the cigars made by the white workmen from those made by the Chinese the local cigarmakers' union issued a label, a strip of blue paper bearing the union seal, which was pasted around the cigar box after the fashion of the revenue stamp. The label was welcomed by the manufacturer, because with the public state of mind on the Chinese question its use meant increased sales of his wares. On the whole, the device of the California cigarmakers was so successful that it was adopted by the International Cigarmakers' Union at its next convention, and its use has extended gradually until now "blue label" cigars are common all over the country. The Cigarmakers' Union issues on an average about 20,000,000 blue labels annually. These labels are given on demand to any manufacturer who complies with the rules of the union as to wages and hours of labor. Besides indicating that the goods were made by members of a trade-union receiving fair wages, the union label is usually considered a guarantee that the article on which it appears was made in a factory complying with the factory laws, and not in a sweatshop or tenement. Occasionally, however, less stress is laid on this point than is desirable from the consumer's point of view.

Labels have been adopted by more than twenty national trade-unions, and they represent all stages of development. All

the labels indicate a struggle for improved conditions. Some of them represent partial attainment. In most cases particular abuses have called the label into being and it is chiefly valuable at present as an indication that a certain evil has been abolished in the cases where the label is in use.

The hatters were the first to follow the example of the cigar-makers by the adoption of a label to distinguish the hats made in "fair" shops from those made in "unfair" establishments. Twelve years ago, at a national convention, an inch square of buff paper, perforated around the edges like a postage stamp, was adopted as the hatters' union label. It is sewed under the sweatband of the hat. A majority of hat manufacturers employ union men and the label is in use wherever there is any demand for it. All grades of men's hats from the cheapest to the most expensive may be had with the label in them.

The National Garment Workers' Union has a cambric label an inch wide by two inches long, which is stitched into the pockets of men's and boys' suits and overcoats. About five millions of these labels are used each year. One-fifth of all the clothing made in the United States bears the union label. The demand for the label on ready-made clothing has been worked up within the past three or four years. The Garment Workers' Union was organized only six years ago with 250 members. Its membership in 1896 was estimated at 40,000.

Within the past five or six years labels have been adopted by the bakers, tack-makers, iron moulders, shoemakers, coopers, beer brewers, horseshoe nail makers, wagon-makers, broom makers, collar and cuff makers, canners of domestic sardines, and a number of other trades. If one rides in a carriage one may have a union label on the horse's collar, if one insists, and on one's coupe or brougham. If one is an enthusiast on the subject it is quite possible to help create a demand for union labels by refusing to wear shoes, hats, collars, cuffs or coats or trousers which do not carry on them the union workman's guarantee of fair making. Custom tailors and custom shoemakers have union labels, as well as those who make the ready-made articles. Housekeepers have it in their power to make or unmake the bakers, broom-makers, and a host of other trade-unions. They may if they choose serve their families with union labelled bread and crackers, union-labelled canned vegetables and

fruit. The housewife may put down her carpet with union-labelled tacks, sweep it with union-labelled brooms, and set a union-labelled stove upon it. If one elects to do so one may patronize union-labelled shops. The retail salesmen have a button which they wear indicating membership in the Retail Clerk's Union. The Barbers' Union issues a card to master barbers who pay union wages and keep union hours. The card is hung in a conspicuous place in the shop or in the shop window.

The union label appears more frequently on goods used by working people than on those in demand among the well-to-do. The reason for this is simple. The demand for articles bearing the union label originated with members of trade-unions acting in their capacity as consumers, and so far very few outside the working class have taken any interest in the union label. In fact until recently it was practically unknown outside the trade-unions. Overalls are the great staple for labels. They come under the head of ready-made clothing, of course, and the Garment Workers' Union issues the label, but overall making is a distinct branch of the business. Indeed, the ready-made garment trade is exceedingly interesting as an example of the extreme to which the subdivision of labor has been carried. It is very rarely that a manufacturer makes more than one distinct kind of goods. No workman nowadays ever works on men's coats and trousers and children's jackets, for instance, as he might have done thirty years ago. These different garments are made in widely separated shops by different people. And no one person makes a whole garment. One cuts it, another runs the seams, another hems, another bastes, another makes pockets. A coat passes through at least twenty hands in the process of making. The Garment Workers' Union is an amalgamation of numerous branches, each composed of workers employed at some particular division of the work.

But to return to overalls, which, of course, are articles used exclusively by working men. It is hardly possible to buy a pair without the union label. The "scab" and the man who considers the union a great engine of oppression and injustice are likely to come in contact with evidence of its success every time he puts his hand in his overall pocket. The supply of overalls seems to come from half a dozen immense factories where thousands of women are employed. In this case the union label guarantees to

the purchaser that the garments were made under conditions several hundred per cent. better than those which prevail in other branches of the ready-made garment trade.

There are few or no union labels on women's ready-made clothing or other articles used exclusively by women, or made only by them. There are two causes for this. Neither men nor women have yet come to a realization of the economic importance of women either in production or consumption. Women as producers are unorganized and they fail to appreciate their importance as purchasers for themselves and their families. Before there can be a union label there must first be a trade-union which shall adopt a label to be given to manufacturers who are willing to enter into an agreement with the union to provide what the workers and employers agree to be fair conditions. And before the union label can be of consequence in making or sustaining fair conditions there must be a purchasing public interested in creating a demand for it.

Six years ago the International Typographical Union adopted a device which may be printed on all work done in a union office. Most of the offices, in the larger cities at any rate, employ only members of the union, so that if there were a concerted demand for this evidence of harmony between employer and employed it could be obtained. Public sentiment has not been aroused on the subject as yet, however, and there is no such demand. Handbills and pamphlets printed for unions or social reform organizations usually bear the printer's label, and in many small cities daily and weekly newspapers have the device printed at the head of their editorial columns. The printers' label, however, seems to have greater possibilities as a political force than any other. Forty city councils scattered over the country have passed ordinances requiring the union label on all municipal printing. The Montana Legislature recently passed a law requiring the label on public printing done throughout the State. Boston's city printing is done by union printers, and the plant is under municipal control.

Other unions have succeeded, in a measure, in getting recognition for their labels from local governing bodies. The Common Council of Utica has passed an ordinance that no iron moulding shall be used in public buildings which does not bear the iron moulders' label.

Such municipal ordinances are the result of concerted action on the part of local federations of unions in various trades. They demand, as citizen taxpayers and voters, that laws previously passed by State legislatures requiring payment of prevailing wages and the employment of adult-citizen labor on all public works shall be enforced in local contracts, and that as evidence that the law is not being evaded the union's trade-mark shall appear wherever it can be used.

It is interesting to observe the extent to which the law has taken cognizance of the union label. The first objection raised by the sympathetic outsider whose attention has been called to the union label as a means of improving the conditions under which workmen are employed is: "How shall we know a label is genuine? May not anybody put a label on his goods and say it stands for fair conditions?" Nearly every State in the Union where goods are made by organized workmen, or where such goods are sold, has passed special laws protecting union labels from counterfeits and imitations. In some States the labels are registered and protected under the laws regulating trade-marks. In 1895 twenty-five States had laws protecting union labels, and as the number of States having such laws is constantly increasing, it is likely many others have been added to the list since. The protection given by the label laws is very great. In many States the union may invoke both civil and criminal law to punish offenders. The employer unable to get the right to use the label from the union, and yielding to the temptation to use a counterfeit or imitation, is liable to a year's imprisonment or a fine of $200, or both. This is the maximum punishment. It is less in some States, and in practice the limit will probably never be imposed on an offender. The goods bearing the counterfeit label may be seized and destroyed. The union also has grounds for a civil suit for damages. Mr. C. F. Willard, a lawyer employed by several unions to look after the registration of labels, says that the most important feature of the laws relating to union labels has not yet been recognized, either by the unions or the manufacturers. "In granting protection to union labels of associations of workmen," says Mr. Willard, "the different States have recognized their right of property in such labels and in so doing have legalized the status of such associations or combinations. They recog-

nize the right of workingmen to combine into associations, which means virtually the abolition of the old conspiracy laws in those States which have passed laws to protect union labels. The label laws mean that the law recognizes the right of property on the part of the labor organizations in their label or trade-mark, and thus the right to hold property. They also mean that the wage-worker has been conceded the right to own and register a mark to be used on goods, which in a legal sense he does not own, but into which the labor of himself and of his fellows combined in unions enters as a predominating factor. These laws, by inference, thus establish the equity right of labor in the product owned by the employer."

The trade-union never urges the label upon an employer, and no employer ever applies to the union for the use of its label until he is confronted with a demand for it from a sufficient number of his customers to make it worth his while to have it placed on the goods he has for sale.

It must not be supposed, however, that the union sits still and waits for the employer to get ready to come around to the union office for the label. On the contrary, it is "perniciously active" in its efforts to influence him in an indirect way to adopt the label. The label is extensively advertised in the newspapers and labor organs. Pictures of the various labels and appeals to consumers to ask for goods bearing them are widely circulated among union men of all crafts and among their friends and sympathizers. Committees from local unions visit the shops of their towns and set forth to dealers the advantages of keeping union-labelled goods in stock, since the several hundred or thousand members whom they represent are pledged to give the preference in purchasing to such goods, and to dealers keeping them on hand. In small towns the patronage of the union men and their friends makes a material difference to the shopkeeper, and frequently, through him, to the manufacturer who supplies him with goods. In one of the smaller cities of New York State a baker's business experienced a boom as a result of the label agitation. At first he was the only boss baker who was willing to enter into a satisfactory agreement with the bakers' union and consequently was the only one who could get the bakers' label. The wives and mothers of the union men of the town were interested and took pains to buy none but bread bearing the union label, with the result that this

particular baker needed more help and the other bakers lost their trade. In many towns, particularly up in New York State and through the middle West, the wives of union men have been interested in the garment workers' grievances, and when they buy clothing for their little sons they insist upon having the label in the pockets of jackets and knickerbockers. The demand for childrens' clothing bearing the union label has been worked up to such an extent, through these smaller towns, that three large manufacturers in New York have within a year secured the label. Not long ago a manufacturing house up the Hudson went out of business, and one of the causes to which its failure was attributed was its refusal to make terms with the union, together with the persistent demand of its customers, the retailers, for union labelled goods, which their customers in turn insisted on having.

The demand for the union label is hardly sufficiently developed as yet to make it possible to estimate or predict its effect upon production. A universal demand for it, of course, would take away any advantage which its use at present gives to dealers or manufacturers. Not to have it would be a disadvantage, but having it would not add to one's customers.

The sum which it adds to the manufacturers' cost of production on any one article is infinitesimal. The cost of registering the labels in the various States, which amounts to about $500, is borne entirely by the union owning the label. The cost of printing and making the labels is divided between the manufacturers and the union. The proportion varies with different unions. In the clothing trade the manufacturers pay two-thirds of the cost of the labels, or about $200 a million. This means the addition of one five-thousandth of a cent to the cost of each garment. The cost and trouble to which the manufacturer is put to obtain the label is more than made up by the free advertising he gets through the union and the labor press, not to mention the additional customers who are secured by the use of the label.

The effect of the use of the label upon consumption will be to bring an ethical element into economic transactions, a result much to be desired according to the best economists. It is in the change which has come over economic thought in the last quarter of the century that the union label finds its justification. The stress is no longer on production or exchange but

upon consumption. The consumer, it is seen, is the real maker of goods. Whether goods shall be made under sweat-shop conditions, under conditions which mean the brutalization of the great mass of humanity, or under conditions which permit the development of all that is best in the workers, and which are the best conditions for the interests of society as a whole, depends upon the consumers and not upon the producers. When the ethical sense of the community is so highly developed that no one will wear a garment for which just wages have not been paid, the sweatshop will disappear.

In the present stage of development, the union label seems to to fill a want, to meet a desire for some guarantee that the articles are what they are represented to be—made under fair conditions. The union label is probably only a temporary device, just as any present thing is adapted to present conditions, present circumstances, present evils. When conditions and circumstances change, it will give way to something else. It is not an ideal solution of labor problems. If it does not stand for all its newest friends think it should, it must be remembered that it is not fully matured. Like the trade-union, of which it is an outgrowth, it must be of slow development. It can grow no faster than those who use it. In its early days the trade-union was something quite unlike the present orderly, dignified, influential body, which is a powerful economic, social, and political force.

At first the union was little more than a temporarily organized mob, making, sometimes, unreasonable demands; thinking strikes and physical violence the only means of gaining its ends. With more leisure and better wages, gained in part by these destructive methods, the organized workers have come gradually to stand for peaceful measures and various reforms beneficial, not only to themselves, but to the body of which they are a part. In similar fashion the union label is developing. At first it meant simply that the makers of the articles bearing it were white men, not Chinese. A little later it said to the buyer: "These goods are made by a member of the union of the trade." The union man might be working in a two-room home, assisted by his family; that did not matter. Presently the union reached the stage where it became an ardent advocate of factory laws and waged war on child labor. Then the label began to mean that the article bearing it was made by a union man employed in a factory

governed by factory laws, receiving union wages and working eight hours or ten hours a day. It meant that the article was not made in a sweatshop or tenement house and that child labor was not employed in its making. In its very latest development the union label stands also for good workmanship. It signifies that the worker has reached the stage of growth where he takes sufficient pride in his work to put his best efforts into it. However desirable this qualification may be from a consumer's point of view, there are grave difficulties in the way of its fullest development under the present organization of industry. Labor is only a partner. The laborer has not full say in the matter of what he shall put into the goods he makes. It is desirable, from the consumer's point of view, that things shall be cheap. Possibly the only way to secure cheapness may be to put less work or inferior material into an article. Good workmanship requires much more time than poor workmanship. From the manufacturers' point of view, which is influenced always by the consumer's desires, it may be better to turn out a great deal of work not done in the best manner than to make a few beautifully finished articles. Exquisite finish takes more time, costs more and must be sold for more. Fewer people can afford to buy it, no matter how much they may admire it. The demand is reduced. Fewer articles are required. Probably fewer workmen will be needed to make the limited supply. It is doubtful whether it is a wise thing for the consumer friends of the union label to insist too strongly as yet that it shall stand for good workmanship. The old saw, "What is worth doing at all is worth doing well," is just as true as it ever was; but until the public taste has been educated through technical and art training, or in some other way, so that it will have nothing but what is in good taste and well done, and until our ethical standards have been raised to a point where getting more than one pays for will not be considered an evidence of good judgment and good business ability, it will be wiser not to insist too strongly on excellence of workmanship. For the consumer to say to the trade-unionist, "When you can assure us that the label stands for conscientious workmanship, just relations between workmen and employer, good sanitary conditions, enforced factory laws, etc., we will give you our hearty support," is like saying to the slave, "We see you are un-

justly treated; we know you are weak and oppressed; when you have broken your bonds and become strong we will help you to stay free, but we will not help you secure your freedom."

The consumer, of course, represents society as a whole. The producer who is to be helped by the union label represents only a part of society. And apparently it is only a very small fraction of the producers who will be benefited by the union label. The proportion of union men to non-unionists is about one to nine in England, and the proportion outside the union is much greater in the United States. The "scab," of course, is a consumer, and must be considered in any scheme which is to benefit society as a whole. The use of the union label will probably have much the same effect upon those outside the union that the trade-union itself has had upon the workers who have remained outside its organization. Invariably the non-unionist has shared in the improved conditions brought about by the efforts of the trade-unions. Factory laws, anti-truck laws, weekly payment laws, and much other legislation which protects all workingmen have been the result of trade-union activity. Public opinion has been largely the means of enforcing shorter hours in many occupations, half-holidays in the dry-goods shops, for instance, but the agitation was started by trade-unionists, and those outside labor organizations have shared in the benefits.

On the whole, it cannot be said that the union label is an ideal solution of vexing labor problems, or that it is likely to be final or permanent. It does, however, offer a means of utilizing the altruistic sense of a community to right some of the wrongs from which the producer suffers. It offers itself as an infinitely superior substitute for the strike and the boycott. It brings employer and workman together on a footing of common interest. The employer finds it is to his interest to see that the conditions under which his workmen are employed are fair. Closer relations are sure to bring about improved methods of settling differences. The label builds up the fair employer's trade instead of tearing down the unfair man's business, as did the boycott. The union label is constructive, not destructive. In this fact is its most vital principle, and a promise of extensive and progressive development.

M. E. J. Kelley.

ARE AMERICAN PARENTS SELFISH?

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

It is admitted by every unprejudiced person—excepting, of course, the ignorant and benighted foreigner—that the Americans are the people, and that wisdom and virtue will necessarily die with them ; that all their customs and institutions, whether social or political, are the wonder, the envy, and despair of other nations—which makes a question like the above seem almost frivolous.

"Selfish!" reply the astonished and disgusted heads of families, "selfish—indeed!—on the contrary, the American is blamed as the most indulgent of parents. Surely selfishness is the last charge that can justly be made." And if indulgence invariably implied unselfishness the American would certainly have nothing with which to reproach himself in his relations with his children.

There can be no doubt that a fond gentleness of rule is in this country the law of the average household. So far as is compatible with common sense, the children have entire liberty of action, and, so far as the means of the parents permit, the children are provided with every advantage and pleasure. Indeed, to such lengths at one time did fondness go that it too often degenerated into a laxness that made the American child a lesson and a warning to other nations. Daisy Miller and her little, odious, toothless brother were supposed to typify the results of this fatuous feebleness of rule in our family life, but neither Daisy nor her brother can now be held to be typical pictures, though their prototypes still exist here and there. The American parent of to-day rules more firmly and with greater wisdom. Such figures as those of the unhappy girl and the odious boy brought home to us the truth—forgotten in our passion for universal liberty—that a relaxation of wise, strong government by

the parent was cruelty of the most far-reaching and irreparable sort.

No doubt Henry James' mordant satire helped to inaugurate a salutary reform, and it is just possible that a new work of a similar nature is now needed to suggest further serious reflections to American parents; to rouse them to consider whether their whole duty is performed in seeing their children well fed, well educated, and raised to man's estate. With most parents the sense of responsibility ceases when the boy begins to earn his own living, when the girl dons orange blossoms. Like the birds the American parent works hard to feed the nestlings, carefully teaches them to fly, and then tumbles them out into the world to find for themselves. So far in our history this elemental method has worked well, no doubt. The result of it has been to breed the most precocious, self-reliant, vigorous, irreverent race the earth has yet seen. One may see the whole situation epitomized in the orchard any pleasant June day—an astonished fledgling ruffling his feathers upon some retired bough, ruminating upon the sudden shocks and changes of existence, and afraid almost to turn his head in the large, new, lonesome world surrounding him. As the hours pass his melancholy reflections are pierced by hunger's pangs. Heretofore, a busy parent has always appeared to assuage such poignant sensations, but now that hard-worked person may be seen—genially oblivious of obligations—refreshing himself with cherries, and the fledgling, with a squawk of wounded amazement, discovers for the first time that even parents are not to be depended upon. His hunger meantime grows. An opportune insect flits by and is snapped at involuntarily. It proves to be of refreshing and sustaining quality, and digestion brings courage. A hop and a flutter show the usefulness of wing and limb. More luck with insects demonstrates that the world belongs to the bold, and before the day is done the cocky young nestling of yesterday is shouldering his papa away from the ripest cherries.

All this is very well in a world where flies and cherries are free to all, but America is fast ceasing to be a happy uncrowded orchard in which the young find more than enough room and food for the taking.

In the past, the boy—inured to plain living and a certain amount of labor from childhood—had only to take the girl of

his choice by the hand and go make a home out of virgin soil, wheresoever chance or fancy led, himself and his parents both confident he could not suffer in a land where only industry was needed to ensure conquest. These boundless possibilities relieved the parent of half the cares incident to the relation, and that sense of freedom from responsibility has remained, while conditions have altered. The bird-like fashion of refusing further liability once the child has made its first flight is still the rule.

To the European parent this seems a most flagrant abandonment of duty. There the anxious care for the offspring reaches out to the third and fourth generation, and every safeguard which law or custom can devise is thrown around the child. From the moment of its birth the parent of Continental Europe begins to save, not only for the education and upbringing, but for the whole future existence, of the child. It is not alone the daughter who is dowered, but the son also has provision made for his married life, when, as his parents keenly realize, the greatest strain will be made upon his resources and capabilities.

In America it is the custom—very nearly the universal custom—for the parents to spend upon the luxuries and pleasures of the family life the whole income. The children are educated according to this standard of expenditure, and are accustomed to all its privileges. No thought is taken of the time when they must set up households for themselves—almost invariably upon a very different scale from the one to which they have been used. To the American parent this seems only a natural downfall. They remark cheerfully that they themselves began in a small way, and it will do the young people no harm to acquire a similar experience—forgetting that in most cases their children have been educated to a much higher standard of ease than that of their own early life. They do not consider it obligatory to leave anything to their children at death. They have used all they could accumulate during their own lifetime—let their children do the same. The results of the system are crystallized in the American saying: "There are but three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." The man who acquires wealth spends what he makes. His children, brought up in luxury, struggle unsuccessfully against conditions to which they are unused, and the grandchildren begin in their shirt sleeves to toil for the wealth dissipated by the two preceding generations.

Europeans frequently and curiously remark upon the American's prodigality of ready money. The small change which they part with so reluctantly the American flings about with a fine mediæval profusion. The manner of life of the average well-to-do person in this country permits of it. The average man who earns ten or twenty thousand a year invests none of it. He installs his family in a rented house in the city in winter. Several servants are kept; the children are sent to expensive schools. All the family dress well, eat rich food, and indulge in costly amusements. In summer they either travel abroad, live in a hotel at a watering place, or rent again. The man's whole income is at his disposal to spend every year. None of it is deducted to be safely stored in property. When his daughters marry he expects their husbands to be solely responsible for their future, and if they do not succeed in marrying wealth, why so much the worse for them. When his sons begin their career he looks to them to be self-supporting almost from the first, and not to undertake the responsibilities of a family until they are able to bear such a burden without aid from him. He cannot assist them without materially altering his own scale of living, which he is naturally loath to do. At his death the income generally ceases in large part, and his widow, and such children as may still be unplaced in life, are obliged to relinquish the rented houses and the way of life to which they have been used.

To a Frenchman such an existence would seem as uncertain and disturbing as is generally supposed to be that of a person who has built upon the crust of a volcano. He could not contemplate with equanimity the thought of chaos overtaking the ordered existence of his family upon his demise. *Apres nous le deluge* seems to him the insouciance of a maniac, or of a monster of selfishness. Daily expenditure is regulated within a limit which permits of a constant investment of a margin. When his daughter marries he insures in her carefully guarded dower that she shall continue her existence on somewhat the same scale to which she has been accustomed, and, in case of premature widowhood or accident of fortune, she and her children shall not be called upon to face the desperate strait of absolute pennilessness. He may deny her in her girlhood many of the indulgences common to her American prototype, but he denies himself at the same time in saving to insure the security and comfort of her

future. The French father would think it terrible that a tenderly nurtured daughter should be suddenly thrust into abject dependence upon a husband who may possibly abuse the power given him by that circumstance, nor would he be more satisfied to think that she should during her first years of married life, while still young and encountering the strain of motherhood, be called upon to face narrow means and a perilously uncertain financial condition.

When the son arrives at maturity the economies to which he, in company with his parents, has submitted, bear fruit in substantial aid in beginning his career, and he is not obliged to put out of his mind all thought of marriage during his youth, since his parents, and those of the woman of his choice, have provided for this very contingency through all the years of his minority.

The French—with the logical inevitableness of their mode of thought—carry this view of life to its extreme limit, but throughout all Europe, including England, the responsibility of the parent is more broadly conceived than in this country, where the excuse for an infinity of cheap flimsiness is the cynical phrase, "It will last my time." Men build cheaply, and forbear to undertake work of which they cannot see the immediate result, because there is no sense of obligation to the coming generation. The democratic theory is that each man must fight for his own hand; no debt is owed to either ancestry or posterity. The mind is not shocked by sudden destruction of families, by the sharp descent in the social scale, or the flying of women into the arena of the struggle for life. The parent is quite willing to share with the child the goods of existence as far as he can achieve them, but he is unwilling to deny either child or himself that the child may benefit alone, or after he is gone.

Conditions in America are constantly assimilating themselves more and more to those existing in the older countries, where the conflict for existence is close and intense, and where the prudent, the careful, and the far-sighted inevitably crowd out the weaker and more careless individuals and families. An almost unmistakable sign of "an old family" in America is conservatism in expenditure and modes of life. The newly rich, who set the pace of public luxury, are always amazed at the probates of the wills of these quiet citizens. They cannot believe that one who spent so little should have so much, not realizing

that the simplicity of life made it possible to solidly invest a surplus. The heirs of this solid wealth have been bred to prudence and self-denial. Such a family survives, while in all probability the offspring of the other type may in two generations be hopelessly trodden into the mire.

There is in the breasts of many parents a half-resentful feeling that they should not be asked to sacrifice themselves to the new generation. They insist upon their own right to all that is to be got out of life, feeling that what they give to the children is never repaid. This selfish type forgets that in doing their duty they are but returning to their children what they themselves received from the past generation, and that the children will in turn pay to their descendants the inherited debt of honor with interest.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

III.—THE SOUTHERN STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE are thirteen in number and include some of the earliest English settlements in North America. They cover an area of 816,000 square miles, or more than one-fourth of the Union, their population averaging 25 to the square mile, as compared with 140 in the Middle States.

	1850.	1890.	1897, est.
Virginia*	1,420,000	2,419,000	2,570,000
North Carolina	870,000	1,618,000	1,750,000
South Carolina	670,000	1,151,000	1,240,000
Georgia	905,000	1,837,000	2,040,000
Florida	90,000	391,000	510,000
Alabama	770,000	1,513,000	1,670,000
Mississippi	605,000	1,290,000	1,380,000
Louisiana	520,000	1,119,000	1,230,000
Texas	215,000	2,236,000	2,780,000
Arkansas	210,000	1,190,000	1,540,000
Kentucky	960,000	1,859,000	1,970,000
Tennessee	1,005,000	1,768,000	1,890,000
Southern States	8,240,000	18,391,000	20,570,000

The increase of population since 1850 has been 150 per cent., the same ratio as in the Middle States, while that of the Union has exceeded 200 per cent. In the census of 1890 the Southern States had a male surplus of 2 per cent., whereas in the Middle States the sexes were equal, and New England had a female surplus of 3 per cent. over males. No less than 85 per cent. of the colored population of the Union is found in the Southern States, but even here the negro element is losing ground, as we see on comparing the census returns of 1890 with those of 1870, viz.:

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
American, white	6,782,000	11,564,000	70.0
" colored	4,179,000	6,423,000	53.6
Foreigners	290,000	404,000	39.3
Southern States	11,251,000	18,391,000	64.2

* Including West Virginia.

In 1870 the colored element formed 37 per cent. of the population; in 1890 only 35 per cent. It is evident that there has been neither any emigration of negroes from these States since 1870, nor any influx of them from other parts of the Union, seeing that the increase of colored people in the interval showed the same ratio in these States as in the Union at large, namely, 53 per cent. Dr. Billings, in his luminous report on the Vital Statistics of the United States (1886), shows that 1,000 colored women (age from 15 to 49) give birth to 164 children, and 1,000 white women to only 127, yearly; that is to say, three colored women have as many children as four white, but such is infant mortality among negroes that their rate of increase is 16 per cent. less. The Southern States are remarkable for the small number of cities and towns, although urban population has more than doubled since 1870, viz.:

	Urban.		Rural.	
	1870.	1890	1870.	1890.
Louisiana	191,000	264,000	536,000	855,000
Kentucky	155,000	253,000	1,166,000	1,601,000
Virginia	133,000	257,000	1,534,000	2,162,000
Texas	26,000	217,000	793,000	2,019,000
Other States	271,000	697,000	6,446,000	10,061,000
Southern States	776,000	1,693,000	10,475,000	16,698,000

Thus urban population rose 118, rural only 59 per cent., but the latter still forms nine-tenths of the total, agriculture being the chief occupation of the people. The climate is apparently little suited to Europeans, if we are to judge from the fact that foreigners compose only two per cent. of the population: they are found mostly in Texas and Florida.

Agriculture.—The improved area has more than doubled since 1850, viz.:

	Acres.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Texas	640,000	20,750,000	3.0	9.3
Virginia	10,360,000	13,680,000	7.4	5.7
Kentucky	5,970,000	11,820,000	6.2	6.4
Georgia	6,380,000	9,580,000	7 1	5.2
Tennessee	5,180,000	9,360,000	5.2	5.3
Other States	20,120,000	38,600,000	5 3	4.7
Southern States	48,650,000	103,790,000	5.9	5.6

Here we have a farming area of 5½ acres per inhabitant, against 2½ in the Middle States, and yet the South does not raise enough grain for its requirements, the production of food per inhabitant having greatly declined in the last forty years, viz.:

	Tons produced.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	Grain.	Meat.	Grain.	Meat.
1850	9,070,000	1,210,000	2,460	330
1895	15,800,000	1,630 000	1,820	190

There are only two of the Southern States that raise enough grain for home consumption—Kentucky and Tennessee, in which the production exceeds one ton per inhabitant; the others subsist four months of the year on grain from the Prairie States. There is, meantime, a large meat surplus, at least 500,000 tons, part of which goes to feed the Middle States, the rest being exported. Texas alone produces 560,000 tons, and has no rival in the United States, being 110,000 tons ahead of Iowa, which holds second place. As regards dairy products the South has neither surplus nor deficit, the number of milch cows being just sufficient for a population of 20 millions. There is, however, a deficiency in poultry, the production of eggs allowing only 114 to each inhabitant, the average consumption in the United States (1890) being 160 per head. The Southern States produce some crops peculiar to themselves, such as cotton, rice, and sugar, besides which they raise three-fourths of the tobacco of the Union; there has been a notable increase in cotton and tobacco, but not in the other two items, viz.:

	1850.	1894.
Cotton, bales	2,470,000	9,480,000
Tobacco, tons	65,000	130,000
Sugar, "	130,000	130,000
Rice, "	95,000	60,000

The cotton crop (of which one-third is grown in Texas) covers an area of 24,000,000 acres, which is equal to the aggregate extent of three European kingdoms—Holland, Belgium, and Denmark. One-half of the tobacco crop of the United States is grown in Kentucky. The value of crops and pastoral products in the Southern States is 26 per cent. of that of the Union, the average for the years 1893–94–95 showing approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Millions dollars.
Grain	14,500,000	270
Cotton	1,760,000	245
Meat	1,630,000	185
Tallow and lard	300,000	27
Hay	4,500,000	48
Potatoes	420,000	10
Dairy products	.....	93
Sundries	.....	127
Total		1,005

The above gross product gives an average of $10 an acre, against $14 in the Middle States. Whether the result of negro emancipation or other cause, the average size of farms is steadily declining, having fallen from 100 acres in 1850 to 68 in 1870, and 58 in 1890. Texas has the largest, with an average of 90 acres; Florida the smallest, only 33 acres. The following table shows the agricultural wealth of the South in 1850 and 1890, as well as the average price of land per acre:

	Farms, millions dollars.		Land, dollars per acre.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Virginia	257	473	21	30
Kentucky	190	428	26	29
Tennesseee	133	313	19	26
Texas	29	517	25	19
Other States	623	1,197	17	20
The South	1,232	2,928	20	23

In 1890 the average capital represented by each Southern farm was $1,630, or one-third of that of a farm in the Middle States, but if we compare product with capital we find that farming is more profitable in the South, viz.:

	Average per farm, dollars.		Ratio of product.
	Capital.	Product.	Per cent.
The South	1,630	558	34
Middle States	5,060	980	19

The value of Southern farm products divided among the population gives an average of $50 per head, against $34 in the Middle States, and $56 for the Union at large.

Forestry.—The Southern States include nearly half the forest area of the Union, being so rich in timber that they have 12 acres of forest to each inhabitant, viz.:

	Acres.		Ratio of forest.	Acres forest per inhabitant.
	Total area.	Forest.		
Texas	175,600,000	38,700,000	22 p. c.	17
Arkansas	33,400,000	20,400,000	61 "	17
Florida	37,900,000	20,300,000	53 "	52
Other States	264,100,000	132,900,000	50 "	9
The South	511,000,000	212,300,000	42 "	12

According to the Agricultural Report of 1894 the South produces one-fifth of the lumber of the Union, that is about 900 million cubic feet per annum, valued at 47 million dollars; but

if we include the timber used for firewood, fences, etc., the total cutting is supposed to reach 100 million tons, worth 200 million dollars, which is less than a dollar an acre, whereas the forests of the whole Union produce an average of $2.20 per acre.

Manufactures.—The census returns of 1890 compare with those of 1850 thus—

	No. of Operatives.	Millions dollars.		Per operative.	
		Wages.	Product.	Wages.	Product.
1850	104,000	23	103	$221	$990
1890	459,000	168	703	366	1,535

The average product per operative has risen 54 per cent., wages 66 per cent., showing that the working classes are in every respect gainers by the advance in this branch of industry. Manufactures are, nevertheless, in their infancy, the output being equal to no more than $39 per inhabitant, against $253 in the Middle States. Kentucky is, meantime, considerably ahead of the other Southern States, showing a ratio of $68 per head. The inferiority of the South as regards manufactures is probably due to two causes; first, the lower level of instruction, owing to one-third of the population being colored; secondly, the fact that the average wealth per inhabitant is much less than in other parts of the Union, and hence the ability to consume manufactures less.

Mining.—Before the Californian epoch it was customary to regard North Carolina as an auriferous State, its total yield in 50 years (down to 1850) amounting to 21 tons of pure gold, worth 15 million dollars, according to Professor Whitney. In subsequent years the yield has been insignificant, the Southern States collectively, in 1890, producing only 15,000 ounces of gold and 340,000 ounces of silver. Coal and iron are now the chief minerals, the last census showing as follows—

	Tons.		Value of all minerals, dollars.
	Coal.	Iron-ore.	
Virginia	7,100,000	510,000	13,000,000
Alabama	3,600,000	1,570,000	9,800,000
Tennessee	1,900,000	470,000	6,500,000
Other States	3,900,000	350,000	14,400,000
The South	16,500,000	2,900,000	43,700,000

The mineral output represents a value of only two dollars per

inhabitant; the average for the whole Union being nine dollars per head.

Commerce.—The Southern States possess no fewer than five of the eleven seaports of the Union which have commercial relations of any note with foreign countries, but they are of minor rank, the total clearances not quite reaching two million tons yearly, so that their aggregate trade is little more than that of Boston. The Southern ports are New Orleans, Savannah, Galveston, Mobile, and Charleston, whose official returns show thus:

	Tonnage cleared.	
	1854.	1894
New Orleans	605 000	1,050,000
Other ports	325,000	890,000
Southern ports	930,000	1,940,000

The trade of the South with foreign countries has only doubled in 40 years, while that of the Middle States has quadrupled.

Railways.—In 1896 these States possessed 42,800 miles of railway, which represented a cost of 1,925 millions, say $45,000 per mile, or one-fourth less than the average cost of American lines. Although construction has been so cheap, the mileage is totally insufficient for the proper development of the South, being only 53 miles of railway to 1,000 square miles of area, whereas the ratio in the Prairie States is 108 miles. Thus it may be said that the South stands in need of double the length of existing lines.

Banking.—So little is banking used in the South that the discounts in 1895 did not exceed 233 million dollars, or $12 per inhabitant, the average for the Union being $40. The most business is done in Texas and Kentucky, viz.:

	Discounts, dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
Texas	64,300,000	26
Kentucky	40,000,000	21
Other States	128,700,000	8
The South	233,000,000	12

As for savings banks, the deposits hardly reach 50 cents per inhabitant, as against $52 in the Middle States.

Wealth.—In 1890 the components of wealth were :

	Millions dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways	Sundries.	Total.	
Texas	517	820	447	322	2,106	942
Virginias....	473	314	236	278	1,301	538
Kentucky....	428	366	142	236	1,172	630
Carolinas....	337	173	266	209	985	355
Tennessee....	313	241	153	181	888	502
Georgia.....	189	263	227	173	852	464
Arkansas....	270*	141	106	145	662	555
Alabama. ..	146	160	175	142	623	411
Louisiana...	110	187	92	107	496	440
Mississippi..	167	81	120	86	454	352
Florida.....	81	123	127	58	389	995
The South..	3,031	2,869	2,091	1,937	9,928	540

Average wealth per inhabitant is much higher in Texas and Florida than in the other Southern States, which coincides with the fact that they are the only States of the South where the foreign population is considerable, showing what influence European settlers have in the increase of wealth. The other 11 States in 1890 possessed 7,433 million dollars, with an aggregate population of 15,800,000 souls, equal to $470 per head, or half the average that corresponded to the inhabitants of Texas and Florida. It may be observed that the value of house property is relatively small, only $155 per inhabitant as compared with $660 in the Middle States, which is partly explained by the small number of cities and of urban population, already adverted to. The increase of wealth per inhabitant in 40 years has been very great in Texas and Florida, but not so in the other States as shown in the census returns, viz.:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.		Annual increase, dollars per head.
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1850.	
Texas.....	53	2,106	246	942	47.80
Virginia.....	431	1,301	303	538	11.70
Kentucky.....	302	1,172	308	630	15.50
Tennessee.....	201	888	201	502	12.70
Arkansas.....	40	662	190	555	23 70
Florida.....	23	389	255	995	41.60
Other six States.	1,541	3,410	350	405	7.60
The South	2,591	9,928	314	540	14.50

If Texas and Florida were excluded the average accumulation in the rest of the Southern States would be found not to have exceeded $10.80 per inhabitant yearly, while the average for the

* Including Indian Territory and Oklahoma.

whole Union was $35.30. The proportions of real and personal property in 1890 showed as follows:

	Dollars per inhabitant.			Real percentage.
	Real.	Personal.	Total.	
Texas	545	397	942	58
Virginia	298	240	538	55
Kentucky	383	247	630	61
Florida	501	494	995	51
Other States	215	216	431	50
The South	289	251	540	53

Real property constitutes only 53 per cent. of wealth, whereas in the Union at large it stands for 60 per cent. Insurance is not much in use, the amount of insured property being no more than 442 millions, or $23 per inhabitant, against $685 in New England. The sum of Southern insurance is only 4½ per cent. of wealth, whereas in the whole Union the ratio is 30 per cent.

Mortgages are very light, the total not exceeding 408 million dollars, or 8 per cent. of the value of real estate, viz.:

	Millions dollars.		
	Real estate.	Mortgage.	Ratio.
Texas	1,220	94	7.7
Virginias	720	49	6.8
Kentucky	712	46	6.4
Other States	2,673	219	8.2
The South	5,325	408	7.7

Farms are mortgaged to 11 per cent., houses 5 per cent. of their value. The sum paid yearly for interest is 32 millions, or $1.80 per inhabitant, as compared with $6.20 in New England. The fewness of mortgages in the South is partly accounted for by the high rate of interest, which averages 8 per cent., whereas the general rate for the whole Union in 1890 was only 6½ per cent. Meantime the rate varies greatly in the South, from 6 per cent. in Tennessee and Virginia to almost 10 per cent. in Texas and Florida.

Finances.—The aggregate of State and local taxes in 1890 was $58,000,000, equal to $3.10 per inhabitant, against $9.70 in the Middle States. The returns in 1890 showed as follows:

	Taxes, dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
Texas	9,820,000	4.10
Virginia	8,480,000	3 50
Kentucky	7,380,000	4.00
Other States	32,120,000	2.60
The South	57,800,000	3.10

Local taxes are comparatively low, because the population is

nine-tenths rural, and also because education is so neglected that the expenditure on schools (84 cents per inhabitant) is only one-third of what it ought to be.

Education.—There is a painful contrast between the state of public instruction in the South and in the rest of the Union, one-third of the Southern population being illiterate, according to the census of 1890, viz.:

	Pop. over 10 Years.	Illiterate.	Per cent.
Whites	8,579,000	1,358,000	15.8
Colored	4,516,000	2,775,000	61.5
The South	13,095,000	4,133,000	31.6

The above shows not merely that the education of negroes is neglected, but also that among whites the ratio of illiteracy is ten times as high as among the native population of New England. Nevertheless, some progress has been made since the War of Emancipation, for we find that the number of children attending school (1895) has risen to 14 per cent. of the population, as compared with 10 per cent. in 1860.

The condition of the Southern States is unsatisfactory, not merely because in education, industry, and wealth they are much behind the rest of the Union, but because, owing to want of facilities, their resources are not properly developed. It is true that one-third of the population is colored, but even allowing for this fact, there is no reason why the South is not altogether on a par with one of its own States, Texas, which has 22 per cent. of its population colored. With regard to the number of its inhabitants, Texas has 45 per cent. more railways, 110 per cent. more banks than the other States of the South, and each of its hands employed in farming produces nearly three times as much, viz.:

	Farming hands.	Product dollars.	Dollars per hand.
Texas	430,000	250,000,000	580
Other States	3,420,000	755,000,000	220
The South	3,850,000	1,005,000,000	261

More schools, more railways, more banks, are needed in the Southern States, and if persevering efforts are made in this direction the results will certainly prove successful.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE HOUSING OF THE ENGLISH POOR.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD MONKSWELL.

WHEN Lord Shaftesbury had routed a strange coalition of out and out Radicals and high Tories, and persuaded the Legislature to make life tolerable in factories, he devoted himself heart and soul to another enterprise no less beneficent, and determined to impress upon Parliament the urgent necessity of so ordering the home life of the poor that for decent people the maintenance of common decency should be possible.

Accordingly on the seventh of April, 1851, while still in the House of Commons, under the title of Lord Ashley, he introduced a bill to promote the erection of lodging-houses for the poor which is known by his name. In recommending this measure to the House he drew a picture of the state of affairs he sought to remedy which fairly startled his hearers, and aroused the country.

He stated that in St. George's, Hanover Square, the richest parish in London, a return made in 1842 showed that there were 929 families occupying only one room each, and that in the poorer parts of London he had himself seen five families in one room numbering 25 persons or even more. He quoted a report of the London Fever Hospital in 1845, in which it was said that 100 men sometimes slept in a room 33¾ feet long by 20 broad, and 7 feet high in the middle, the total air space for the whole hundred being no greater than was considered necessary for three in the hospital.

Again he quoted from the report of a city missionary as follows: "On my district is a house containing 8 rooms which are all let separately to individuals who furnish and re-let them. The parlor measures 18 by 10 feet. Beds are arranged on each side of the room, composed of straw, shavings, rags, etc. In this

one room slept, on the night previous to my enquiry, 27 male and female adults, 31 children, and 2 or 3 dogs." There were, he asserted, in one district alone 270 such rooms. Houses to let out, he added, "are never cleaned or ventilated; they literally swarm with vermin. It is almost impossible to breathe. Missionaries are seized with vomiting or fainting upon entering them." Another missionary said: "I have felt the vermin dropping on my hat like peas. In some of the rooms I dare not sit, or I should be at once covered."

In other towns besides London the same condition of things prevailed.

The town clerk of Morpeth reported that some lodging-houses there "have no beds, but their occupiers are packed upon the floor in rows, the head of one being close to the feet of another. Each body is placed so close to its neighbor as not to leave sufficient space on which to set a foot. The occupants are entirely naked, except rugs drawn up as far as the waist; and when to this is added that the doors and windows are carefully closed, and that there is not the least distinction of sex, but men, women, and children lie indiscriminately side by side, some faint idea may be drawn of the state of these places, and their effect upon health, morals, and decency."

At Leeds, Lord Shaftesbury instanced a lodging-house with an average of more than ten persons to each bed, and had been told there were 222 such lodging-houses within a radius of a quarter of a mile,

At Bradford the poor were accommodated to a large extent in cellar dwellings of about four yards square. There would be collected "sometimes 20 persons, some in beds, some on the floor; naked men and women together; children with the smallpox in the midst of them." It would seem, however, that at Bradford there were penalties for overcrowding, and that those penalties were occasionally enforced; for Lord Shaftesbury mentions the case of a lodging-house keeper, who, when fined for overcrowding, excused himself on the plea that he could not "let them lie in the street."

That these revelations made a deep impression on the House may readily be credited, and probably an honorable member who "asked any man whether he could have believed that such things existed in this country" expressed the feeling of the

great majority of his colleagues. It must not, however, be inferred that Lord Shaftesbury was by any means the only member of the House thoroughly conversant with the evils he denounced. An honorable member who had had the experience of service under the Board of Health—a government department—accentuated the remarks of Lord Shaftesbury, and asserted that he had been told at Wolverhampton, that within living memory all the inhabitants of a certain court had been transported twice over. This statement is somewhat obscure, but probably what the honorable member meant was that the number of persons sentenced to the old punishment of transportation during the period he referred to was equal to double the number accommodated at any one time in that court. But whatever may be the correct interpretation of his words, it is abundantly clear that the moral he intended to convey was that in his experience vice and overcrowding went hand in hand to a fearful extent.

Moreover, the Board of Health itself was familiar with the state of things laid before Parliament; for Lord Shaftesbury mentioned that the Board had examined 161 populous places, containing altogether very nearly two million inhabitants, "and he might safely say that without exception one uniform statement was made with respect to the domiciliary condition of large masses of the workpeople, that it was of one and the same disgusting character."

Under these circumstances it does seem astounding that it should have been left to a private member to deal on his own responsibility with evils so shocking, so dangerous to the moral and physical well-being of the nation, and so thoroughly well known to an important government department.

Nor must it be supposed that opinion outside Parliament had been quiescent on this subject. There were brave men before Agamemnon, and enterprising philanthropists had turned their attention to the better housing of the poor before Lord Shaftesbury aroused the House of Commons. He himself instanced the case of a public company that had spent £23,000 in London on building new lodging-houses and adapting old ones—a company paying the respectable dividend of six per cent. Again, in Glasgow very drastic measures had been taken. On one day during the year 1846, no less than 30,000 persons were evicted from cellars, and yet we have it on the authority of the Duke of Ar-

gyll, as regards the evils of overcrowding in the great cities, that Scotland in 1851 was as bad if not worse than England.

Lord Shaftesbury's remedial proposals did not err on the side of stringency. This act did not oblige anybody to do anything. It was simply a permissive measure giving power to local authorities to erect lodging-houses, the local authorities endowed with this power in London being the Vestries. The act remained a dead letter for about forty years, except in Ireland, till the first London County Council availed themselves of its provisions as modified by subsequent acts to build an excellent model lodging-house near the slums of Drury Lane, containing an agreeable reading and recreation room to which county councillors occasionally resort, sometimes with their womankind, and administer suitable entertainment.

Lord Shaftesbury's act was followed in 1855 by the Metropolis Management Act, which effected a very important new departure. Under this act the London Vestries were assigned greater powers, the mode of their election was altered and an attempt was made to treat London outside the city as an administrative unit by the formation of a central body exercising jurisdiction over the whole metropolis, composed partly of nominees of the government and partly of persons elected by the Vestries and known as the Metropolitan Board of Works.

In 1866 a public health act was passed giving local authorities power to fix the number of inhabitants to each house, to register and inspect lodging-houses, to have them cleansed and to make sanitary by-laws. As regards this last power it was a privilege which in many quarters was by no means received with favor; indeed in Ireland some twenty years later only three towns had availed themselves of this provision. The year 1866 was also remarkable for bringing Mr. Torrens to the front as a "housing" reformer. In that year he introduced one of the acts known by his name, which on the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone was referred to a select committee, and became law in 1868. This act dealt with the demolition and construction of single houses, or small groups of houses, and unlike Lord Shaftesbury's act, applied not only to populous places, but all over the country.

Torrens' Act, however, even as amended in 1879, was seldom put in force. In London the Vestries were entrusted with its administration, but the London vestryman is not, as a rule, keen

in matters of sanitary reform, and it must be admitted that the gloomy doubts which oppressed vestrymen as to the policy of enforcing the act were not altogether without justification. The principle on which the act proceeded was that of buying out slum landlords on extravagant terms. This was a costly process, and on that account objectionable. But there was another objection behind, of a much more serious character. It was argued with great force that to buy up slum property at a fancy price was to encourage the manufacture of slums by enterprising and unscrupulous landlords, who would hasten to invest the money received from the ratepayer for the privilege of demolishing one slum in the purchase of another property which, by suitable treatment, might become equally objectionable and yield a similar profit.

In 1875 the sanitary law was consolidated and amended except as regards London, which was still left under the act of 1866, and Lord Cross (then Sir Richard) passed the first of a series of enactments relating to the housing question which bear his name. Lord Cross's acts differ from the acts passed by Mr. Torrens in that the former deal with large, and the latter with small, areas, and in Cross's acts the authority to put them in motion was the Metropolitan Board of Works and not the Vestries; but they both were subject to the same error of giving compensation on a far too liberal scale to slum landlords. Parliament was not satisfied, and in 1881 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the working of the housing acts.

In the following year the labors of that committee resulted in the passing of yet another act—the Artisans' Dwellings Act—reducing the scale of compensation to slum owners, and in 1883 the Local Government Board bestirred itself and issued an elaborate circular dealing with sanitation. It should be mentioned that several of the housing acts authorized loans of public money on more or less favorable terms for the construction of workmen's dwellings.

But all this activity in the Legislature and in government departments did not satisfy public opinion. The press took up the question. Mr. Chamberlain in the *Fortnightly* made a valuable suggestion that was doubtless read with interest by those "who toil not neither do they spin." "The expense," he wrote, "of

making the towns habitable for the toilers who dwell therein must be thrown on the land which their toil makes valuable, and that without any effort on the part of the owners."

Public opinion, already in a restless and excited condition, was roused to enthusiasm by the appearance of a pamphlet bearing an attractive title, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." Slumming was as fashionable a pastime as cycling is now, and not nearly as dangerous. Something, it was clear, had to be done, not because the evil was spreading, for competent observers were agreed that both overcrowding and bad sanitation were steadily on the decline, but because public opinion had outstripped the leisurely pace of the Legislature and the sanitary authorities. So Lord Salisbury moved for the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, and in March, 1884, Sir William Harcourt, as Home Secretary, nominated a very strong commission, of which the Prince of Wales was a working member.

This commission took a great deal of evidence as to the extent and nature of the evils to be remedied, especially in London, evidence which is worthy of attention not only as furnishing a strong case for further legislative effort, but as affording an authoritative basis of comparison between the London of 1851 and of 1884.

Bad as matters still were, the worst horrors depicted by Lord Shaftesbury had disappeared. We no longer hear of a hundred men sleeping in a room containing air space sufficient only for three. We no longer read of men, women, and children huddled together like herrings in a barrel, and children with the smallpox were not any longer condemned to take their chance and propagate their malady in these filthy and crowded stews. But still families of seven, eight, and nine persons, some of whom were adults, were found in occupation of small, dark, and damp rooms, and where grown-up sons and daughters slept in the same room, lodgers would sometimes be taken in. It was found that some houses, decent in front, had no washhouses, no backyards, and no back ventilation. In houses let out into many tenements the street door was always kept open to suit the convenience of the crowd of inmates, a circumstance abundantly taken advantage of by tramps with no habitation, who fill up the passages and staircases rather than pay fourpence for a bed at a common lodging-house,

or "doss-house" as they call it. Such intruders esteem themselves in luck to get shelter for nothing, and are known as "'Appy Dossers."

The value attached by the poor, and even by those who are not in the depths of poverty, to decent surroundings in family life is a very variable quantity. Decent lodging is not by any means universally regarded as one of the prime necessaries of life. Occasionally it is relegated to quite a back seat.

An instance was given before the Commission of a family of seven persons—father, mother, two grown-up sons, and three grown-up daughters—all living in one room. With them this arrangement was a matter of choice, not necessity, for they earned between them about £7 a week—more than £350 a year—and even from a slum landlord they could no doubt have afforded to rent another room or two. Having screwed down the item of rent to an irreducible minimum, they determined to have a thoroughly good time, and this is how the witness describes their proceedings: "In the evening they would all go out to the music halls, and to the theatres. On Saturday afternoon they would take five tickets each for some omnibus or conveyance that was going into the country, and on Sunday they would go to Brighton and to other places." It is comforting to reflect that these Arcadian beings were such a united family, and always took their pleasure together as well as their naps. It is not stated whether they took in lodgers.

If the poor were not always duly impressed with the necessity of avoiding foul and overcrowded lodgings, it was equally certain that in many cases the London Vestries, and indeed other sanitary authorities throughout the kingdom, took their duties easily. It was by no means universally acknowledged that to perform the work of an inspector necessitated any expert training, common sense being, as one witness put it, quite sufficient; and we find that a man who had been "something in the jewelery trade" was considered competent to inspect drains and report upon dangerous structures. The Commission, moreover, noted with misgiving that house farmers preponderated on certain committees of certain vestries, and recommended that the administration of Lord Shaftesbury's act and of Torrens' acts should be transferred from the Vestries to the Metropolitan Board of Works—the then central authority for London. This transfer was duly effected by

the Legislature, and on the establishment in 1889 of the London County Council—that Frankenstein of the Conservative party which revealed in Conservative London an unsuspected vein of municipal radicalism—the representatives of the people presided over by Lord Rosebery took the housing question zealously in hand in all its branches.

Their efforts were immensely strengthened by the passing in 1891 of a Public Health Act for London, enabling them in default of the Vestries to execute themselves the necessary work of sanitation. Under the powers of that act and other recent legislation, particularly the Housing Act of 1890, they have cleared out and are now rebuilding a vast and unhealthy slum of 15 acres in the heart of the east end, and many other slums are being dealt with in like drastic fashion. They have built many blocks of workmen's dwellings, their model lodging house at 6d. a night is very popular, and having acquired from the government the site of Millbank prison, they are laying out part of it for workmen's dwellings.

It is disappointing to find that these operations have for the most part resulted in a considerable loss to the ratepayer. The clearing out of slums owing to the unsatisfactory state of the law, and the much more unsatisfactory state of the practice, as to compensation to owners of the property, cannot be otherwise than an expensive matter. Mr. Chamberlain complained that in Birmingham the cost of acquiring property running into millions was 70 per cent. above its market value. He considered it was the practice rather than the law that was at fault, and, indeed, it seemed impossible to persuade arbitrators not to give extravagant compensation. Lately, however, the principle of "betterment," so well known in the United States, has been sanctioned by the Legislature, and will do something to lessen the cost of doing away with slums and effecting improvements of every kind.

The Royal Commission gave some useful leads. They suggested that the slum landlord, instead of being bought out, should be kept up to his duty, that arbitrators should be prohibited from following their usual practice of assessing compensation on the increased value a property would derive from a proposed improvement, and that only such interests as an improvement necessarily interfered with need be bought up.

With these views the Legislature has had no difficulty in agreeing, but slum-clearing remains an expensive process, and the London County Council cannot be excused of waste or extravagance on that score.

As regards the erection of lodging houses and dwellings for the poor, the case is different. Lord Rowton has built two model lodging houses in no way inferior to that of the County Council, and the nightly charge is the same. The first built of the two is a commercial success, and the other bids fair to be. But the Council's lodging house is conducted at a loss to the ratepayer.

Again, there are several Artisans' Dwellings Companies that are doing business on a firm commercial basis; but most of the Council's dwellings are carried on at a loss. Councillors are, however, quite alive both to the unfairness of saddling poor ratepayers with a portion of the cost of lodging persons, some of whom are no poorer than themselves, and also to the danger of interfering with private dwelling building enterprise by rate subsidized dwellings, and, taught by the light of experience, they are narrowly scanning the cost before proceeding to commit themselves to any further schemes.

The Royal Commission made several recommendations with the object of enabling artisans' dwellings to be erected at the least possible cost. Trustees and limited owners were to be allowed to sell land for housing purposes under the market value, and it was suggested that the owners of sites of disused prisons, in some cases county justices, and in some cases the government, should be encouraged to do likewise. So far the Legislature endorsed the views of the Commission, and the powers given have been acted upon; but another and far-reaching recommendation as to the rating of vacant land has been up to the present completely shelved.

The law of rating places an artificial impediment in the way of building in large towns by decreeing that land till it is built upon shall only pay rates on its agricultural value, so that a landowner may occupy a large and very valuable plot of building land as a pleasure ground and pay hardly any rates upon it. Thus, at a small expense, a great deal of land may be kept out of the building market. The Commission recommended the adoption of the American system of assessment on capital value, consider-

ing that under that system there would be a free market in building sites, which would tend to the reduction of rent.

The difficulty of rehousing during the progress of improvement schemes, having regard to the great convenience, indeed, in some cases, the necessity of living near to one's work, was present to the Commission, which urged the importance of making rebuilding as far as possible simultaneous with the process of demolition.

Here the factor of cheap and speedy locomotion comes in and the service of trains and trams suitable to the pocket and needs of workingmen is a question that an extended suffrage has brought very much to the front, and bids fair to exercise a considerable influence on the housing problem.

How that problem will ultimately be solved it is impossible to forecast with any confidence. This much however is certain—that the evils of overcrowding and bad sanitation are steadily diminishing, and will continue to diminish. The Peabody & Guinness Trusts are and have been dealing on a large scale with the housing of the poor. Their efforts are being supplemented by those of numerous public companies, some of which have imposed upon themselves a maximum limit to their dividend of 4 or 5 per cent. Local authorities are making experiments in the same direction, and it has even been proposed, perhaps with doubtful wisdom, to increase the powers of those authorities by enabling them not only, as they can do at present, to erect workmen's dwellings, but also to take upon themselves the functions of building societies, and lend money to artisans to buy their own houses.

Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the general outlook is that the standard of living of the working classes is being raised. Lord Rowton, an expert and enthusiast on workingmen's dwellings, and one of the prime movers in the administration of the Guinness Trust, finds that the demand for single-room tenements is decreasing, and that new buildings will have to be erected on more commodious lines than the old.

Many causes have no doubt contributed to this result. The crowded parts of London have now been thoroughly explored not only by the medical officer and the sanitary inspector, but by an army of philanthropists who live near the poor at Toynbee Hall and Oxford House and elsewhere; by missions started, maintained,

and begged for by the clergy of all denominations, and by nurses and sisters whose devotion to their calling is beyond all praise.

Public opinion would seem to be tending in the direction of socialism. The individualism taught by Mr. Herbert Spencer is for practical purposes as extinct as the old high Tory. Possibly some day the local authorities or the state may undertake the housing of the poor to the exclusion of every other agency. Rent for these habitations may be light, or perhaps there may be none at all. In principle there is no very enormous difference between free education and free lodging. If for the general benefit we insist on people living decently against their will, they may urge that the expense should be borne by the community for whose convenience they are reluctantly compelled to turn out of their single tenements. This may or may not be the ultimate drift of public opinion. The realization of extreme socialistic views may or may not tend to the general good. These are debatable propositions. There is, however, one socialistic delusion for which no pretence of justification can be alleged. Socialists are constantly asserting that they worship at the shrine of Liberty. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose that socialism and liberty are congenial or even possible companions. Socialism can only be enforced under a cast-iron system of despotism crushing out individual predilections in a manner repugnant to every sentiment of liberty. The advantages of socialism may outweigh the despotic terrors by which the promulgation of its edicts must in the nature of things be accompanied, but in estimating those advantages, do not let us forget the price at which they are to be bought. The great Goddess of Liberty has indeed good reason to complain, not only, as Madame Roland said on the scaffold, of the crimes that are committed in her name, but of the ignorance and impudence of even well-intentioned worshippers in her temple.

MONKSWELL.

COMMERCIAL TREND OF CHINA.

BY THOMAS R. JERNIGAN, UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL TO CHINA.

THE recently published statement of the Statistical Secretary of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs that the foreign trade of China for 1896 is more valuable than that of any other year in the history of the Empire will give earnestness to the attention that follows commercial movements in Asian lands. Fortunately for the world, the interest of business is subordinating political ambition, and the influence which goes out from business centres is now the most potent factor in directing the course of history. China is to-day the great undeveloped country of the world, and the trend of her commerce cannot fail to invite the careful study of business men.

The total value of the foreign trade of China for 1896 was $270,273,846.00, an increase of $15,066,000.00 over the preceding year. This increase is more significant when considered in connection with the fact that there was a decline in exports of $9,882,000.00, which shows that, moved by the agencies of Western civilization, China, by increased importations, is awakening to an appreciation of that civilization. The margin of gain again appears in the revenue derived from the customs, being for 1896 $966,330.00 more than for 1895—another significant fact, when it is remembered that in previous years there were the collections from the two Formosan ports to be added, which aggregated annually about $810,000.00. To place before the business mar the infallible evidences of China's commercial trend, the following table has been carefully compiled from the latest customs returns. The years 1889 and 1896 have been selected, in the belief that the interval is sufficient to exempt re-

sults from ephemeral market influences, and that the results shown will prove substantially accurate indications of that trend.

Country.	Imports.			Exports.		
	1889.	1896.	Per cent. increase.	1889.	1896.	Per cent. increase.
	U. S.	U. S.		U. S.	U. S.	
U. S. of America.	$3,082,587	$9,663,180	213.4	$5,738,138	$9,010,115	56 9
Great Britain...	17,145,559	36,102,823	110.5	12,682,094	9,138,459	27.9 decrease
Hong Kong	51,330,575	73,998,789	44.	28,501,181	43,782,978	53.6
India	6,404,329	18,651,915	191.	882,871	1,762,445	99.6
Singapore and Straits .	1,518,061	2,624,218	72.8	1,042,527	1,408,232	35.
Europe, except Russia	1.786,850	7,639,907	327.5	14,202,302	14.642,801	3.
Russia, *via* sea	474,798	1,646,232	246.7	2,291,183	3,455,314	50.8
Russia and Siberia *via* Kiakta.....	....	2,728	...	3,208,904	6,735,597	109 9
Rus. Manchuria.	145,799	156,633	7.4	404,263	1,883,429	365.9
Japan.....	5,347,484	14,085,999	163.4	5,239,914	9,216,871	75.8
Macao ...	3,058,022	3,227,429	5.5	1,249,069	1,800,634	44.
Cochin China, Tonkin and Annam.....	133,661	809,885	505 9	50,046	333,761	566 9
Siam.....	45,485	157,342	245.9	287,445	434,075	51.
Korea.....	97,556	373,889	283.	162,077	387,541	139.
All other countries	U. S. $1,170,562	U. S. $2,647,882	126.	U. S. $2,585,723	U. S. $2,571,234	00.5 decrease
Total.....	U. S. $91.741,328	U. S. $171,788,851	87.	U. S $78,527,737	U. S. $106,563,486	35.7

A gratifying exhibit of the above table is that the trade relations between the United States and China were never so great in value as in 1896, that never in any year has China imported so largely from the United States. The highest rate of increase is seen in the trade with the new French Province on the southwestern border of China, and this is true both in imports and exports. In exports Russian Manchuria comes next and Russia in Siberia third.

The impetus given to the trade with Russia, since the close of the Japan-China war, is doubtless due to the substantial service rendered to China by Russia at that time, and the Russian Minister at Pekin has not allowed China to forget the obligation. A Minister less fertile in resources and diplomatic ability might have succeeded in giving a favorable direction to this trade, but Count Cassini has not only given such a direction, but he has laid deep the foundation for its expansion and opened the long-desired way for Russia to the Pacific Ocean, one of the greatest

diplomatic achievements of the nineteenth century, as it pours sunlight into regions which have been heretofore inaccessible to even the faint rays of a higher civilization.

Next to Cochin China and Tonkin the highest percentage of gain in imports is by the continent of Europe, not including Russia. This is due to the expansion of German trade. The Germans are energetic in their efforts to foster and extend their commerce with China and are using every means to that end. There arrived at Canton, during the month of April, a commission appointed by the German government instructed to study carefully the needs of China and the best methods of advancing the interests of German merchants in that country. And for some time there has been in China a commission for a similar purpose, under the auspices of the British government, amply supplied with all necessary means for studying China from every business standpoint.

Such are some of the efforts of European nations to enlarge their trade relations, and all in addition to their powerful banking corporations and trade journals established and in successful operation in China.

These facts should not pass unconsidered by the business men of the United States. They should not be content to learn from others. It would materially conduce to their interest if they would have an organized commission to view the whole field of China's present and future commercial capacity and thus qualify themselves to utilize all developments on tradal lines. A commission sent to a principal business port of Asia for a few weeks only cannot qualify itself to write intelligently on the trade of Asia. The customs, the habits, the prejudices of the Asiatic races, are primary lessons to be learned before judicious calculations can be made for business ventures, and time and study are required to master such lessons.

Returning to the table, the basis of this paper, there is proof of the strength of Asiatic commerce in the rapidly developing trade of Korea; for, although that unfortunate country continues to be the prey of political factions and the subject of diplomatic experiments, the imports for 1896 were the most valuable on record, though the exports were not so large as in 1894. There is now being built a railroad from the capital of Korea to Chemulpo, the principal seaport town; and the spirit of enter-

prise is abroad in that kingdom, which means an expansion of commercial relations.

The lion's share of China's trade still belongs to Great Britain. The decline in exports to Great Britain, which began in 1880, is doubtless due to the activity of Indian industries, which each year supply a larger proportion of the staple that China had hitherto supplied. A decline in exports is also seen in the returns for Australia and New Zealand. While apparently 70 per cent. of the entire foreign trade of China is credited to Great Britain, however, it should be noted that more than one-half must be credited to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, and when the trade which should be credited to Hong Kong is closely analyzed, it will be found that it is not all British. Hong Kong is a distributing port. All that enters China from that colony has come originally from Europe, America, Australia, or India; and most of the exports through that port go on to other parts of the world. The figures do not, therefore, clearly show the state of the trade. In the case of the United States, for example, a considerable value of the imports into China has been credited to Hong Kong, and this because the steamships of the Pacific Mail and the Occidental and Oriental lines from San Francisco called, until November last, at no other port in China. Their cargoes were landed at Hong Kong, whence they were transshipped to China. To name but one item of the cargoes, there was flour to the value of $1,219,579 imported into China, mostly if not all from the United States, in 1896, and yet it came into China chiefly through Hong Kong. Now, however, that the steamships named have made Shanghai a port of call, the vagueness in the returns can in a measure be corrected; though, as the trade of Southern China still passes through Hong Kong it will be difficult to make the returns accurate.

A careful examination of the Statistical Secretary's statement discloses the fact that, while there has been a decided increase in imports from Western countries, it is only with Asiatic countries that Chinese export trade is growing. The percentage of increase in the imports of Asiatic countries from 1889 to 1896 was 60.3 per cent., and from other countries it was 143.6 per cent., while the percentage of increase in the exports of Asiatic countries was 65.6 per cent., and in other countries it was only 1.7 per cent. In this connection the observation with reference to the trade of

Hong Kong should be considered in addition to the fact that the cession of Formosa to Japan affects the aggregate of China's foreign trade as compared with the returns of previons years. Whereas, the direct foreign shipments from Formosa in 1894 amounted to $1,012,500, and the imports from foreign countries into Formosa, the same year, to more than $2,673,000, the exports to the island in 1896 were valued at $539,500, and the imports at the large sum of $4,715,400. And these sums have much to do with the handsome increase of 163.4 per cent. in imports from Japan, and that of 75.8 per cent. in exports to the same country.

The responsibility for the material reduction in the value of exports, already indicated, is charged to the staple articles of tea, silk, and cottons. In the staple of raw cotton, the export of which decreased from 896,000 piculs* in 1895 to 418,000 in 1896, the fall is explained by the local demand for the product of the new cotton mills erected at Shanghai and the neighboring cities, which has advanced the price and made shipments unprofitable. The condition of the silk market, in which there was a falling off of 22,200 piculs, is accounted for by a bad crop, reduced consumption abroad and a partly successful attempt of Chinese dealers to "corner the market." In the one item of black tea there was a decrease of 211,500 piculs, due in a measure to the loss of Formosa shipments and the diminished production. But the noticeable decline of late in the tea trade of China has excited real uneasiness among tea growers and merchants, and to counteract the tendency a Tea Improvement Company has been organized at Foochow to improve, by the aid of the latest machinery and skilful supervision, the preparation of tea, raising the quality with the hope of recovering all lost ground. The ambition of British trade is to sell and not to buy, and under the influence of this laudable ambition the extensive tea farms of India are receiving the fostering care of Britishers. It cannot be disguised, however, that there has been a steadily increasing shipment of China tea to India. In 1887 there were 2,106,600 pounds shipped from China to India; in 1894, 4,333,300 pounds; and in 1896, 6,226,600 pounds. This may be like shipping coal to Newcastle, but the fact remains that China teas, particularly the green, better suit the taste of Asiatic consumers.

*Picul=133 pounds.

The increased value of imports for 1896 over 1895 was mainly contributed to by cotton and woollen goods, metals and kerosene oil. The demand for woollens, however, is not a steady demand, and the annual value of imported woollens during the past ten years has greatly fluctuated, varying from a minimum of $2,430,000 to a maximum of $4,536,000. In 1886 cotton goods constituted 33 per cent. of the total value of all imports; in 1896 the value was 39 per cent., more than keeping pace with the growth of trade. It is again pleasing to note that this prosperity in cotton goods is cardinally due to the superior grade of American cottons, which by virtue of such superiority command and hold a position in the markets of China which is strengthened by the test of durability. In 1888 there were 496,096 pieces of American drills imported, valued at $1,007,796; in 1896, 1,226,759 pieces, valued at $2,860,396. In 1888 there were of American sheetings 1,557,830 pieces, valued at $3,154,659; in 1896, 2,257,600 pieces, valued at $5,400,559. And in 1888 there were only 8,412 pieces of American jeans imported, valued at $12,638, while in 1896 the number of pieces aggregated 52,840, valued at $95,664. The three totals for 1896 amount to 71 per cent. of the value of all cottons of these classes imported during that year. While there has been, on the whole, a steady improvement in the demand for metals, it has not kept pace with the general improvement of trade. In 1886 metals constituted six per cent. of the total imports, and in 1896 it was only four per cent. American kerosene oil still leads the market, but has yielded somewhat to Russian and Dutch competition. Other items in which there has been considerable expansion are these :

Articles.	1888.	1895.	1896.
	U. S.	U. S.	U. S.
Candles	.....	$73,213	$127,880
Dyes, aniline	$753,879	696,181	1,252,341
Flour	462,134	1,187,375	1,219,579
Window glass	163,408	167,402	281,984
Machinery	301,960	1,932,016	1,672,197
Matches	882,772	1,550,738	1,700,684
Needles	242,300	234,686	512,957
Soap	120,037	288,788	421,138
Timber	760,190	991,939	957,820
Cigars and cigarettes	.....	226,214	324,663

It is estimated that a million pounds of English candles were

imported into China in 1895, and the imports from Holland and France would probably aggregate another million. This article is steadly growing in favor with the Chinese.

If these figures enable the business man to form an intelligent opinion as to the direction in which the volume of China's trade is moving, the purpose of this paper will have been accomplished. It is believed that the figures which show that the importation of cotton goods from the United States is annually increasing in value also attest that every advance in civilization by China will open new markets for such goods. So long as the grade of cotton produced in China remains inferior, every agency of Western civilization at work in the Empire will be an agency for furthering the sale of the goods manufactured from the superior grade of American cotton. This logical conclusion Japanese mills have recognized by increasing their importation of American raw cotton in order to drive out the Western competition and supply the demand now supplied by Western mills. It is in this way that the manufacturers of Japan propose first to neutralize and finally achieve a victory over Western competition. They do not hope to become rivals in Western markets, but they are ambitious of conquering all rivals in Asiatic markets. The conservatism of China has thus far blinded her to the advantages of a favorable soil and climatic influences in the production of a grade of cotton far superior to that now produced; but their conservatism will sooner or later give way before more enlarged and enlightened business connections; and then it may be demonstrated that in China a grade of cotton can be produced equal to that which whitens the Mississippi bottoms or the uplands of Texas. Upon the solution of this problem depends the extent of the demand of Asiatic markets for the production of Western mills.

THOMAS R. JERNIGAN.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE LIBERATION OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE independence of the United States, proclaimed in 1776, recognized by England in the treaty signed at Paris on September 3d, 1783, and based really on economic reasons, and, still more, the recognition of that independence by Spain, principally on account of her hostility to England, and at the suggestion of her ally, France, at that time waging war upon England, could not fail to produce a very great impression in the Spanish colonies of America. These events showed the native Americans that the European colonies of this continent had the right, recognized by Spain, to sever their connection with the mother country, not only for political but for economic reasons. It was for that consideration that the Count de Aranda, a very able Spanish statesman, advised Charles III., immediately upon the recognition of the United States by Spain, in a treaty signed in Paris in 1783, to establish among the Spanish possessions in America three great empires—Mexico, Peru, and a third on the Spanish Main, or in New Granada, Venezuela, etc., under the rule of three members of the Spanish royal family. He proposed that the King should assume the title of Emperor, that the new sovereigns should intermarry into the Spanish royal family, and that each of them should pay an annual tribute into the Spanish treasury. Although this scheme might have proved difficult of realization, and might have undergone radical changes, the final result would certainly have been less disastrous to Spain than the complete emancipation of her American colonies.

The French revolution, which was to a certain extent the result of American independence, must have had a great influence

also on the minds of the native Americans, since it was a very serious blow to the theory of divine right by which it was then supposed in the Western World that nations were governed, as well as a recognition of the natural rights of the people; and this notwithstanding that the discreditable and sanguinary deeds of that revolution, and especially its acts of hostility to the Catholic religion, were represented by the Spanish authorities to the American colonists as being the acts of frenzied men, inspired by the worst passions, and as illustrating the excesses to which the people were liable when unrestrained by their legitimate rulers. The fact that the Bourbons were not restored to power, but that the French revolution took a conservative turn and was finally succeeded by the Empire of the First Napoleon, who ruled, not by divine right, but as the choice of the people for the benefit of the people, was the final blow to the principles on which the rule of the Spanish monarchy in America was based.

European Conspiracy to Accomplish Independence.—I have no information that would lead me to believe that the Mexicans who favored the independence of their country had organized, for the promotion of their cause, any secret society or political revolutionary centre, either in Mexico or in Europe, before our independence was proclaimed. From a revolutionary manifesto * signed in Paris on the 22d of December, 1797, by Don José del Poso y Sucre, Don Manuel José de Salas and Don Francisco de Miranda, who called themselves "delegates from the Junta of Deputies from the Provinces and the people of South America, which convened at Madrid, Spain, on October 8, 1797, to settle upon the best means of effecting the independence of the American colonies of Spain," it appears that prominent men from South America had been endeavoring since 1782 to establish independence. To aid in attaining that object, the alliance of England, at that time at war with France, was recommended. They entered into several negotiations with England to that end, especially one initiated in London in 1790, with the British Premier, as a consequence of the conference held at Holliwood, which, it was stated, had been approved by the South American provinces, for the purpose of obtaining from Great Britain a naval

* This paper was published in 1815, by ex-President John Adams, in the *Boston Advertiser*, with a letter addressed to the editor, Mr. Lloyd, in defence of his course in that incident and reproduced in Spanish by Señor Don Ricardo Becerra, in the first volume of his book, *Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda*, published in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1896.

force not exceeding 20 warships, 8,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry, the provinces promising to pay to England a pecuniary indemnity which the *Edinburgh Review* stated was to be 30,000,000 pounds sterling, after their independence was accomplished, and to grant her besides certain commercial advantages.

In that manifesto it was suggested that the United States of America should be invited to make a treaty of friendship and alliance with South America, "on the bases that the possession of the two Floridas and of Louisiana should be guaranteed to the United States, so as make the Mississippi the boundary between the two great nations, and that to the United States and Great Britain should be given all the islands of the American Archipelago, except Cuba, the Key of the Gulf of Mexico." In return for these advantages it was proposed that the United States should furnish to South America an army of 5,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.

That document entrusted the leadership of the scheme, and the military operations necessary to carry it out, as well as the negotiations with England and the United States, to General Don Francisco de Miranda, a native of Caracas, educated in Europe, who had served in the Spanish army up to 1785, and in the French Republic under the orders of General Dumouriez in 1793. He had been tried for treason and acquitted. He visited Russia during the reign of the Empress Catherine, and was the real head and centre of the conspiracy prepared in Europe to emancipate the American colonies of Spain. General Miranda believed that he had secured the assistance of the British government, and it appears that he had some promises of assistance from Pitt, then the British Premier, which, however, were never carried out.

It seemed natural to suppose that, while Great Britain was waging war against Spain in 1798, the British government would have been not only willing, but even anxious, to divert her attention by assisting the insurrection of her colonies. That was not exactly the case, however, because England expected that Spain would sever her alliance with France and so aid England in her war against the French revolutionary government. With that object, England sent an agent to Madrid to give assurances to the Spanish government that she would not assist in the colonial insurrection if Spain gave up her alliance with France. At the same

time instructions were sent to the English authorities in the Island of Trinidad to assist in the South American insurrection and to prepare an expedition for that purpose, as Mr. Rufus King, the United States Minister in London, communicated to Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State, in a dispatch dated on February 26, 1798. Had England assisted directly in securing the independence of the Spanish colonies, that would have defeated her purpose of obtaining the support of Spain in her war against the French government. This was especially the case after Napoleon obtained the ascendancy in France, and more so after the events of 1808, culminating in the treaty of Bayonne. When the Spanish nation rose against the French troops which occupied its territory, England naturally was not disposed to embarrass Spain, whom she considered and at length found to be a very valuable ally against Napoleon, and therefore all the efforts of Miranda and of the leaders of the insurrection in America to obtain material assistance from England were unavailing.

Although the document above referred to seems to be restricted to South America, Central America is also mentioned in connection with a promise "to open to trade the Isthmuses of Nicaragua and Panama"; and incidentally Mexico is also mentioned in a statement that "the deputies of the viceroyalties of Mexico, Santa Fé, Lima, and Rio de la Plata, and of the Provinces of Caracas, Quito, Chile, etc., assembled in a legislative body, should decide definitively about the commercial advantages to be granted to England and the allies of South America." It is probable, however, that this reference to Mexico was made on the supposition that Mexico, by reason of similarity of race, language, and institutions, would follow the lead of South America. I have no knowledge of any Mexican having taken part in the conference.

It was further stated in that document that "Don José del Poso y Sucre and Don Manuel José de Salas should set out at once for Madrid to report to the Junta the result of their mission to Paris, carrying with them a copy of the same, and that as soon as this was done the Junta should adjourn and its members should go immediately to the American continent to promote simultaneously insurrections in all the towns of South America, to take place as soon as the assistance furnished by the allies should appear." A copy of that paper was given to General

Miranda, as his credentials, to represent the Junta before the British and American governments.

Mr. King in his dispatch to Mr. Pickering already referred to, reported that he had met in London several Jesuits of South America, from whom he learned that they were working for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America. They had lived for many years in London in the service and under the pay of the British government, and they had shown Mr. King the papers that they had prepared for presentation to the British government. From a letter addressed by ex-President Adams on March 6, 1815, to Mr. Lloyd, editor of the *Morning Advertiser* of Boston, explaining his conduct while President of the United States in connection with the efforts of Miranda to obtain the assistance of the United States to emancipate the American colonies of Spain, it appears that Don José del Poso y Sucre and Don Manuel José de Salas, who signed the document in conjunction with General Miranda, were Jesuits, probably of the number mentioned by Mr. King; and to the fact, Mr. Adams intimated, that the immediate predecessor of Charles IV., who was at the time (1798) King of Spain, had expelled the Jesuits from his American dominions, was due their action in the matter, they being influenced by a desire to take revenge on the Spanish monarch. There is no doubt that Pitt had detained in London some Spanish Jesuits who took a very active part in the conspiracy to promote the insurrection and who wrote several manifestoes and inflammatory documents which were to be distributed in the American colonies.

Expedition of General Miranda to Venezuela in 1806.—General Miranda sent to the United States in November, 1798, his friend and co-worker, Señor Caro, for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of this government. It appears that the scheme had the good will of Alexander Hamilton, who was at the time organizing a military force to be used in case of war with France, and that it also had the sympathy of Aaron Burr. President Adams, however, following a conservative policy, and having due regard to the neutrality laws, did not embark in the adventure, and did not receive Señor Caro. In November, 1805, General Miranda came to the United States and was received both by President Jefferson and by Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State. He organized in New York an expedition of about two

hundred men, which left that port on February 3, 1806, on the ship "Leander" for Jaquemel in the Island of Hayti, where he was joined by two transports, the "Bacchus" and the "Abeja." Mr. William S. Smith, Jr., a grandson of ex-President John Adams, and a son of Colonel William S. Smith, surveyor of the Port of New York, went in that expedition as aid to General Miranda. In consequence of that, Colonel Smith had to resign and he was indicted, and a noisy trial followed in which he was acquitted.

Miranda reached the coast of Venezuela, at Ocumare, but there he lost his two transports, which were captured by the Spaniards together with sixty-seven men, ten of whom were hanged at Puerto Cabello, the remaining fifty-seven being sent to the military prison of San Felipe el Real, in Cartagena.

Miranda met in the Island of Barbadoes, Sir Alexander Cochran, Admiral of the British Navy, who addressed him a letter dated June 6, 1806, on board his flagship, the "Northumberland," in which he stated that Miranda's plan to achieve the independence of South America was advantageous to British interests, and agreed to assist in landing Miranda's forces on the coast of Venezuela, and to provide him with three small vessels and probably one frigate, and to defend Miranda's ships against any attacks from the Spanish naval forces. In exchange for his assistance he demanded certain commercial advantages to be granted when independence should be achieved. Miranda left Grenada escorted by the English man-of-war "Lily," the brig "Empress" and the merchant schooner "Trimmer." In Trinidad he had been reinforced, his army consisting of about four hundred men and he landed at Coro. But nobody joined him, all the natives having fled to the interior on his arrival, and he was forced to leave the mainland and to return to the Antilles.

In 1811, Miranda went again to Venezuela and succeeded in organizing a force with which he began the war, but he was obliged to surrender, and was sent to a Spanish prison in Cadiz, where he died in 1816, without seeing his country's independence accomplished. But he had been the forerunner of Bolivar.

Beginning of Mexican Independence.—The causes which, in my opinion, did more than anything else to precipitate the independence of the American colonies were the disgraceful dissensions of the Spanish royal family in 1808 at Aranjuez and their subservience to Napoleon, which culminated in their

abdication in favor of the Emperor. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Bayonne, which transferred to the French Emperor all the rights and titles of Charles IV. to the throne of Spain and the Indies, including the American colonies. The Spanish people strenuously resisted the French invasion and established Juntas in Spain and the colonies to rule the country in the name of Ferdinand VII., the heir of the King, whom Bonaparte had compelled to abdicate. It was in this manner that the native Americans acquired for the first time some control of their own affairs and began to realize that they could take care of themselves. Although the principal Spanish Junta, which met at Cadiz, called representatives to the Cortes from the Spanish colonies, the representation of the latter was very meagre, and that step, instead of satisfying the colonists, only demonstrated to them that the Spaniards were determined not to allow them self government. Thus the idea of independence gradually gained ground all over the American continent.

That such was the case is shown by the remarkable coincidence that the insurrections in all the American colonies of Spain took place within the same year and almost at the same moment, and, I think, without any previous accord among them. The distances were so great and the means of communication so scanty, slow, and difficult, that news of the outbreak of an insurrection in one colony could not have been received in the others for several months, in some cases not for a year or more, after it had occurred.

This fact shows, in my opinion, that the colonies were ripe for independence, and that a condition of things had been reached which made independence a necessity that could not be postponed or smothered. Although there had been several attempts at independence in the American colonies of Spain before the year 1810, especially the one at Chuquisaca, now Sucre, in Bolivia, on May 25, 1809, independence was not proclaimed until the following year, on May 25 in Buenos Ayres, July 20 in Bogotá, and in September in Mexico and all the other colonies.

It is possible that the Mexican patriots had heard of the several attempts made in the other Spanish colonies to proclaim independence, but I have no doubt that no real importance was attached to such news, and that it had no influence upon their conduct. In Mexico the Viceroy Iturrigaray began to organize

in 1808, after the Treaty of Bayonne, an army for the purpose of defending the colony against the French. The Spanish residents became jealous of the Viceroy, deposed him and sent him back to Spain, appointing another Viceroy in his place. That, naturally, destroyed the respect which the Mexican people had for the representative of the Spanish King, and showed them that force, when successful, was justifiable and could accomplish great things. The way was thus prepared for a series of military revolutions which continued to break out for about sixty years.

The South American leaders, if we are to judge by the opinions expressed in the document above referred to, and more especially General Miranda, who had undoubtedly military talent and was a distinguished soldier and an enthusiast in the cause of independence, were of opinion that independence could not be achieved with native resources only, and that it required as an indispensable element the armed assistance of foreign nations, although they never succeeded in obtaining any. The views of the Mexican leaders were altogether different. They never dreamed of any foreign assistance, and they relied entirely upon the strength and resources of their own country. It is true that Hidalgo, soon after he proclaimed independence, and while he was retreating toward the north, sent a representative to the United States, but I do not think he had any idea of asking for material assistance, and desired only to obtain the good will of a neighboring country in the contingency that, in the course of his military operations, he should reach its frontiers.

The United States did not Assist the Independence Cause.— The United States government did not render either material or moral assistance to the cause of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies. At various times they sent commissioners to examine into the condition of those countries, especially to Buenos Ayres, as I will presently state more in detail; but, being at peace with Spain, they considered that it would be a breach of neutrality to aid the movement for establishing independence in her colonies. They did not recognize the independence of the colonies until several years after it had been fully accomplished. Mexico, for instance, established her independence in 1821, but the United States did not recognize Mexico as an independent nation until 1824, though she was a neighboring country.

Mr. Lyman, in his book, *Diplomacy of the United States*, says that "these revolutionary struggles did not awaken any great general interest in our citizens." "Our government," he adds, "was left free and unembarrassed to pursue its steady course of good faith and exact neutrality toward Spain, and of justice and policy towards the colonies." He further says: "Neither the vicinity of some portions of their respective territories, nor the circumstance of being members of the same continent, nor the benefit to be derived from commercial relations, nor the similarity of their struggles for independence, appears in the least to have influenced the definite arrangements of this government. On the contrary, the business was conducted with the utmost caution and circumspection, and nothing was done to give offence to Spain, or awaken in other nations the slightest suspicion of the loyalty with which this country was determined to adhere to its system of neutrality."

Mr. Lyman concludes by saying that the United States was the first country to recognize the independence of the Spanish American colonies, but that the recognition was delayed until not a shadow of hope for the restoration of Spanish dominion remained.

Commissioners Sent by the United States to the Revolted Colonies.—Between 1810 and 1820 the President of the United States sent commissioners on three different occasions to South America, in order to obtain reliable and exact information regarding the real situation of affairs there. The first mission was entrusted by Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of State, to Mr. Joel R. Poinsett, as agent to Buenos Ayres, and was dated June 26, 1810. Mr. Alexander Scott was sent as agent to Venezuela on May 12, 1812. Mr. Poinsett's report on the condition of South America was dated November 4, 1818.

The second commission was sent by the President in 1817, and consisted of Mr. Theodorick Bland, Mr. Cæsar A. Rodney, and Mr. John Graham, who were instructed to examine into the conditions of Buenos Ayres and Chile. The reports of Mr. Rodney and Mr. Graham, dated November 5, 1818, and Mr. Bland's report, dated November 2, 1818, were transmitted to Congress on November 17 of the same year. Appended to the first two reports is a "Historical sketch of the revolution of the United Provinces of South America, from the 25th of May, 1810, until the open-

ing of the National Congress on the 25th of March, 1816, written by Doctor Gregorio Funes, and appended to his History of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, and Tucuman."

The third commission was entrusted to Mr. T. B. Prevost and Mr. John M. Forbes, sent in 1820 as commercial agents to Chile and Buenos Ayres. Their reports were transmitted to Congress, the one on March 8 and the other on April 26, 1822. It is remarkable that no commission was sent to Mexico.

Commissioners Sent by the Revolted Colonies to the United States.—The leaders of the independence cause in Spanish America sent Commissioners to the United States for the purpose of obtaining the recognition by this government of their independence, and, if possible, material assistance. I have already referred to the Commissioner sent from Mexico by Hidalgo, and the other Commissioners of whom I find a record, were the following:

Don Juan Vicente Bolivar and Don Telésforo Orca were furnished with credentials dated at Caracas, April 25, 1810, and full powers to transact business. A copy of the Declaration of Independence of the Province of Venezuela, made by the Congress composed of deputies assembled in Caracas, was communicated by them to the United States government, and transmitted to Congress on December 9, 1811. These agents were not allowed to have any official intercourse with the United States government.

On December 11, 1818, Señor Don Lino Clemente informed the Secretary of State that he had been appointed Venezuela's representative "near the United States," and requested an interview; but he was informed that no conference could be held with him and no communication received from him by this government. His letters were submitted to the House of Representatives with the President's Message of January 29, 1819, accompanied by a report from Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, giving the reasons in full for delaying recognition at that time.

Don Manuel H. de Aguirre came to this country in 1817 as a public agent from La Plata and a private one from Chile, and addressed several letters to the Secretary of State, in 1817 and 1818, soliciting the acknowledgment of the Province of Buenos Ayres, which were transmitted to the House of Representatives, March 25, 1818, with a report from Secretary Adams, of that

date. No answers were given to his letters, although conferences were held with him, and the President declined to enter into any negotiations with Señor Aguirre, because the latter did not appear furnished with powers to negotiate and because he thought that the independence of the Provinces had not yet been established.

A short time after the declination of Aguirre's application, in May, 1818, David C. de Forrest renewed the consideration of the same claim, by soliciting this government to admit him as a consul general. The President did not grant the permission, because he thought it was not clear that the province even claimed entire independence, Buenos Ayres having the intention at that time to offer special commercial favors to Spain as a consideration for the relinquishment of her claims to sovereignty.

But neither the commissioners sent by the United States to the American colonies of Spain nor those sent by those colonies to the United States influenced in any way the attitude of strict neutrality observed by the United States government in the war for independence of the Spanish colonies in America.

The United States Adhered to the Strictest Neutrality in the War of Independence.—The question of recognizing the independence of the American colonies of Spain was first brought up in the United States on March 24, 1818, by Henry Clay, who felt great sympathy for the struggling Spanish colonies, and sought to obtain their recognition through legislative action. He proposed an appropriation of $18,000 for the outfit and one year's salary of a minister to be deputed from the United States to the independent provinces of the River Plata in South America. This motion led to a discussion as to whether the power of recognizing foreign governments resided in the Executive or in Congress. The majority of the House seemed to be in favor of the Executive, and the motion was defeated on May 28, 1818, by a vote of 115 to 45.

On January 2, 1819, President Monroe's Cabinet considered the question of the recognition of Buenos Ayres. The Cabinet was divided on the question, Mr. Calhoun being of opinion that this country should act in concurrence with Great Britain, Mr. Crawford that it should send a minister to Buenos Ayres, and Mr. Adams thinking that the minister should come from Buenos Ayres seeking recognition.

Mr. Clay renewed his resolution, which was discussed by the House on May 10, 1820, asserting "that it was expedient to provide by law a suitable outfit for such minister or ministers as the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may send to any of the governments of South America which have established and are maintaining their independence of Spain," and this resolution was carried by a vote of 80 to 75. On February 9, 1821, Mr. Clay again moved his $10,000 appropriation bill for a minister to any South American government "which has established and is maintaining its indepencence of Spain." This was lost by a vote of 86 to 79. On the following day he introduced a resolution expressing "the interest of the people of the United States, which was shared by the House of Representatives, in the success of the Spanish provinces of South America struggling to establish their liberty and independence, and offering its constitutional support to the President of the United States, whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of said provinces." The first clause of this resolution was carried by a vote of 134 to 12 and the second by a vote of 87 to 68. A committee of two members was appointed to lay these resolutions before the President, and Mr. Clay, one of those members, in his report of February 19, said "that the President assured the committee that he felt a great interest in the success of the provinces of South America and that he would take the resolution into deliberate consideration with the most perfect respect for the distinguished body from which it had emanated."

On January 31, 1822, Mr. Trimble, of Kentucky, introduced a joint resolution stating that the "President was authorized and requested to acknowledge the independence of the Republics of Colombia, and that the Spanish provinces of South America that had established and were maintaining their independence of Spain ought to be acknowledged." Before this resolution was acted upon, Mr. Nelson, of Virginia, introduced another resolution asking the President to lay before the House the documents relating to the South American question, and in response to this resolution President Monroe sent to the House his message of March 8, 1822, in which he stated that, in his opinion, the time had come to recognize the South American provinces as independent countries. Thereupon Mr. Russell, of Massachusetts, in behalf of

the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced two resolutions. In the first the House "expressed its concurrence in the opinion contained in the message of the President, of March 8, 1822, that the late American provinces of Spain, which had declared their independence and were in the enjoyment of it, ought to be recognized by the United States as independent nations"; and the second "instructing the Committee on Ways and Means to prepare a bill appropriating a sum not to exceed $100,000 to enable the President to give due effect to such provision." Both resolutions were approved by the House.

The Monroe Doctrine.—President Monroe's famous message of December 2, 1823, in which he announced the American continental policy bearing his name, was of course issued almost two years after he had recognized, in his message of March 8, 1822, the independence of the American colonies of Spain. But that recognition was then only theoretical, as the United States neither sent to nor received from those countries any representative until some years later.

In that year, 1823, two specific dangers threatened the Western Hemisphere. The northwest boundary between the United States and Canada had not then been determined and the territory in dispute had not been occupied or even fully explored. Russia, by formal proclamation in 1821, had set up a claim to territory along the Pacific coast as far south as the fifty-first parallel, and had given unmistakable signs of her intention to plant a Russian colony within the disputed territory. The movement was alarming to Great Britain as well as to the United States.

The other cause of alarm was that the Metternich-Bourbon reaction had set in, and there was good reason to fear that the attempt was about to be made to resubjugate the Spanish-American colonies. This fear found ample justification in the attitude of the "Holy Alliance," formed immediately after the downfall of Napoleon, by Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, for the avowed object of protecting the Catholic religion and the Divine Right of Kings. This alliance was offered for signature to all the monarchs of Europe except the Pope and the Sultan. Of all the powers Great Britain alone declined to join in the Alliance, but under the leadership of Metternich this combination proceeded with its reactionary work. In 1821 it sent an Austrian

army into Italy to prevent the adoption of a constitution at Naples, and two years later it threw a French army into Spain to suppress a popular movement in behalf of the free constitution of 1812 and to reinstate the Bourbon dynasty. Having thus put under its heel all opposition in Europe, the Alliance proposed a congress to consider the subjugation of the revolted Spanish colonies in America, and the re-establishment of Spanish authority in the Western Hemisphere. Before matters were far advanced, the design became known to Great Britain, and word concerning it was at once sent by the British Minister to the government of the United States. President Monroe immediateiy consulted Jefferson and Madison, as well as his cabinet, of whom John Quincy Adams and Calhoun were the most prominent members. All agreed that the matter was of such momentous interest as to justify a formal remonstrance. John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, wrote a declaration of policy relating to colonization, and Jefferson a similar declaration in regard to interference. These two were tacked together by President Monroe and embodied in his message, which can be summarized in the following four propositions :

1. That the United States would not tolerate further colonization in the American continent by European powers.

2. That they would not permit the subjugation or subversion of any American government by the governments of Europe.

3. That they would not allow the extension to America of the monarchical system of the "Holy Alliance."

4. That the United States had not interfered and would not interfere with any of the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power on this continent.

The Spanish-American Republics and Cuba.—There is one case in which the United States prevented the independence of two Spanish colonies in America.

When Bolivar had driven the Spanish from Colombia, he thought his task was not ended and that his republic was not safe as long as the enemy was in possession of the adjoining country. He, therefore, took an armed expedition to Peru with which he accomplished the independence of that country, decided at the battle of Ayacucho. How well grounded that fear was is shown by the fact that in 1829 the Spanish government sent to Mexico an armed expedition from Havana under General Barradas, which

landed at the port of Tampico, for the purpose of subduing again the colony of New Spain, as Mexico was then called. But the independence had gained such a foothold that it was easy for us to defeat that expedition.

After Bolivar had accomplished in 1824 the independence of the northern half of South America, he thought that his task was not finished before the Spanish were driven from Cuba and Puerto Rico, as the possession by them of those controlling islands—especially the former—would give Spain an important foothold on this continent, from which she could attack at any time her revolted colonies. This danger was of a great deal more consequence to Mexico on account of the proximity of Cuba to that country, and both the governments of Mexico and Colombia contemplated a plan of military operations, for the purpose of accomplishing the independence of the island of Cuba. This step was in accordance with the conduct followed by Colombia and Mexico before the accomplishment of their independence.

When the government of the United States heard of the scheme of the Mexican and Colombian governments for the liberation of Cuba, Mr. Clay, Secretary of State of the United States, addressed a letter to the Mexican and Colombian Ministers at Washington, on December 20, 1825, requesting that their respective governments should suspend any expedition that they might be preparing against the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, on the ground that the United States could under no circumstances permit them to fall under the sovereignty of England and that they could not be indifferent to the islands passing to the possession of France, and that, therefore, the only solution of the question was to leave the islands in possession of Spain. A copy of this communication was sent by Mr. Clay to Mr. Everett, United States Minister at Madrid, with a despatch dated at Washington, April 13, 1826, from which I have borrowed this information. In that despatch Mr. Clay stated that the United States government thought that England was at the bottom of the scheme to liberate Cuba and that, if Cuba were once independent from Spain, she would finally become an English colony or a state under French protection.

It seems to me clear that the real reasons for Mr. Clay's official communication against the independence of Cuba, in 1825 and 1826, were not so much those stated in his despatches as the

fear that, if Cuba were once independent or annexed to Mexico or Colombia, slavery would be abolished in that island, a step which would have been in conflict with the policy of the United States, then governed by the slave power, which naturally supported slavery. The question of slavery was then at the bottom of every important move of the United States, foreign and domestic, and it colored or discolored all her important transactions. Perhaps the idea of acquiring sometime the island of Cuba was another reason which dictated Mr. Clay's action.

The question of the independence of Cuba was considered in the American Congress which met at Panama in 1826, and the idea of sending an armed expedition to liberate that island was abandoned on account of the opposition of the government of the United States, as appeared from a communication from Mr. Poinsett, United States Minister to Mexico, to Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, of September 23, 1826.*

The Panama Congress.—When Simon Bolivar proposed the assembling at Panama of a congress of the American nations to agree upon some continental policy, President John Quincy Adams laid before Congress, in his annual message of 1826, the question of the representation of the United States at that Congress. The coalition against the Adams administration, which ultimately became the Jacksonian party, made its first great fight on this measure. It called forth long debates and aroused great excitement in the House of Representatives, because it was not an ordinary mission, and seemed to have far greater importance than any question of foreign relations that had previously come under discussion. It was believed to be an attempt to make a confederation or league of all the American countries, and thus to a certain extent extinguish the individuality of the United States.

This discussion lasted from February 3 to April 21, 1826, when the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported a resolution declaring that it was expedient to appropriate the necessary funds to send representatives to the Panama Congress. This resolution was approved by a vote of 143 to 54, and passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 19.

The United States delegates to the Panama Congress were instructed to attend the Congress in a merely diplomatic character, without discussing or accepting any proposition of alliance bind-

* American State Papers, Series of Foreign Relations, Page 361, Volume VI.

ing the United States. These restrictions had been embodied in an amendment presented both in the House and Senate, which had passed the House, but was finally rejected, because it was considered an infringement upon the prerogatives of the Executive. As it expressed the views of Congress, however, its provisions were embodied in the instructions to the Commissioners.

I understand that one of the objects of that Congress was to accomplish the independence of the Island of Cuba, but the idea did not meet with the approval of the United States, and that fact prevented the Panama Congress from arriving at any practical result.

Conclusion.—It is clear that the United States did not in any practical manner assist the American colonies of Spain to achieve their independence.

I hope that this statement of facts will serve to show that the Spanish colonies in America achieved their independence by their own efforts and without the aid of any foreign nation, and that if some of them expected such aid they never got it. I trust, also, that it will dispel some errors prevailing on that subject.

M. ROMERO.

THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY.

BY THE REV. WALTON BATTERSHALL, D. D.

SOME time ago the late Mr. Huxley told us that "extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules." The recent death of the distinguished professor registered a notable loss to the science and literature of the day; and the theologians who still survive have no desire to weave into the wreath that they lay on his grave the Scotch thistle which not infrequently they found in his rhetoric. We quote his picturesque phrase chiefly because it is a sort of prophetic distillation of the contents of two large volumes recently published by the former President of Cornell University, now our ambassador at the court of Berlin, entitled *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.*

This book, not without reason, has been called a monumental work. Its author has won an eminent place in the educational world and the higher ranges of political life. A vigorous and acute mind, with an aptitude for history and with an exceptional outfit, has given us the result of the labor of many years devoted to the excavation of the famous and obscure battle-fields which figure in the annals of modern science. The exploring spade has been struck deep into the soil, and ancient weapons of quaint and curious fashion have been dug up and artistically arranged in an archæological museum, which invites and rewards the interest of the student.

Needless to say, this *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* confirms the conviction which we all more or less entertain that the brilliant *mot* of Mr. Huxley holds a large pinch of truth.

The untimely fate of the extinguished theologians need give us no concern. A more important fact touching this *History*

of the Warfare is the impression that probably will be left upon the mind of the reader that Science and Religion are natural foes, between whom war has been decreed from generation to generation, who lie off on the common of the world's thought in hostile camps, and whose inevitable and inveterate conflict of interest sooner or later breaks through whatever truce may be declared.

By explicit words the historian of the warfare deprecates this conclusion. He is at pains to tell us why, in contrast with Professor Draper's volume on *The Conflict Between Science and Religion,* he entitles his book *The Warfare of Science with Theology.* He informs us that the germ of the book was a lecture called "The Battlefields of Science," in which the following thesis was maintained:

"In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evil both to religion and to science, and invariably; and on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science."

An admirable statement of a profound truth, which we all recognize, and which forbids at once regrets for the past and trepidations for the future.

The distinguished author, moreover, betrays his good intent and his fashion of definition in this passage from his preface:

"My conviction is that science, though it has evidently conquered dogmatic theology based on Biblical texts and ancient modes of thought, will go hand in hand with Religion, and that, although theological control will continue to diminish, Religion, as seen in the recognition of 'a Power in the Universe not ourselves, which makes for righteousness,' and in the love of God and of our neighbor, will steadily grow stronger and stronger, not only in the American institutions of learning, but in the world at large. May the declaration of Micah as to the requirements of Jehovah, and the definition of St. James of 'pure religion and undefiled,' and, above all, the precepts and ideals of the Blessed Founder of Christianity Himself, be brought to bear more and more effectively on mankind."

It is far from our purpose to review the massive and valuable contribution to our current literature launched with this devout prayer, but the unwarrantable conclusions that may be gathered from the book, and the limitations of view disclosed in the last quotation, justify in our mind the statement of a few thoughts

that cluster about the well-worn theme of the conflict between theology and science.

There is so much distrust and misconception in regard to both science and theology, so much ignorance of the precise scope, material and method of the two, such a widespread suspicion that at last theology has been driven from the field, or at least has deserted the lowlands of the controversy, and, like a savage tribe retiring before a more highly organized civilization, has taken refuge in the pathless forests and inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, that any intelligible and reassuring word on the subject is not without value.

In the first place, what do we mean by the warfare between Theology and Science? Who, in fact, are the contestants?

A good deal of the acrimony and abuse that enter into the alleged warfare would be obviated if we could get rid of the illusion of personification. Science and Theology are not two historic champions who have gone down to Ephes-dammim with polemical intent, like the shepherd boy of Israel and the Philistine. The one, to speak roughly, is simply a group of facts, the other, a group of beliefs, that lie in different planes and atmospheres of thought; yet are held together by the complex needs and functions of our nature, and contribute to the common stock of our intellectual furniture. Every thinking man has his science and theology, not always perfectly adjusted, but still working no fissure in his mental integrity. Like the Vicar of Wakefield, who migrated from the blue bed to the brown, he is by turns a theologian and a scientist. When he consults his physician or overhauls his drains, he adopts the scientific interpretation of life. When he cries to God in some fierce pressure of sorrow or peril, he adopts the theological interpretation of life. Each has its claim, its sanction, its practical issue. The alleged conflict between theology and science is simply the dispute of men who exploit one method of interpretation to the discredit and exclusion of the other.

Still further to clear the air, let us proceed to definitions. What do we mean by the word "science" and the word "theology"?

It is a curious fact that each of these terms, in the popular use, has suffered both a restriction and an expansion of meaning. Theology, which was once the queen of sciences, is in these days

denied admission to the secularized sisterhood. Science has come to mean simply physical science. Even metaphysics, which may be considered a cousin of theology, has been thrust outside the door, and has been sent out into the breezy open with a discredited reputation. The only science whose credentials are accepted is the science which brings returns from the physical universe. And those returns are not necessarily certified facts, which are placed beyond challenge, and which can be counted among the fixed and permanent furniture of our knowledge. They include explanations and hypotheses, which, unquestionably, are legitimate and valuable as working theories, but which are necessarily provisional, tentative, open to revision, and demand from their disciples, as the scientists themselves confess, large ventures of faith. It is evident, therefore, that the word "science," which means *knowledge* and which at the present day includes both proven facts and unproven theories, has undergone both a restriction and an expansion of meaning.

The same is true of theology. Literally it means the science of God. Of course, we can only think of God from the standpoint of human nature and within the limitations of human thought. The legitimate sphere of theology is God in His moral and spiritual relationship to man, and the circle of truths and duties which are involved in that relationship. In this restricted and scientific use of the word, theology is the basis of, if not identical with, religion; and the distinction between the two, which the late President of Cornell University has taken such pains to elucidate in his preface and several passages in his history, falls to the ground. In the passage quoted, he appears to give us a crayon sketch of religion after he has abstracted from it the obnoxious element of theology; but even in his attractive picture, we discern the theological bones underlying the contours and tints of the ethical flesh. At all events, if theology is simply the science of God, it has no concern with, and is beyond the reach of, the science which has taken for its province the physical universe. Between the two, there is no warfare, or possibility of warfare, simply because they lie in two diverse planes of thought and fact. St. Paul and Mr. Darwin are entitled each to his own point of view, and *The Epistle to the Romans*, published in the first century, has lost none of its interest or value since the publication of *Origin of Species* in the ninteenth century.

But the word "theology," like the word "science," has suffered an expansion of meaning which has exposed it to an embroilment with physical science, and which, in a measure, excuses the, strictly speaking, unscientific title of Mr. White's *History of the Warfare.* In a loose, popular way, whatever a man, or a group of men, happens or chooses to think about religion is called "theology." The primitive creeds of the Church, the writings of the early Fathers, the decisions of the ecumenical councils, the expositions of the mediæval schoolmen, the *ex-cathedra* utterances of the popes, the modern confessions of faith, give, of course, a higher sanction to a specific theological opinion; but it is evident that a large percentage of theology, as commonly understood, has no claim on these eminent authorities. In this vague use of the word, the religious opinions of any respectable body of men in any period of the world's history, or the religious opinions of any man who chooses to utter his opinions from a platform or print them in a book, fairly may be called theology. And the opinions may travel long distances beyond the legitimate sphere of the divine science. They may make exhaustive excursions into the domains of astronomy, and geology, and biology; they may hang the fate of a religion upon the measurement of some human skull which survived the wreckage of the cave-period; yet they are to be considered theology, and under the alias of theology they are cited before the tribunals of science.

It is evident that Mr. White takes his "theology" in this large and generous interpretation. As we glance over his interesting pages, we find that it is not necessary to be a Bishop, or a believer in the Bible, or even an occasional attendant at the services of the church, in order to be a theologian. A surer title, a shorter and easier method, is to question some fact discovered or some theory projected by the progressive science of the period.

The point comes out in an amusing way in Mr. White's account of a *contretemps* in the literary ventures of Voltaire. We read:

"About the year 1760, news of the discovery of marine fossils in various elevated districts of Europe reached Voltaire. He, too, had a theologic system to support, though his system was opposed to that of the sacred books of the Hebrews; and, fearing that the new discoveries might be used to support the Mosaic accounts of the deluge, all his wisdom and wit were compacted into arguments to prove that the fossil fishes were the remains

of fish intended for food, but spoiled and thrown away by travelers; that the fossil shells were accidentally dropped by crusaders and pilgrims returning from the Holy Land; and that the fossil bones found between Paris and Etampes were parts of a skeleton belonging to the cabinet of some ancient philosopher. Through chapter after chapter Voltaire, obeying the supposed interests of his theology, fought desperately the growing results of the geologic investigations of his time."*

We conclude that the theologians, in their manifold discomfitures, have been in high scientific and literary company. Naturally, Mr. White calls the episode comical. "It shows," he says, "that the attempt to shape the deductions of science to meet the exigencies of dogma may mislead heterodoxy as absurdly as orthodoxy." His statement of the matter illustrates the modern expansion of the word "theology." It enables us to trace the promiscuous lineage of the visored knight who is so frequently unhorsed and laid sprawling in the sand on the pages of the entertaining *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology.*

In this connection Mr. White will excuse us if we express the regret that by the title and argument of his book—making such large appeal by the interest of its theme—he has lent his distinguished authority to this loose and vulgar use of the word "theology." It is hanging a millstone about its neck, which is unnecessary in the present attitude of the popular mind, and is not exactly in the interests of scientific thought. It must be confessed, however, that the word "orthodoxy" is subjected to the same treatment. Indeed, it is rather curious to note the bizarre materials from which the historian extracts the light by which we may study the hideous features of orthodoxy. The sculptures over cathedral doors, the emblazoned pictures on the windows, the gargoyles on the towers, mediæval wood-cuts and banners, the mosaics of San Marco at Venice, the sounding verse of Milton, the pictorial phrases of modern hymnody, are all brought into court to prove the vicious character and habits of orthodoxy. They illustrate, we are told, the orthodox teachings about God and the universe, which modern science has demolished. Heaven save the mark! What a picturesque orthodoxy we should have to-day if we borrowed it from the artists and the poets instead of from our good friends the scientists! It is only fair to say that Mr. White does not spare quotations from distinguished and obscure names, which represent neither the artistic,

* "Hist. of Warfare," Vol. I., p. 229.

nor the poetic, nor the scientific guild ; but we owe him thanks for his wide range of illustration which enables us to measure the amount of hay and sawdust within the sleek skin of the champion who has dared to cross lances in the arena with Science.

Such being the contestants, we hardly require two large volumes to give us the incidents of the conflict. From our knowledge of human nature, we could prognosticate fairly the general character of the incidents. Needless to say, the historian has given them with accuracy and frankness, and, despite the unfortunate and misleading use of terms which we have indicated, his care for truth and reverence for religion are conspicuous in his chronicle of the warfare. The exhaustless supplies of anecdotal history allure the reader over his eight hundred pages. The shifting scenes of the battle and the changing fronts of the armies in the field stimulate and sustain the interest. Unquestionably a highly passive and receptive reading of the volumes will leave the impression that the author has exhaustively proven his thesis : that theology has fought the advance of science step by step ; that it has discredited its methods, persecuted its champions, and has finished every battle by retiring from the field in disorder. But, if we mistake not, the judicious reader, whatever his concern for, or indifference to, theology, will modify this conclusion by the following considerations.

First. It is evident that the alleged conflict is simply a series of wayside-fights, involving points of no strategic importance and conducted chiefly by guerrilla forces. Indeed, the whole warfare is shamefully unofficial. Campaigns are begun and conducted with no formal declaration of war, and for the most part, accredited leaders on either side are conspicuously absent from the field. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the strange and notable circumstance that a short time after the issue of a battle has been decided, the discomfited army moves silently into the quarters of the victor and straightway forgets that there has been a battle.

As we read the *History of the Warfare* we are struck by this fact,—the theological oppositions to science proceed invariably from current interpretations of what are supposed to be scientific references in the Holy Scriptures. The references are unrelated to the supreme motive of the Bible and the authoritative dogmas of the Church, and it fairly can be said that in

no century has the Church been responsible for the interpretations. The doctrines for which she is responsible she has enunciated in the great ecumenical creeds—the Apostles' and the Nicene. These creeds she recites as the defences and tests of her faith. Ecclesiastical schools of thought are answerable, of course, for their authorized confessions or statements of principles. Perhaps, in some minor points, these have been jeopardized by scientific discoveries and the expansions of modern thought; but by no authoritative act are the historic churches of Christendom committed to any theory of inspiration or method of interpretation which justifies the use of the Holy Scriptures as a barricade against the march of science. That certain phrases in the Bible have been interpreted by individuals in the Church to the disadvantage and hindrance of science is an unfortunate contribution to the history of human mistakes. The official doctrine of the Church is untouched by either the mistake or the correction.

Second. A review of the conflict furthermore discloses the fact that the forces are inextricably mixed and confused. On either side, we detect the banners and uniforms of the opposing camp. The thoroughness and frankness of Mr. White's recital furnish us with numerous instances where the exponents of science have opposed and the theologians espoused a new scientific fact or theory.

Three eminent names in the annals of science, Cuvier and Linnæus of the eighteenth century, and Agassiz in the present century, are on record as vigorous opponents of the theory of evolution. On the other hand, hints of the theory are found in the works of the three great theologians of the fourth century, St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Augustine, who writes in his treatise on Genesis: "To suppose that God formed man from the dust with bodily hands is very childish. God neither formed man with bodily hands, nor did he breathe upon him with throat and lips." The doctrine of development or derivative creation was substantially suggested by St. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, by Peter Lombard in his Theological Summary, by St. Thomas Aquinas in his monumental work of mediæval theology, and by Augustinus Eugubinas, who tells us that "after the first creative energy had called forth land and water, light was made by the Almighty the instrument of all

future creation" and that "the light called everything into existence." In 1678, Ralph Cudworth, "one of the greatest glories of the English Church," published his *Intellectual System of the Universe,* in which he argued vigorously in favor of the origin and maintenance of the universe as a slow and gradual development of nature in obedience to an inward principle.

In every age there have been princes and theologians of the Church who have welcomed the progress of science, and those who headed the advance were generally firm believers in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. Great scholastic divines like Roger Bacon, Albert Ballstadt, and Vincent of Beauvais were pioneers in geography, chemistry, and natural history. A cardinal of the Church early in the fifteenth century published a geographical picture of the world, which was the text-book of Columbus, and is cited by Humboldt as the chief authority of the time. Copernicus was a canon of the Church of Frauenburg; and it is fair to suppose that Galileo had a higher concern than fear of the Inquisition when he wrote to the Archduchess Christina to prove that his discoveries could be reconciled to Holy Scripture.

Third. From the survey of these facts, we may deduce a corollary, which gives a significant element in, and a new meaning to, the "warfare." It is a conflict, not between theology and science, but between old tradition and new truth. It has its origin, not in anything peculiar to, or essentially related to, religion, but simply in the ignorance and obstinacy and inertia of the human mind in all ages. In every department of thought a new theory is a disturbance and an affront. It intrudes upon men's intellectual leisures. It breaks crystallized thought and dislocates mental habits. With the mass of people, a new fact, and especially a new theory, is an intellectual tramp who is unceremoniously turned from the door with an exhortation to work for his living. This is especially true in regard to theories which compel us to revise those interpretations and opinions, which, while not authorized by, are more or less associated with, our religion. The new theory has got to fight and turn out of doors the old theory before it can take its place. We think that it can be proved that, through all the Christian centuries, the theologians have generally adopted the science of their day. With the rest of the world, they may have hesitated and questioned and challenged, but in the

end they have accepted from the scientists of the period their certified facts and even their plausible theories, and have adjusted thereto the current dogma, and interpretations of Holy Scripture. In the alleged conflict between theology and science, therefore, it was not so much theology, as the old science under a mask of theology, that fought the new science. The whimsical speculations of Voltaire regarding the fossils show how little Christianity had to do with the opposition that greeted the geological theories of his time. In the case of Galileo, the Church, it is true, seems to have worked a scientific scandal into its history. Popes, archbishops, and cardinals dallied and temporized with, but at last conspired to crush, the heliocentric theory, which Copernicus had projected and Galileo had proved. But the papal court was not the only culprit. Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin vied with the Church of Rome in denunciations of the new astronomy. The world of the day was committed to the Ptolemaic system, and, of course, interpreted the Bible in accordance with that system. Beyond question the Church was in fault, and jeopardized its reputation on a tender point. Still we cannot but think that Mr. White pushes it rather fiercely against the wall. At all events, the specific crime of the ecclesiastics seems to have been that they were not in scientific advance of the world, and went beyond argument in defence of the old astronomy. Perhaps it was the memory of the costly blunder of Popes Paul V. and Urban VIII. that suggested to Pius IX. his treatment of Mr. Mivart's book entitled *Genesis of Species*. Mr. Mivart himself contributes this significant bit of history. "My *Genesis of Species*," he says, "was published in 1870, and therein I did not hesitate to promulgate the idea that Adam's body might have arisen from a non-human animal, the rational soul being subsequently infused. Great was the outcry against such a view, but I forwarded my little book to the Supreme Pontiff, and thereupon Pius IX. benignantly granted me a Doctor's hat, which the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster bestowed on me at a public function."

This comforting incident gives us an easy transition to our fourth point, which enables us with gratitude and a quiet mind to pu upon our shelves the *History of the Warfare*. Through all the conflict, the so-called defeats have been the enlargements and enrichments of theology. Barring the use of the obnoxious word

"theology," there are numerous passages in Mr. White's book which indicate that, in this conclusion, he and the Christian world are in substantial agreement. Speaking of the decay of the ancient belief that comets are signs in the heavens sent as tokens of Divine wrath, he says: "No catastrophe has ensued either to religion or morals." The same may be said of the decay of all the superstitious glosses with which even the learned of the unscientific ages read their Bibles. In some quarters, the idea prevails that Christianity on the whole has suffered, that her sacred records have been impugned, and her intellectual claims impaired by the fact that certain theories regarding the age and structure of the universe and certain deductions from Holy Scripture have been demolished by the hammers of science. On the contrary, these corrections of ancient mistakes have fallen easily and naturally within the accredited, historic lines of the Christian Faith, and the legitimate interpretation of salient passages of the inspired documents. The cry of Bellarmine and the bishops against Galileo that "his pretended discovery vitiated the whole Christian plan of salvation"; of John Wesley, that "giving up witchcraft is giving up the Bible"; of the fanatics of his day against Newton for "dethroning Providence" by his law of gravitation, have failed of verification. The Christian world has found enriched meanings in its Bible and its creeds by accepting the conclusions of science, in the spirit of that profound and devout word of Kepler: "I think the thoughts of God."

Cosmas, an Egyptian monk of the sixth century, lapsing from the teachings of the earlier theologians, Origen, St. Clement, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, touching the earth's sphericity, conceived the universe as an oblong box, after the fashion of the tabernacle in the wilderness, and this grotesque cosmography, as we may well believe, was abundantly supported by texts of Holy Scripture, and for several centuries was supposed to be the only orthodox theory. If we compare this with the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, which is generally accepted by intelligent theologians of to-day, can there be any question to which interpretation the first chapter of Genesis the more easily lends itself? If we compare the ancient and even now lingering idea of creation, which even St. Augustine repudiated, with the theory of the evolution of the species, of which the late Aubrey Moore—one of the

most brilliant names that Oxford has given to the English Church—said: "It may fairly claim to be an established doctrine," and "an advance in our theological thinking,"—can we deny that the development theory has enriched our conceptions of God and life? In his Bampton lectures on "The Relations Between Religion and Science," Bishop Temple—enthroned the other day at Canterbury—tells us that whether in the case of special creation or evolution, "the creative power remains the same; the design with which that creative power was exercised remains the same. God did not make things, we may say; no, he made them make themselves; and surely this rather adds than withdraws force from the great argument. It seems in itself something more majestic, something more befitting Him to Whom 'a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years,' thus to impress His will once for all on His creation, and provide for all its countless variety by His one original impress, than by special acts of creation to be perpetually modifying what He had previously made."

In illustration of the present aspect of the warfare between theology and science, we recall the fact that the grave of Charles Robert Darwin was made next to the grave of Sir Isaac Newton in Westminster Abbey.

WALTON BATTERSHALL.

THE QUEEN'S PARLIAMENTS.

BY H. W. LUCY (TOBY, M. P., OF "PUNCH").

PART II.

I AM sometimes asked whether, in reviewing personal experience extending over nearly a quarter of a century, I observe any deterioration in the tone and manner of the House of Commons. With the suffrage widely extended, the consequent admission of working members, and the large leavening of the aristocratic mass with the professional and trading classes, it is assumed that the standard of the House must have been lowered. How great has been the change in this last respect since the Queen came to the throne is witnessed by the testimony of Mr. Gladstone, who calculates that there were not five members of the Conservative party of 1835 who sat in the House of Commons by reason of their connection with trade or industry. Is the House of Commons better or worse for the revolution in this respect that has taken place during the more than sixty years of the Queen's reign?

My humble opinion is that, on the whole, the sitting House of Commons, the latest product of almost manhood suffrage, is the best mannered I have known. In this respect it even runs the risk of being described as dull. But that is not a criticism to be safely adventured, as was shown by its predecessor, in the main equally well mannered, which one July night suddenly flared up in fierce free fight in presence of the shocked mace and the paralyzed Chairman of Committees. There are profound possibilities latent in any House of Commons. It is as uncertain as the sea, one moment a waste of placid smiling water, the next lashed into fury by a cyclone.

It is no new thing to hear the House of Commons of the day

denounced as worse by comparison with those that have preceded it. There may have been great men before Agamemnon. The tendency of mankind is to affect belief that there have been none since. "Where will you see another Canning?" Disraeli exclaimed in the House of Commons on the 12th of June, 1846, in the course of adjourned debate on the Coercion bill. (There were Coercion bills even in those good old days.) "Where will you see another Canning, a man who ruled this House as a high bred steed? The temper of the House is not now as spirited as as it was then, and I am not surprised that the vulture rules where once the eagle reigned."

Mr. Smollett—not the historian and novelist, but his great-grandnephew—speaking of the House of Commons of 1874–80 scornfully dismissed it as "an assembly of soap boilers." Why "soap boilers," did not appear from the context. Mr. Smollett's vituperation, though ready, was vague. But the meaning of the remark is clear—that, as compared with other Parliaments, the House in which Mr. Smollett sat as Member for Cambridge showed a woeful falling off.

Such line of assertion is common to a large class of humanity. In lauding times that are no more, we seem, in some subtle fashion, to enjoy the satisfaction of personally associating ourselves with them, dissevering ourselves from the degeneracy we lament. The episode in the Parliamentary career of Mr. Biggar just related, the all-night sittings, the wholesale suspension of Irish members, the long series of Bradlaugh scenes, and the free fight on the floor of the House which disgraced the session of 1893, appear to establish the charge of degeneracy. But it would be easy to parallel each one of these incidents by passages taken from daily records of the good old times.

Here is a scene, reported by the graphic pen of Macaulay, which in all attributes of rowdyism need not shirk comparison with the modern free fight. It is entered in his diary under date Thursday, June 11, 1840:

"I went from the office to the House, which was engaged upon Stanley's Irish Registration bill. The night was very stormy. I have never seen such unseemly demeanor, or heard such scurrilous language in Parliament. Lord Norreys was whistling and making all sorts of noises. Lord Maidstone was so ill-mannered that I hope he was drunk. At last, after much grossly indecent conduct, at which Lord Eliot expressed

his disgust to me, a furious outbreak took place. O'Connell was so rudely interrupted that he used the expression 'beastly bellowings.' Then rose such an uproar as no O. P. mob at Covent Garden Theatre, no crowd of Chartists in front of a hustings, ever equalled. Members on both sides stood up, shook their fists, and bawled at the top of their voices. Freshfield, who was in the chair, was strangely out of his element. Indeed, he knew his business so little that, when first he had to put a question, he fancied himself at Exeter Hall, or the Crown and Anchor, and said: 'As many as are of that opinion please to signify the same by holding up their hands.' He was quite unable to keep the smallest order when the storm came. O'Connell raged like a mad bull; and our people—I for one—while regretting and condemning the violence, thought it much extenuated by the provocation. A short and most amusing scene passed between O'Connell and Lord Maidstone, which in the tumult escaped the observation of many, but which I watched carefully. 'If,' said Lord Maidstone, 'the word beastly is retracted I shall be satisfied. If not I shall not be satisfied.'

"'I do not care whether the noble Lord be satisfied or not,' said O'Connell.

"'I wish you would give me satisfaction,' pleaded Maidstone.

"'I advise the noble Lord to carry his liquor meekly,' answered O'Connell.

"At last the tumult ended from absolute physical weariness. It was past one, and the steady bellowers of the opposition had been howling from six o'clock with little interruption."

In respect to the Bradlaugh business, which made memorable the session of 1880, there will be found in Hansard, of twenty-nine years earlier, record of an analogous case accompanied by scenes curiously similar. In 1851, Mr. Salomons, elected for Greenwich, presented himself at the table to take the oath. He was a Jew, and, naturally, declined to repeat the words "upon the true faith of a Christian," then included in the oath of allegiance. He was ordered to withdraw, just as Sir Henry Brand, twenty-nine years later, ordered Mr. Bradlaugh to retire. Mr. Salomons, instead of obeying the order, took his seat—just as Mr. Bradlaugh did—and, just as in 1880 a section of members cheered Mr. Bradlaugh whilst the majority yelled and howled, so on this July day, dead now nearly half a century, a tempest of shouting and cheering filled the House, whilst the unsworn member for Greenwich remained seated.

The last stage of degradation seemed reached when in 1877 all-night sittings set in. They were spoken of as a new and more iniquitous development of obstruction. But during the reform debate of 1831 obstruction, at least on one occasion, reached the stage of an all-night sitting. From four o'clock on

a Tuesday afternoon till half-past seven on a Wednesday morning the House divided on the alternative motions "that the Speaker do now leave the chair," and that "this House do now adjourn." Sir Charles Wetherell, a member free from the taint of trade, was the hero of the occasion.

It is reported that his exultation at having resisted reform all through a summer night was tempered on leaving the House by the discovery that it was raining. "If I had known this," he said with an oath, pulling up his trousers to meet his waistcoat, "they should have had a few more divisions."

In illustration of the personal manners of those lamented days it may be mentioned that this fine old English gentlemen had a stubborn objection to wearing braces. The consequence was that when he addressed the House, in loud voice and with excited gestures, there became visible a broadening interval of white showing between his waistcoat and his trousers. Some one mentioning this to the Speaker, the right honorable gentleman quietly remarked, "Yes, that's Wetherell's only lucid interval."

In the matter of ordinary attire the House of Commons, following the trend of fashion, is much less punctiliously dressed than it was when the Queen opened the first session of her earliest Parliament. At that time there still lingered the decorous fashion of the high coat collar, the stock carried up to the chin, the trousers cut tight to the leg, and drawn over the boot by a strap. I have a precious print which shows the House of Commons in the session of 1821. The members are seated in the old House, dimly lighted by candelabra pendent from the roof. It is the most appallingly respectable assembly I ever set eyes upon.

I showed the print one day to a well-known member of the House of Commons. "How decorously dull!" he exclaimed, regarding the scene with quick interest. "How monotonously respectable! There does not seem to be a single Irish member among them; nor"—he added, running his eye again over the crowded benches—"nor even a lawyer."

He is, I may add, himself one of the ablest counsel at the bar.

One peculiarity, brought out by contrast with another view of the House in session more than half a century later, marks the radical change wrought in the British face in connection with the razor. In the unreformed Parliament members

are, for the most part, clean shaven. The only variation permitted is a little strip of whisker coming down the side of either cheek to the level of the nostril. In the 1874 Parliament, of which Mr. Sargent made a successful picture in its second session, there appear on the crowded benches only two bare faces. One is that of the late Mr. Fawcett, seated in his once familiar place on the front bench by the Sergeant-at-Arms' chair. The other is Mr. Hanbury, who even at this day, when he has risen to the ministerial rank, has not succeeded in cultivating either mustache or whisker. For the rest, members of the Parliament which first saw Disraeli in power as well as in office are both whiskered and mustached.

Recalling the appearance of the present House on a crowded night, one notes the further change of fashion established in the twenty-three years that separate it from the general election of 1874. More members than ever sport the mustache, while many, especially those advancing in years, dispense with whiskers, which perhaps have a tendency to invest even the young with a middle-aged appearance.

Up to the 1874 Parliament, in which many things were changed, the use of the tall hat while in attendance on the House was imperative. A Member had fair range of liberty in respect of dress generally, but he must sport a "topper." Mr. Joseph Cowen was the first man who brought the billycock hat within the sacred precincts of Westminster. But he did not flout it in the face of the Speaker. He cautiously removed it before entering the House, secreting it about his person till he withdrew. An Irish Member, Mr. John Martin, was the second adventurer on this pathway. He, one night being seated in his place, disturbed the brazen composure of the mace by covering his head with an uncompromising stiff "bowler." It was understood at the time that the Speaker privately communicated with him, gently but firmly remonstrating against the breach of decorum. However it be, Mr. Martin, though he stuck to his hat, never again wore it in the House.

A working-man member who has held office under the Crown happily compromises the difficulty. Unaccustomed to a top hat except on Sundays, occasions of christenings and the like, he could not bring himself to wear one on daily repairing to Westminster. He accordingly keeps a fine silk hat in his locker.

Arriving at the House, crowned with the meek dignity of a billy-cock, he goes straight to his locker and changes his head gear, returning his top hat to its resting place when he answers to the cry, "Who goes home?" At this day such elaborate observance seems almost pedantic. Bowlers and billy-cocks, hard and soft, are common objects in a crowded House. Worse still, straw hats have been worn under the eyes of the Speaker. Easy is the descent to Avernus. Shortly after the first straw hat glistened under the gaslit roof of the House of Commons cummerbunds set in, and legislators unrestrained by waistcoats wrestled with the gravest political problems of the day.

The dull respectability of the present House of Commons hinted at earlier is a condition of things largely due to the change in the personnel of the Irish members. After the election of 1874 they flooded Westminster with rich and rare individuality of the kind hitherto familiar to the Saxon chiefly in the novels of Lever and Lover. This type has disappeared from the present House. Perhaps the only Irish Member who to-day habitually rises into flights of humor is Mr. Tim Healy.

Among those who delighted the Parliament of 1874–80 was Mr. Delahunty, Member for Waterford City. His panacea for all the woes of Ireland had something to do with one-pound notes. I am ashamed to say, though I have often heard him discourse on the topic, there does not dwell in my mind a clear impression as to whether he desired to have one-pound notes authorized or whether he would have had them abolished. However that be, the peace and prosperity of Ireland were, according to his view, wrapped up in the one-pound note.

One Wednesday afternoon in the Session of 1878, the fortune of the ballot gave Mr. Delahunty an opportunity of dealing with this burning question. He had brought with him a small black bag, in which, according to the testimony of his compatriots, he had been accustomed to store the depositions taken before him as Coroner of the City and County of Waterford. Now, it was primarily requisitioned for holding the convincing notes of his oration. It is presumable that he had promised himself, when his task was completed, a few hours relaxation in one of the inner circles of London Society. In view of this arrangement of his evening he had, after filling his bag up to the top with manuscript notes, found just room enough to put in a comb, brush,

and a few other toilet necessaries. Hauling out a handful of papers from the bag, and finding them not exactly what he wanted, he turned around and, amid an awful silence, deliberately resumed the search. Of course, the first things that came to hand were the comb and brush.

Hastily thrusting them back among the documents he made another start with his speech. But the fresh batch of papers also led to nowhere in particular. Coming to a break in his argument he turned once more to the bag, fearfully conscious of the presence of the comb and brush. With increased deliberation he rooted round, and finally, under the impression that he had at last seized the papers he sought, he produced a pair of gray worsted stockings. These approached the Irish question from a quite unexpected avenue. The House roared with laughter. Mr. Delahunty, still failing in his endeavor to come across the missing note, took the miscellaneous articles out of the bag, spread them on the bench, and with his back turned to the Speaker prosecuted his search. When at last he found the desired sheet of paper he went on as if nothing had happened, the House listening with high good humor to a story that had neither beginning, middle, nor end, through which the comb and brush came and went, as Harlequin and Columbine purposelessly flit across the stage in the intervals of pantomine business.

Among other oddities who occur to the memory, emerging out of the now distant past, was Mr. Tom Connelly, who sat on the Conservative benches and stirred up his compatriots on the opposite side with the long pole of scornful insinuation or vitriolic vituperation. There was Mr. McCarthy Downing, faithful to the last to his old leader, Isaac Butt, growing nearer and nearer in facial resemblance to a plucked jackdaw, as Butt's fortunes faded and he found himself thrust aside by the more strenuous Parnell. There was Mr. Ronayne, one of the wittiest of Irishmen. There was Frank Hugh O'Donnell, with his pleasing habit of presenting himself after a big debate had been closed by the leaders on both sides, and insisting on continuing it indefinitely. There was Dr. O'Leary, a magniloquent monocule. He was the member Dizzy won over to vote with the government on a critical division by placing his hands on his shoulder and telling him with a sigh how in personal appearance he reminded him of his old friend Tom Moore. There was Captain Stackpool, with his

hands in his pockets and his reminiscences of Lord Palmerston. "Ah," he was accustomed to say sadly, shaking his head at recurrent difficulties, "things wouldn't be like this if old Pam was here!"

Biggest, best of all, there was Major O'Gorman. The Major was a man of great height and stupendous girth. His voice, when uplifted in oratorical effort, was like a peal of thunder. These personal peculiarities lent irresistible charm to a passage in his speech, delivered soon after he took his seat, on Mr. Newdigate's annual resolution affecting conventual institutions. The Major had prepared for the purposes of his argument a dramatic conversation between a high-born Mother Superior of a convent and one of the inspectors proposed to be constituted under Mr. Newdigate's bill. When the Major, with fine mimetic art, recited the nun's part of the conversation, put on a mincing manner and assumed soft speech appropriate to the character, the House went into a fit of laughter which prevented the conclusion of the dialogue being heard. After this speech, and up to his withdrawal from the scene, the Major was a prime favorite in the House of Commons, members crowding in to hear him as if word had gone round that Gladstone or Disraeli was up.

When Dr. Kenealy moved for a Royal Commission to enquire into the conduct of the judges in the Tichborne case, the figures were, against the motion 433, in its favor one. The Major was the minority. When asked why he should have parted from his friends on such an issue, he explained that it was a warm evening, he knew the "No" lobby would be crowded, so he thought he would stroll through the other one. The Major's humor was best when it was unconscious. But he had a ready wit, as was shown in his correspondence with an importunate constituent, who urged him to obtain for him a local postmastership. The Major declined, on the ground that he would never stoop to accept a favor from a Saxon government. The man persisted, concluding a third letter with the remark: "Shure, Major, ye've only to write a line and the thing would be done."

The Major thereupon replied: "Sir, I am in receipt of your letter of the fifth inst., in which you state I have 'only to write a line' in order that you should obtain the appointment you desire. I have, therefore, much pleasure in hereby appointing you Postmaster of Ballymahooly. I am, sir, your obedient servant, Purcell O'Gorman."

Another type of the now extinct Irish member was The O'Gorman Mahon. He was, when he came back to the House, returned for County Clare in 1879, one of the few living members who had sat in the unreformed Parliament. He was again member from 1847 to 1852, returning to the old scene after an interval of 27 years. In the meanwhile he had seen fighting both by land and sea. On one occasion, offended by a Conservative member opposite whom he suspected of sniggering at an Irish Nationalist member on his feet at the moment, The O'Gorman Mahon crossed the floor, handed his "cyard" to the offender, and went into the lobby ready to complete the preliminaries of a challenge.

So recently as 1884 Sir Patrick O'Brien, another richly endowed Irish member, went even further than that in the arrangements for a duel. In debate on a local Dublin bill Sir Pat, it being two o'clock in the morning, got a little mixed as to whether it was Mr. Wm. O'Brien or Mr. Harrington who had interrupted his observations with what he described as "a guffaw." At first he leaned towards conviction that it was Mr. Harrington, of whom he incidentally remarked that "the honorable member was carrying parcels for a wage of three and sixpence a week when I represented King's County in Parliament." After staring with blood-shot eye for some time at the little band of Parnellites opposite, Sir Pat accidentally got Mr. William O'Brien in focus, and convinced himself that it was he who was the offender. Several times, leaning forward, putting his hand to his mouth, he inquired across the House, in a stage whisper, whether Mr. O'Brien was "afraid"? No notice being taken, Sir Pat hurriedly left the House, looked up The O'Gorman Mahon, engaged him as a second, and, returning, informed Mr. O'Brien that everything was settled. All he had to do was to put his man in communication with the ancient warrior. Sir Pat waited in the lobby for an hour. Mr. O'Brien made no sign, and in the cooler atmosphere of the following day the bloodthirsty enterprise was abandoned.

There was in those days a serious-mannered Irish member named Blake (not to be confounded with the ex-Premier of Canada, sitting member for South Longford), who is remembered for a brief correspondence he read to the delighted House. It was introduced in a speech delivered in debate on the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. Mr. Blake had, he confidentially informed the

House, an uncle who regularly took six tumblers of whiskey toddy daily. This troubled him, and after much thought he resolved to write and remonstrate with his relative. The following was the letter :

"MY DEAR UNCLE : I write to say how pleased I should be if you could see your way to giving up your six glasses of whiskey a day. I am sure you would find many advantages in doing so, the greatest of which would be that, as I am persuaded, it would be the means of lengthening your days."

The Uncle replied :

"MY DEAR NEPHEW : I am much obliged to you for your dutiful letter. I was so much struck by what you said, and, in particular, by your kind wish to lengthen my days, that last Friday I gave up the whiskey. I believe you are right, my boy, as to my days being lengthened, for, bedad ! it was the longest day I ever remember."

Another hero of Coercion days, now forgotten by the multitude, was Mr. Pyne, member for West Waterford. In the winter of 1887 a warrant for his arrest was issued under the Crimes Act. Mr. Pyne, who farmed a large property in Waterford belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, shut himself up in his Irish home, Lisfarney Castle. He had the trenches filled with water, the drawbridge up, took in supplies by a window in the battlements and thus lived for months, occasionally indulging in friendly conversation with the police wandering about below with the warrant for his arrest in their pockets. He came to town for the opening of the session of 1888 and was arrested as he passed down the steps at Westminster Bridge to enter Palace Yard.

The originality of his mind was further indicated upon his watch. On its dial he had roughly engraved the legend: "Pay no rent." Whenever in troubled times any of his neighbors came to him for advice as to what they should do in presence of a demand for rent, Mr. Pyne solemnly shook his head. "I cannot," he said, "express my views on the subject, for Mr. Balfour says they are illegal. But I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll show you what time of day it is," and, holding out his watch, the perturbed tenant read upon it the admonitory legend, "Pay no rent."

This was the comic side of Mr. Pyne's Parliamentary and political career. Tragedy swooped down just two years after his arrest in Palace Yard. Sailing from Holyhead on a return visit to Ireland the member for Waterford was nowhere to be found

when the vessel reached Kingstown. In the darkness of the night he had fallen or been swept overboard, and like ships posted up at Lloyds has never since been heard of.

A contributory reason to the disappearance from the Parliamentary scene of the Irish member of whom I have rapidly sketched a few types, is the improved machinery of public business. In the days when these heroes flourished the House of Commons was absolutely at the command of a single member. The less he was bound by the trammels of decent debate, the more abject was the submission of the House. The extremes to which obstruction was carried in the ten years following on 1875 drove the House, most unwilling to move in this direction, to reform its ancient standing orders. The adoption of the closure, violently resented as an infringement of the privilege of free speech, has done much to vindicate the freedom of the House from the tyranny of the individual. Another reform that by minimizing the recurrence of late sittings struck at the root of possible disorder, was the adoption of the rule whereby business is automatically interrupted at the stroke of midnight. That, while seeming to limit opportunity for accomplishing work, has actually increased it.

The invention of grand committees is another modern innovation whose usefulness in furthering public business is sorely handicapped by the tendency of members to insist, when a bill comes before the House on the report stage, upon debating over again the questions thrashed out in grand committee. Nevertheless, grand committees materially contribute to the furtherance of work achieved throughout a session. The pressure of that work has vastly increased since the Queen first took her place on the Throne in the House of Lords. It is ever increasing, and can be grappled with to-day only by the adoption of a scheme of double shifts, patriotic members, slaving through daytime in select committees or grand committees, coming up more or less fresh in the late afternoon to begin a new task with the Speaker in the chair.

I have not attempted in the limits of opportunity at my disposal to trace the course of the great political questions that have been dealt with in the Parliaments that have succeeded each other during the last sixty years. I have been content with the lighter task of touching upon episodes and characters, small things

which go to make up the great entity. Not to be compressed within the borders of a magazine article is the history of a succession of Parliaments which established penny postage, repealed the Corn Laws, brought India under the direct rule of the Crown, removed disabilities from Jews and Nonconformists, wrote off the paper duty, delivered newspapers from the thraldrom of the stamp, established the era of commercial treaties with foreign countries, carried a succession of Reform acts, established Post Office savings banks, nourished railways, girdled the earth with electric cables, freed the Irish land, disestablished an alien church, abolished purchase in the army, gave the children free education, and bestowed upon their fathers the boon of the ballot.

Thus have the Queen's Parliaments fulfilled the mission assigned to them nearly fifty years ago by Alfred Tennyson. They have known the season when to take

> "Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet
>
> By shaping some august decree,
> Which kept her throne unshaken still,
> Broad-based upon her people's will,
> And compassed by the inviolate sea."

H. W. Lucy.

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.

BY THE HON. J. B. EUSTIS, LATE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE.

MANY very able publicists take a pessimistic view of the present situation of France, maintaining that she is fast reaching the plane of a second-class power, notwithstanding the apparent rank that the Franco-Russian alliance permits her to take in the councils of Europe. Some attribute this imminent retrogression to the results of the crushing defeats she suffered in 1870, which have caused a new grouping of states in Central Europe, represented by the Triple Alliance, by which she has been displaced from her orbit. Others maintain that she is exhibiting symptoms of inherent national degeneracy, not the least alarming being the comparative decrease of her population. A third class maintain that to the egregious errors and follies of those who are entrusted with the responsibility of governing France are to be traced the diminution of her prestige and the threatened loss of her authority as a first-class European power.

Whatever may be the cause, one cannot but sympathize with this proud-spirited nation. If the time is soon to arrive for France to descend from her high position and take rank with second-class powers, it will date the triumph of militarism over liberalism; and then civilization, humanity, and every department of learning will seriously feel the withdrawal of her preponderating influence upon the intellectual world and the political situation in Europe.

It must be admitted that the present situation of France is causing the gravest apprehension, and a deep-seated distrust as to her future destiny. Outside of the group of men who are today governing France, and who, of course, imagine they are upholding her proudest traditions and leading her to greater glory,

the sentiment in France is well-nigh universal that unless the present situation is changed she will become the victim of some great catastrophe which will imperil her national existence.

This sense of insecurity arises from a gradual reaction against the Franco-Russian alliance. What this alliance really is, the public does not seem to know. The most searching inquiry has failed to discover whether it exists by virtue of a treaty or convention, and what are its stipulations and engagements. The suspicion is growing in the French mind that this alliance is unilateral as regards immediate benefits or future compensations; that it has enabled Russia to establish over France a disguised protectorate; that the latter has surrendered her independence of action as a sovereign state, her foreign relations being controlled by the dictation of Russian interests.

This humiliating sacrifice which France, for the first time in her history, has been called upon to make could be endured by that proud nation if she could discover in this alliance a guarantee that Russia intended to aid her to gratify the aspirations that her national honor and military pride would never permit her to abandon.

After the French people had recovered from their pardonable enthusiasm over what was called the Franco-Russian Alliance, having been led by their government to believe that it meant something besides their humiliation, an important event occurred which partially unveiled its mysteries. China and Japan had signed their treaty of peace on April 19, 1895. Russia stepped forward, and in menacing tones told Japan, the victorious party, that she must tear that treaty to pieces, because Russia objected to it. Russia dragged France into this complication, in which she had not the remotest interest. She made France take the side of Chinese barbarism against friendly Japan, which by her treaties was entering into the family of civilized states. What was far worse, if Japan had resisted the demands of Russia, France might have been forced to fight side by side with Germany against a power which had not given her the slightest provocation.

It was indeed pitiable to hear the Minister of Foreign Affairs declare to the Chamber, when interpellated upon this question, that his only excuse for placing France in this indefensible attitude was that he wanted to be agreeable to Russia.

It was after this incident, which came near exposing France to an humiliation to which she would never have submitted, that the French Ministry deemed it necessary to pacify any possible agitation about the Franco-Russian alliance by holding out the expectation that Russia would aid France to reopen the Egyptian question and force England to evacuate Egypt.

In that case, the Franco-Russian alliance would certainly have signified a great deal; but this question was raised by the French Ministry only to be buried as often as it was raised, and for a very good reason. Russia never seriously intended to aid France with reference to this Egyptian question. She seems to have considered that she was bestowing upon France sufficient proofs of her friendship by flooding her immense loans upon the French market, and by sending her naval officers and her Czar to be fêted in her brilliant capital. An inquiry was addressed by the writer to an English diplomatist, whose authority upon Egyptian affairs is not to be questioned, to ascertain what efforts the French government had made to secure the co-operation of Russia to force England to abandon her military occupation of Egypt. He replied that only once had such an effort been attempted. One day Sir N. O'Conor, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg had called upon Prince Lobanoff, then the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. To the amazement of the former the latter opened the conversation with a most vehement tirade against England with reference to the Egyptian question. The violence of his language astounded the English Ambassador. The latter retired, and the next day again called upon Prince Lobanoff. He informed him that he had prepared an exact report of the extraordinary interview of the previous day, but that before sending it to his government he desired to know if Prince Lobanoff adhered to the views he had expressed. As the English Ambassador expected, Prince Lobanoff implored him not to send to his government any report whatever of their conversation, and thus the matter ended. It would seem to have been nothing but a blind to satisfy the susceptibilities of the French Foreign Office. At any rate this is the kind of reciprocity Russia offered to France for her aid with regard to the China-Japan Treaty.

M. Millerand, a leader in the Chamber of Deputies, is one of the ablest men in France. As a parliamentary debater he has

no superior. When the events in the East began to impose upon the European powers the greatest responsibilities, he delivered a most remarkable speech. Without expecting that any state secret would be divulged he said that his object was to ascertain what reciprocal obligations France and Russia had assumed by reason of the Franco-Russian Alliance, as France might be drifting toward a point of serious danger, intimating that the interests, traditions, and dignity of France might be seriously affected by blindly following the dictation of Russian policy upon the Eastern question. It was a speech of extreme moderation, which attracted great attention.

M. Hanotaux's only reply was that the French Chamber must be satisfied with the toasts that had been exchanged between President Faure and the Czar, to which he had nothing to add. This declaration produced a most painful impression upon the French people. They understood that complimentary toasts might be pleasing to the personal vanity of those who exchanged them, but for a Minister of Foreign Affairs to tell the great intelligent and patriotic French nation that its fortunes and destinies were to be disposed of by toasts could hardly be accepted by them as a reassuring declaration as to the fate of their country.

If France had had a Talleyrand or a Thiers during the crisis in Turkey she could have played a leading rôle and by the weight of her influence and authority could have re-established her traditional prestige, not only in the Orient, but in Europe. Such an opportunity an able statesman would have grasped to prove that France was still a great power, ready, as in the past, to champion the cause of civilization, of oppressed nationalities and of religious toleration. She occupied the privileged position of disinterestedness as regards Turkish territory, and upon her the European powers had imposed by treaty the protection and patronage of the Catholic Armenian church. For these reasons she could have spoken with greater moral force than any other European power. Supported by the sentiments of the civilized world, by her traditions, and by the voice of Christianity within her own borders, she could have forced the bloodthirsty Sultan to kneel before an indignant and horrified Europe.

Such an attitude would have involved no peril to France, for Italy and Austria had promptly accepted Lord Salisbury's prop-

osition of the 20th of October, 1896, to notify Abdul-Hamid that the European powers would use force to compel him to execute the reforms demanded.

But there was all the time a serious obstacle which was advantageous to Russian policy, but which was most discreditable to the French government. When Prince Lobanoff visited France, ostensibly for his health, he and M. Hanotaux secretly arranged the policy to be followed by their respective governments in dealing with the Eastern question. That programme, which was adhered to with cruel obstinacy, was practically a notification to the "Sultan Rouge" that he could continue his massacres with impunity because he and his Ottoman Empire would not be disturbed. In what way could the French government have given the Turkish government greater encouragement except by congratulating him upon his bloody work?

One can readily give credence to the story related in diplomatic circles that the Sultan never even smiles; but after he had ascertained the position of the Russian and French governments, if any one spoke to him of reforms he would burst out into a peal of laughter. This was the only topic that could excite the risibility of that sombre, atrabilious and sanguinary fanatic.

Contrary to the advice of M. Cambon, its firm, able and far-seeing Ambassador at Constantinople, in opposition to his most earnest remonstrances, the French government continued to place implicit confidence in the repeated promises of the Sultan when M. Cambon had warned M. Hanotaux in an official dispatch not to believe a single word of Munir-Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, or of the Sultan, because the latter did not intend to keep a single one of his promises.

Upon what theory is to be explained this perfect accord of the French and Russian governments with reference to this Turkish question? Which one of these two governments was the controlling authority in securing this solidarity of diplomatic action? Whose interests were to be subserved by this joint policy of abstention from even any pressure upon the Sultan?

It is not difficult to understand the far-reaching policy and aims of Russia as regards Turkey.

After two wars her ambitious schemes have been foiled by the action of the European powers. Notwithstanding her immense

sacrifices of men and money, Russia became powerless to secure her domination over the Ottoman Empire. Therefore she had to change her tactics without changing her traditional policy, and that was to maintain the *status quo* so that by mal-administration and by massacres the Ottoman Empire would reach a state of decomposition and consequent dismemberment. To quote the expression of an eminent diplomatist, "*Il faut laisser la Turquie pourrir dans son jus.*" "Turkey must be allowed to rot in her own juice," was the new watchword of Russian diplomacy in dealing with the Turkish question.

On December 21, 1895, M. Montebello, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, stated in a dispatch to his government: "Prince Lobanoff is now, as he has always been, of opinion that pressure cannot, on every occasion, be exerted on the Sultan for all incidents which may still arise in Armenia."

Mr. Gosselin, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, writes in a dispatch to Lord Salisbury: "Both the German Ambassador and the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires, whom I have seen since the debate, are of opinion that the French government will with difficulty be brought to assent to a policy of coercion," and this opinion would seem to be borne out by the passage of M. Hanotaux's speech in which His Excellency distinctly repudiates any *immixtion directe,* or anything in the shape of a *condominium.*

Other dispatches could be quoted to the same effect, but these sufficiently indicate the complete *entente* between the foreign office at St. Petersburg and that in Paris, and the persistency with which they adhered to the doctrine of non-intervention. It was not intended that these "incidents" should be allowed to disturb the equanimity of the French and Russian governments, or that the Sultan should have reason to fear coercion from the other powers, so long as Russia guaranteed him against any "pressure" and France against any *immixtion directe.*

One can easily appreciate the pathetic force of M. Denis Cochim's appeal in the Chamber to the French government:

"The friendship of France entails corresponding duties, the first and most sacred being to know how to defend the weak and take the part of the oppressed, and to make sacrifices on behalf of justice and liberty. Such is the price of the friendship of France; pray explain it, M. le Ministre, to our friends."

It was only when, to the amazement of the European powers, the Sultan stated his terms of peace that the French government seemed to realize that its excessive Turkophilism, fostered by Russian influence and Russian interests, had made the Sultan master of the situation.

It has not been the purpose of the writer to discuss the Eastern question. It has been used only to illustrate one single phase of the Franco-Russian alliance. Nor has it been his purpose to criticise the French people for having favored this alliance, whatever it may be.

In the face of the Triple Alliance, France had one of two courses open, either to be self-reliant and independent, falling back upon her own resources to brave every peril, and prepare for a supreme and heroic effort to defend her territory and maintain her national existence, or to seek to make an alliance with Russia, the only power accessible to her. No nation could be called upon to decide a more momentous question.

Exhausted by a disastrous war and agitated by a fratricidal strife, it was natural that the French people should yearn for a peace that promised to them public security and exemption from that wearying and terrible anxiety which is the fate of a power situated like France. One who has witnessed the gradual development of that sentiment in favor of the Franco-Russian alliance should be the last person to criticise the French people for having sought self-preservation in that only refuge within their reach. When Thiers returned from the European capitals which he had visited to secure the friendly aid of some foreign powers to mitigate the harsh terms of the treaty of peace between Germany and France, and announced to the French people that his appeals for sympathy had been unavailing, he revealed the fact that France was a completely isolated power, and from that time until the period of the Franco-Russian alliance the situation of France has been extremely perilous and the public anxiety has been intense. But this alliance has its dangers and its complications. A liberal enlightened European power like France cannot make an alliance with autocratic Russia, a semi-Asiatic nation, without sacrifices which may affect prejudicially her interests and national dignity.

There can be no affinity of sentiment, no community of ideas, no sympathetic tie, no political solidarity, between France and Rus-

sia. The former has free institutions; in the latter personal and political liberty, public opinion, freedom of the press, and parliamentary responsibility are utterly unknown. Yet, if the men who govern France had been far-seeing statesmen, such an alliance could have been utilized to increase the grandeur, the prestige, and the power of France. The apprehension exists that her national virility is being gradually extinguished by an unnecessary subserviency to Russian authority and Russian political interests. France has confronted many serious crises and she has always been saved by her great statesmen. She is to-day able to produce them, and if to the great loss of civilization, humanity, and the enlightenment of the world it should become her fate to be relegated to the position of a second-class power, her humiliation and degradation will not be ascribable to the degeneracy of her people, but to the incompetence of those who are entrusted with her fortunes and her destiny.

J. B. Eustis.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

LYNCH EPIDEMICS.

A FEW years ago a French writer surprised his readers with the assertion that in Southern Florida hundreds of persons were annually prostrated by the effects of frost, and quoted statistics that complicated the puzzle, till it became evident that he had classed "chills and fevers" with chilblains.

With a similar rashness of generalization several foreign reviews have formulated an indictment against the penal code of the United States by confounding the stern vendettas of Judge Lynch with the wanton outrages of the Whitecap ruffians.

Both the successors of the vehmic courts and the masked man-hunters, it is true, assemble their surprise parties under cover of darkness, but while the former direct their indictments against criminals who contrive to defy the ordinary methods of justice, the latter generally select victims who are unable to resent the excesses of injustice.

And only the former, and by far rarer, form of interference with the functions of the legal tribunals can fairly be ascribed to a deficit of legislative safeguards. One of these defects is the lack of constitutional restrictions upon the abuse of the pardoning power. Only half a year ago a Kentucky editor published a list of twenty-seven criminals liberated from the Frankfort State Prison by a gubernatorial ukase in half as many weeks; then, commenting upon one specially grievous case, he described the indignation of law abiding citizens: "Half a hundred of our neighbors have deprived themselves of rest and sleep, have patrolled the mountain roads in rain and sleet-storms to purge this county from its stigma of lawlessness; then, after taking the outlaw red-handed, have risked their own lives to protect him from the vengeance of an infuriated mob. They are now informed that he has been turned loose to re-establish his claim to the distinction of a habitual offender, and to execute his threats of vengeance upon his captors. They may refrain from unavailing protests, but they will naturally conclude that if laws have to be broken they had better be broken at the expense of law-breakers."

Upon what slender claims to executive clemency petitions for pardon were repeatedly endorsed may be inferred from the fact that last New Year eighty-six Frankfort jailbirds signed a formal request to be let loose *en masse*, on the ground that they sympathized with the Cuban patriots, and if furnished arms and free transportation would vent their righteous wrath upon the minions of Captain-General Weyler.

Another fertile cause of mistrust in the competence of the established judicial institutions is the lack of available checks upon an abuse of the

"challenging privilege." Under the present system any chicaning pettifogger can "pack a jury with idiots," as a Georgia magistrate expressed it, "by excluding all whose superior intelligence or means of information has enabled them to form an opinion upon the facts of the case." Impartiality is, of course, the soul and mainstay of the jury system, but the trouble is that under extant arrangements there is no way to discriminate between the prejudice of exceptional malice and the bias of exceptional intelligence. "If the formation of a previous judgment precludes the fairness of the ultimate verdict," says Prof. W. Harrington, "how many newspaper-reading judges could be admitted to the bench?"

In altogether primitive communities, like those of the California mining camps in '49, lynch law frequently becomes the only alternative of anarchy, and as such may be endorsed by the connivance, if not the outspoken approbation, of the best citizens.

The Whitecap miscreants have no such claim to public sympathy. They are not a product of the wilderness, but an excrescence of over-crowded communities, afflicted with an excess of blue laws and a dearth of legitimate pastimes, of farming districts where game and fish have become scarce, and travelling shows are seen only at long intervals.

Between Kansas and the Atlantic there are thousands of townships that have been decimated by the exodus of young men who preferred the deserts of the great central plains or the wilderness of a great city to the intolerable tedium of a treadmill existence—work relieved only by rest sufficient for another day's work. Thousands of others have avoided depopulation by utilizing the failure of such refugees, and persuading their malcontents to make the best of their home chances. Spanish rustics gamble or smoke under such circumstances, gypsies strum their guitars, lazaroni go to sleep. But our Whitecappers illustrate the truth of Charles Dickens' remark that "there is a passion for hunting something deeply implanted in the human breast," and after the extinction of coons and rabbits, have taken to hounding their non-conventional neighbors. Biologically considered, their expedient may be defined as a hybrid between the meddling instinct and the bugbear mania of our Darwinian ancestors. At sight of an unfamiliar object—a surveyor's flag or an open umbrella, a troop of Abyssinian baboons may be seen ranting and gesticulating, evidently anxious to work up a sensation at somebody's expense. The females snatch up their pot-bellied bantlings and hug them in a paroxysm of well-feigned alarm; their marriageable daughters exchange mysterious winks, and the old males slam down their fists with more and more menacing growls. Every flutter of the suspected object fans the fire of the smouldering excitement, till the whole troop huddle together to discuss *sotto voce* suggestions for the enforcement of the moral standard.

One fancies to hear an echo of such whispers in the consultations of our rural sensation-mongers. "What! that lady in Hobson's cottage sleeps with her windows wide open? Tries to catch her death of cold, probably, so they have to send her to the county hospital, and feed her on the taxes they squeeze out of working people—or wants to accommodate some visitor that is afraid to show up in daytime. And those Mormon missionaries in that camp near Wyer's Cave! Shouldn't wonder if they do not hide their squaws underground, and roast their babies when you see that fire and smoke in night time. They were seen talking to Mrs. F.; her husband had better watch out. And they steal, too, it seems; one of them was wearing

a new overcoat that has never been seen in their camp before. Or if he did buy it, it was only to brag about the good times in that Turkish Sultan country of theirs! Bought it because the weather is getting cold? That story won't work at this time of the year; let's go and warm things up for them, anyhow."

Often, too, their victims expiate the sins of other ancestors, of middle maniacs of the Hudibras type, who surrounded the actions and words of their neighbors with a network of by-laws that have since become dead-letter statutes from the standpoint of rational magistrates, but are still preposterously alive in the skulls of amateur regulators. For many years after the Spanish Cortes had abolished the witchcraft laws, Spanish mountaineers still joined the search gangs of the *matabruxos* or "hag-killers," and the declaration of metaphysical freedom and equality has benefited only the most progressive communities of our model republic; the streets of Reactionville still resound with the whoops of the heretic hunter.

The impeachments which our midnight reformers have made pretexts of murderous assaults include charges of profanity, financial extravagance, sabbath-breaking, premature marriages, non-conventional dress ("bloomers," etc.), agnosticism, unsocial habits, disregard of warnings—contempt of court, as it were—and even failure to patronize local markets and industries. In the Western Alleghanies a gang of masked hoodlums smashed the scant household furniture of a crippled cobbler who had been caught reading Darwin on Sunday, and ordered a censor out of his house; and a Texas physician, first bullied in his office and then trying to leave town, was attacked at the depot by a cowhide brigade and beaten out of human shape for having refused to join the "Law and Order" league.

It would be absurd to say that such outrages supplement the shortcomings of our penal code; they ape the overzeal of the dark ages, and often make even the fanaticism of intolerance a cloak of much baser propensities —envy, destructiveness, and the instinctive hatred of superior intelligence.

Like ghouls masquerading in the garb of Friar Benedict, these night prowlers defy ordinary methods of self-protection, and can be exorcised only by the removal of the cause. Bushwhacker moralists who would baffle Mr. Caldwell's "counter regulators" by superior topographical knowledge might be effectually abolished by the establishment of village gymnasiums and Free Holiday leagues.

F. L. OSWALD.

THE STORING OF ATMOSPHERIC ELECTRICITY.

IT is a scientific fact that the atmosphere contains more or less electricity at all times. Over a century ago Benjamin Franklin gave a practical demonstration of this truth by drawing a current of electricity from the upper atmosphere through a kite. Other experiments of a similar nature resulted in the death of several experimenters, they having unwisely lost sight of the fact that it was necessary to have some protection in the shape of insulation in case of an overcharge.

These experiments have proved beyond doubt that electricity may be drawn from the atmosphere by simple means, all of which have been long understood and are quite natural; moreover, we know that it is easier to obtain this current under some atmospheric conditions than others. Dry air is a non-conductor and moist air a good conductor of this valuable invis-

ible power, and the greatest amount of electricity is found when the atmosphere is charged to its full capacity with moisture.

Electricity is shown in the phenomena of thunder-storms, in the slight electrification in the air during clear weather, and in the aurora.

During the auroral display it has been possible, owing to the abundance of electricity in the air, to work telegraph lines and transmit messages for long distances without the aid of a battery. The most plausible theory of the aurora is that of Franklin, that it is caused by electric discharges in the upper air, resulting from the differing electrical conditions of the cold air of the polar regions and the warmer streams of air and vapor raised from the ocean by evaporation in tropical regions.

It is generally understood that the clear air above the earth is positively electrified, and that the air at the earth's surface is negatively electrified and its volume measured by its potential from a point above the earth to that at the surface, while the air between the upper and lower layers serves to keep the opposite charges separate.

It is usually found that in cloudy or rainy weather the charge is of a negative character and with clearing weather it changes to positive, any definite change in the electrical conditions indicating a change of weather conditions.

Atmospheric conditions must necessarily play a very essential part in the electrical potential. This being so uncertain and weather conditions so changeable, it may never be possible to obtain a constant for any given elevation; but it is possible to so govern the current drawn from the clouds or a clear sky by passing it to earth through lightning arrestors or possibly resistance coils, that by the time it reaches the desired point its potential would be so reduced as to allow its charge to be utilized in charging storage batteries.

Now, it may be said that under the most adverse conditions the current would be found too weak to be of value; but I believe that even under such conditions there would be sufficient electricity gathered to continue in force that previously stored without failure or loss of power, provided the capacity of storing is sufficient to meet the wants of an emergency of this character.

This would provide against the unstable atmospheric element, and the periods and conditions under which its greatest volume exists being known, extra precaution and provision must be made for storing for future use.

It is contended by some that the ocean affords the best facilities for gathering and storing this valuable power; I contend that, although the ocean may be the better conductor, it would be more difficult to store on the ocean than on land, for it is always an easy matter to carry a current to moist soil and there do the storing. Besides, there is in addition to be gathered the earth currents, and that artificially generated by the thousands of dynamos, etc., which is of itself to-day a vast power and is hardly utilized before the power is lost. There is nothing to prove that a current when once set in motion cannot be controlled and made a permanent power; its force, if stored, may be used over and over again, if a proper conductor is provided, after it has performed its work, to carry it to a reservoir or storage plant for future use.

Have you ever thought of the great volume of electricity which our atmosphere contains? We inhale with every breath a sufficient quantity to strengthen and invigorate us—it is one of the most important elements. There is an ebb and flood wave to our atmosphere which is similar in its action to the tides of the ocean. Its maximum pressure occurs at

certain hours of the day and night, and its minimum at opposite hours. When the pressure is at its minimum the electrical force of our bodies is least, and at such times we are greatly enervated and weakened, and at periods of excessive humidity similar effects in our physical condition may be observed. When the atmosphere is thoroughly saturated it is a more perfect conductor, and the current readily leaves us for that offering the least resistance. All these forces tend to show and prove that there is an electrical discharge from one substance to another, and fully demonstrates that it needs but the best conductor to gather and a proper receptacle to store the electric fluid which constantly surrounds us.

Several experimenters are already employed in devising a plan for gathering and storing atmospheric electricity, and I am confident from the progress already attained in this line that it will not be many years before atmospheric electricity can be properly stored and utilized, taking the place of all lighting, heating and motor power employed at the present day.

The possibilities and uses to which this power may be applied are innumerable. I expect to see it used in every house in as simple a manner as gas or water, so that it shall be within the reach of the poor as well as the wealthy.

The earth and atmosphere were given to us for useful purposes; the earth has responded to many of our wants, and now as science progresses and we are becoming more enlightened, the possibilities of atmospheric qualities and quantities are open for experiment.

E. B. DUNN.

WHY MORE MEN DO NOT MARRY.

THE first reason that naturally suggests itself as answer to this question is the cost of living. To-day it takes more money to support a home than formerly, because what once were luxuries are now considered family necessities. Not only must the poorest city tenement-house be provided with set laundry tubs, but farmers' wives insist that their kitchens as well as their husbands' barns shall be provided with modern appliances.

A woman herself is no more expensive as the presiding genius or as the maid-of-all-work in the home than in the past. If she has more clothes than her predecessor it is because newspaper and magazine enterprise has brought the æsthetics of dress within the reach of her economics. She runs her own sewing-machine, and cuts her cheap material by the latest pattern in *Harper's Bazar*, instead of employing the village dressmaker, who has to be found as well as paid.

But apart from herself the woman, as wife and mother, demands more accessories than did her grandmother and the problematic husband counts the cost of these non-essentials before he proposes. He knows he cannot get as much out of his possible wife as his father did out of his mother, and that even if he dared to work her as hard, his doing so would furnish forth a theme for discussion at some woman's society. Naturally his vanity objects to such display of his valor as an employer, disguised as a husband. If individual men were once under the sway of individual women, the collective man is now bossed by the collective woman and dreads the dispassionate treatment he may receive from her words in clubs and social circles.

In the estimated cost of living, the prospective husband includes not so much the price of meat or flour per pound as the expense of hygienic

conditions demanded by the spread of popular science. These really constitute the difference in cost between the past and present. A set tub is a convenience, but the necessity of another wash-room than the kitchen arises from the modern perception that it is unhealthy to have food cooked where clothes are washed and babies tended. The notion that every man, woman, and child is entitled to a yearly vacation for the sake of health is expensive. The discovery that each one needs about thirty cubic feet of fresh air each minute necessitates rent for larger or separate sleeping-rooms. Though the skill in better preparation of food, now often acquired in the public schools, diminishes the cost of waste, and less sickness is the result of increased sanitation, still the economics of hygiene foot up to a formidable potential bill in the mind of a cautious lover.

To the honor of men be it said, however, that each one of them wants his wife to live as well as do other men's wives. Disliking in imagination the possible result of such a wish, which is actuated by fear of the public as much as by love, he foresees the purchase of his furniture on the instalment plan and the final foreclosure of the mortgage on his house. He suspects that if married he will not have the strength of will to resist alike the mandates of pride and the appeals of affection, and will spend more than he can afford, when carrying also a good insurance policy, while if he remains a callous bachelor his self-regard bids him consult only his own comfort.

Man, too, is very timid about his ability not merely to maintain a wife, but to keep a home within respectable numerical proportions. He knows he should enjoy the dignity of having an heir, but he does not want too many. So in whatever light he calmly regards the subject he counts its cost. If, indeed, he has fallen in love unwittingly and irretrievably, he takes counsel of hope and expects to get along somehow.

This consideration of cost applies to all classes and conditions of men who marry as intelligent beings, which leaves a larger number of unreflecting men and women who mate with less forethought than the birds of the air. Among these classes the ratio of marriage is in inverse proportion to the income, for the less one has the more he believes in Providence or in his own self-sufficiency. Such faith accounts for most of the buoyant, inexpedient marriages that the laboring class contracts, which after all are rewarded often, if not by success, at least by indifference in feeling, as it is reasoned there is never anything bad but it might have been worse.

Among the working classes (the upper ranks of the laboring class) and through all the various sections of the middle class, this counting of cost cools the mental atmosphere for marriage; while plutocracy, feeling that at any time it can afford to do what it wishes, is at ease on the subject, turns philanthropic and endows institutions instead of wives, since the ability to do what one wants often destroys the wish to do it.

As potent as the considerations of expense are the four causes of summer-girls, education, athletics, and clubs, which lead many men not to marry.

A summer-girl is not half so serious a business as a platonic affair, though her varieties, excuses, and fritterings slowly bereave men of any notion of steadfast affection and rational enjoyment. She fastens like a parasite on the tender college youth and adores his fresh, young manliness. She leads him a jig in the dance of his feelings, too wary to accept more than bonbons, and ready to hold him in leash as a brother when he runs to sentiment. One or two such experiences teach him in turn, as he grows

older, the art of flirtatious fencing and of breaking off in the middle of a declaration. At the end of a season his vanity has not been hurt by a refusal, and her conscience consoles her for not having brought him to the point. When he has re-established his good opinion of himself, he finds he has lost the zest for a lengthy marriage, thinks less of girls and more of his mother, and settles down as a bachelor, ready again for any test of his emotions which will not culminate in the fixity of feeling requisite for a wedding. One could moralize over the harm these experienced summer-girls inflict upon ideals of honor and loyalty if they themselves were not so capriciously bewitching and from an economic point of view so much less expensive than wives. That they injure their "sex" does not disturb their futility. Their reign is brief, and they care not that its injuries are lasting if they have got as much out of it as they could.

A middle-aged bachelor who has had many summer-girls is apt to allege as the reason of his single life that he could not find any one to marry him. Such simplicity betrays itself, even if it is courteous to womanhood. What he really means is that his summer girls have destroyed his ability to love but one person steadily.

The higher average in education which is now expected of every one has also acted as a deterrent upon a man's desire to realize his tender fancy for marriage. It is not enough to go through high school; ordinary fellows must also go to college. When a boy finishes his four years there, seven more at least lie ahead of him, if he studies a profession, before he can earn a thousand a year; or if he goes into business on his own merits and not on his father's capital he is forewarned that he must be content to remain a subordinate indefinitely. This is the price he pays for his collegiate training. It may be worth it, but few fellows get engaged on class day as did their fathers. The graduates of to-day argue that though a wife may help some, so many girls are collegians, the birth of many children hinders prosperity. Such men are too humble or fearsome to ask women to endure penury lest they fail of ultimate success. For one Palissy who burns up his household stuff and wins, there are thousands who pawn it and fail.

Besides the delay in establishing a home imposed by the demands for the higher education, the delights of knowledge in itself, which are more deeply appreciated each day, act against haste in marriage, until inclination for it has faded away. Culture is less expensive than a wife and her charms are more enduring. Fame is more manifold than home affections, and her rewards are a lien on future ages. A scholar need not now be a monk and his library can be far more to him than the actuality of a children's nursery. In the past a man, though a student, married, since marriage was the divinely ordained order of things. He took it as a matter of course, as a mere incident, not counting its consequences, which must occur in his experience as it had in that of his ancestors. Now, having outgrown alike the theological authority of marriage and the church vows of celibacy, he sees he can do as he pleases, always provided he is not in love, while the pleasures of the intellect dominate him to the exclusion of the chivalrous or selfish gratification of supporting wife and children.

There is also a physiogological result from the effects of education which must be reckoned with as a factor in the prevention of marriage, a well-recognized bit of common sense—that the more culture a man possesses the less gross are his instincts.

The advanced state of general education extends this truth from the ex-

ceptional individual to the average thousands of intelligent people who understand the laws of economics, of hygiene and of mental growth so well that they prefer the lesser risks of bachelordom to the greater uncertainties of marriage. After all, man grows fearful as he gets educated.

It is not, however, the education of books alone which acts as a deterrent upon a man's thought of marriage, but his study of physical culture. The wide-spreading popularity of athletics has done more to destroy belief in his supposed need of marriage than any other institution or cause. Health is now a frequent foremost consideration in a young man's calculations, health to be gained independently of marriage, as gymnasiums have taken the place of false advice and curbed the morbid growth of passion.

Athletics, however, never would have attained the educational rank they now hold among the non-collegiate working classes if the colleges had not stimulated their growth, and sanctioned their games; though they have not yet awarded a scholarship for skill in them. Still, the roughest prize-fighter feels behind him this collegiate approval, which eventually will restrict brutality in any contest as athletics come to be regarded as the surest road to health, and not as an opportunity for making money by bets, prizes, or entrance fees.

The effect of this college supervision of health, of professorships in physical culture, of "Christian" gymnasiums, athletics, clubs, and swimming tanks is indirectly helping marriage to reach its true development in equality of companionship, and taking away from it those Eastern notions which vulgarized it. Belief also is lessening in the old theological doctrine of the subserviency of woman, a dogma which made her indignant, and degraded man.

Further yet reaches the effect of athletics upon marriage. The well-trained muscular man ceases to find beauty in feminine lassitude, and so working women and college girls have their gymnasia and athletic sports, which make them cope with man in health. Then when marriage is entered into as partnership of feeling as well as of means the children are well born.

Clubs also furnish another cause which induces men to postpone marriage until the habits of personal comfort have become so thoroughly established that they will not risk the friction of home arrangements. Many persons consider these clubs as the strongest preventives of marriage, but as their members are constantly grieving over the defection of their friends, who, one by one, prefer to spend their evenings in the cushioned corner of a drawing-room rather than in the jolly smoking-room of a club, it is doubtful if clubs act as a hindrance to marriage except upon those whose minds are already made up.

But clubs do foster the growth of platonics among middle-aged men, who, after they have entered its labyrinths, never emerge into the open confines of marriage. Acknowledging the necessity of woman's presence as a stimulus to their emotions and a joy to their vision, they find platonics very inexpensive compared with marriage, and less scandalous than repeated divorces.

The real objection to clubs lies in their insidiousness in slackening energy and creating selfishness. A fellow can live at them better than in his own house. He likes the obeisance of the trained waiters, and knows he cannot get from self-regardful girl-domestics that quick attention to his wishes which his club provides. He has no responsibilities there. He need

not speak if he so elects, while at home he will at least be spoken to. He is independent, after he is admitted. Before that he is as anxious for his election as is an enamored boy for the suffrage of his summer-girl. He has comforts for which, of course, he must pay, but he is not subjected to a perpetual rise and fall in the price of food.

There he has many newspapers, instead of one, which, if he were married, his wife might desire to read at the very time he wished to peruse it. If the menu is not well cooked he can find fault without having to engage a new servant, as would be the case if he were wedded. In short, club life provides that easy affluence, personal independence, and gratification of the palate which a fellow on a small salary can command as a bachelor, but which would be impossible if he had a wife, even if both lived *a la carte*, that unsatisfactory process of mental juggling by which two persons make believe that each has had enough when both are still hungry.

Among the indeterminate factors of prevention of marriage is the growing modesty of men. They are not as self-conceited as they used to be, since their inherited self-consciousness has at last accumulated a force of self-distrust, which makes them fear they may not be accepted. They know they cannot talk about books as well as girls can; that they are liable to attacks of fretful indigestion; that they have not the patience or health to always keep on earning in support of a home. In short the complexities of modern life have unsettled their sureness about themselves. How can they tell that because they love a girl to-day they will to-morrow; that because they like to play with their nephews and nieces they would enjoy having children of their own; and that realities will be better than reveries?

In the olden time a man was pretty sure he would be accepted; now he is quite sure that he may not be. Having grown modest, he has become diplomatic and makes himself aware of the beating of a girl's pulses before he actually proposes, for he knows that merely declaring he loves her does not amount to much now-a-days. Added to his self depreciation is his nineteenth century caution and he is a better accountant than lover, as he waits for a girl to give some encouragement before he finishes in words the sentences which his acts seem to justify.

But as man is also vain as well as modest his vanity deters him from speaking too soon; for though he may be self-condemning before his inner consciousness he is eager to appear well before the world, and he had rather go on loving a girl in secret, for fear that he will be refused, than be made a fool of by showing his regard for her too openly. These secret lovers, fearful and passive, are not marrying men.

Whether or not the women of this generation are as charming as those of a past age depends on one's ideals, but certainly, as the susceptibility of women to marriage has lessened and they have become self-supporting, it is possible they do not so quickly excite the thought of love in a man's mind as of sisterly regard. Certainly if women are less attractive because of their mental and financial independence, another cause is found for dislike of marriage. After all, when a man is in love any reason fails to convince him of the folly of marriage. When he is indifferent, he is open to conviction. When he thinks he is firmly opposed to marriage then will he suddenly wed the youngest girl who will take him.

The result of the cost of living, of athletics, clubs, etc., constitutes the reasons why more men do not marry, for most men do. When migration is equalized so that some States have not a superabundance of men and others

of women, doubtless enforced propinquity will increase marriage; but it is impossible for education to be as general as it is to-day without men's finding out their capacity to live alone and to be happy, as women have discovered their power to do the same.

Nevertheless the wise man never makes a positive statement about himself, preferring to pose problematically before himself and others, lightly discussing the past, accepting the present and smoking his way into the future. But all his caution as a bachelor does not prevent his being aware of a frail shudder passing over him at the thought of what might have been, while as a married man he is too gentlemanly to regret having taken a wife unto himself.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

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GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS TO A FRIEND, 1862-1880.—II.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

XI.

17, Cavendish Square, June 9th, 1877.

My stay in London has been more protracted than I had intended, or will be before my accepted engagements are fulfilled. I have accepted invitations for every day up to and including the 26th of this month. On the 28th of June I will be at a banquet to be given in Liverpool. Within a few days of that time, most likely on the 1st day of July, I will be in Paris on my way to Switzerland. My stay will probably not reach more than a day or two beyond the 4th of July in Paris. The reception I have had in England so far has been very gratifying and I think very complimentary to our country. I recognize the fact that it is more for the country all the compliments I am receiving are intended than for me personally.

I will send my courier to Paris to secure quarters for our short stay, or will get General Torbett to do this for me. I will be compelled to be very moderate in my expenditures to correspond with my means. In fact the extent of my visit abroad will depend entirely on how long I can stay upon the limited capital I have brought with me.

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XII.

PARIS, France, October 7th, 1878.

I am just in receipt of your very welcome letter of the 23d of September. I have no recollection of receiving a letter from you written about the time of your departure from Paris. I am sure I should have answered had such a letter reached me. The last communication I remember anything of was either a letter or despatch—the latter I think—received by me at Frankfort, in answer to mine stating the time I would remain there. I was very sorry not to meet you there.

As you say, it is bliss to be out of the United States just at a time when all the bad elements in the country are seemingly carrying everything before them. It is to be hoped, and I think confidently to be relied upon, that all the isms will have run their course before 1880. It is incomprehensible that men—not to say a majority— could be found who are willing to upset the country financially just at a time when we have got so near to specie payments, when we have established the highest credit known among nations, and when general prosperity to the country is just dawning. The whole Democratic party cried itself hoarse over the outrage upon the Constitution when the nation, in its desperation, adopted the "legal tender note." Every Democratic Judge upon the Supreme bench, I believe, gave a judicial opinion against the constitutionality of the act and every Republican member of the Court sustained it only on the ground of imperative necessity, a means to save the nation's life, on the ground of self-defence and self-preservation justifying the means. Now the whole party seems to be willing to issue an unlimited quantity of this money in spite of their previous declaration, in spite of the solemn promise that above a certain amount—400,000,000 —should not be issued, in spite of the solemn obligation that those issued should be redeemed in coin, understood at the time to be gold coin. I believe I am right in this statement of the views of the Supreme Court on the money question. . . .

We leave here in a few days for Spain and Portugal. When we have visited those countries we will have been in every country in Europe, and a little of Africa and Asia. I have enjoyed it all very much, but often feel homesick to get back. If I should go back now, however, I would have no home to go to. In the spring

I would have my Long Branch home, where I could stay through the summer and make arrangements for the winter. Mrs. Grant joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Washburne and the children, as well as to yourself. I will always be glad to hear from you, and hope I shall not prove negligent in answering.

XIII.

PARIS, FRANCE, December 24th, 1878.

Your very welcome letter of November the 24th was awaiting me here on my return to Paris some ten days since. I was very glad to hear from you again, but sorry to hear the cause of the detention of your family East this winter. I hope your daughter is improving and that she will soon be restored to entire health.

You have seen by the papers that I have determined to go home by India, China, and Japan. This will not probably delay my return, but it will land me in San Francisco about the time I expected to reach Philadelphia—say the last of June. If we get to San Francisco as early as that or nearly so, I shall want to remain on the Pacific coast six weeks or two months. I spent two years there in early life and always felt the greatest desire to make it my future home. Nothing ever fell over me like a wet blanket so much as my promotion to the Lieutenant-Generalcy. As junior Major-General in the regular Army I thought my chances good for being placed in command of the Pacific Division when the war closed. As Lieutenant-General all hope of that kind vanished. You wrote me that you had been all over the Pacific coast before and how much interested you were in that country.

I anticipate great pleasure from the trip before me. The fact is I take much more interest in seeing countries but seldom visited by foreigners than in seeing those where one comes but little in contact with others than those foreign to the soil visited. I shall endeavor to profit by the journey, even if I should write nothing. So far I have abstained from giving my views about the institutions and people of the countries I have already visited. The fact is, however, that I have seen nothing to make me regret that I am an American. Our country, its resources, the energy, ingenuity, and intelligence of the people, etc., is more appreciated abroad than at home. If our politicians and people could see us as others see us, and see how much better off all pro-

ducing classes are with us than in the most favored nation of Europe, they would have much less to complain of and more to be thankful for.

I am much pleased with the result of the November elections. It seems to me to put the Republican party right for 1880. Providence seems to direct that something should be done just in time to save the party of progress and national unity and equality. The Potter investigating committee and the financial question did it the last time.

XIV.

SINGAPORE, STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, April 4th, 1879.

Since my last letter to you I have seen much of the world new to me, and but little visited by our countrymen. The reality is different from my anticipations as to climate, characteristics of the natives, the governments that have been forced upon them, etc., etc. My idea had been rather that English rule in this part of the globe was purely selfish, all for the benefit of "Old England" and pampered sons sent here to execute laws enacted at home, and nothing for the benefit of the governed. I will not say that I was all wrong, but I do say that Englishmen are wise enough to know that the more prosperous they can make the subject the greater consumer he will become, and the greater will be the commerce and trade between the home government and the colony, and greater the contentment of the governed. This quarter is governed on this theory, and, as far as my opportunities have given me the power to judge, by a most discreet, able, and well-chosen set of officials. My opinion is that if the English should withdraw from India and the East, they would scarcely get off the soil before the work of rapine and murder and wars between native chiefs would begin. The retrograde to absolute barbarism would be more rapid than progress toward civilization is possible; it would be almost instantaneous. As Mr. Young, who is travelling with me, gives accurate and detailed accounts of every place we visit, and all we see, nothing of this sort is necessary from me. I keep somewhat careful notes, however—have since leaving Paris for the East—but doubt whether I shall ever use them further than for my own reference.

The weather is getting very warm in this section, and we must expect a good deal of it before we get to a cool climate. In

a few days we start for Bangkok, Siam, and return here—within a degree of the equator—to take steamer for Hong-Kong. I shall then visit Chinese ports as far north as Shanghai, and possibly go to Pekin before visiting Japan. It looks now as if we would reach San Francisco as early as August. I am both homesick and dread going home. I have no home, but must establish one after I get back. I do not know where.

XV.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HONG KONG, May 4, 1879.

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 4th of February from San Antonio. I was in San Antonio in December, 1845, when it was but little else than a Mexican town and isolated from all settlements. From Corpus Christi to San Antonio there was not a family except a few Mexican settlers along the San Antonio River for some miles below the town. From there to Austin there was not a habitation except at New Bensfelt, which had been colonized, I think, that year.

We are now on the homestretch, letters going much quicker to America by the East than by the West. Up to this time myself and party have had the same hearty welcome and kind hospitalities as we experienced throughout India. It promises to be the same thing through China and Japan. At this place I have received official notification from both governments of their desire to make my stay among them as pleasant as possible. This is really the most beautiful place I have yet seen in the East. The city is admirably built and the scenery is most picturesque. The harbor is made by the irregular high land on the main shore and innumerable islands coming up out of the sea and rising to a height of from 500 to 1,700 feet above. We go to-morrow to Canton, thence to Shanghai and Pekin. On the way we will make short stops at several China sea ports. I expect to reach Yokohama about the last of June, and San Francisco late in August. I expect to remain on the Pacific for some weeks and then to go to Galena to remain until the weather gets cold. Where we will spend the winter I have not determined. We may go to Florida and Havana.

XVI.

NIKKO, JAPAN, July 23, 1879.

Some weeks since I received your letter written after you had

received mine from Bombay. You had not received one from me written after your suggestion had been received to go to Galena on my return home. I answered that letter, saying that I should go there, and presume you received it after yours was written. Lest you may not have received it, however, I repeat that it has been my intention to go to Galena on my return.

Since my last to you I have visited the principal seacoast cities in China, and Pekin in the interior, and have now been nearly a month in this most interesting country and among these interesting people. China stands where she did when her ports were first open to foreign trade. I think I see dawning, however, the beginning of a change. When it does come China will rapidly become a powerful and rich nation. Her territory is vast and is full of resources, agricultural, mineral; iron, coal, copper, silver and gold, besides nearly every other metal, abound as they do with us. The population is industrious, frugal, intelligent, and quick to learn. They are natural artisans and tradesmen. From Bombay to Hong Kong they monopolize all the trades—mechanical—the market gardening, trucking, stevedoring, small shopkeeping, etc., and are rapidly driving out the larger merchants. They cannot do so well, however, in their own country. They must have the protection of a better and more honest government to succeed. Neither the country, cities, nor people present attractions to invite the traveller to make a second visit. Japan is different. The country is beautiful beyond description. Every street and every house is as clean as they can be made. Good water prevails everywhere and it is freely used. The progress that has been made in the last dozen years is almost inconceivable. Free schools abound all over the land, giving facilities for every child, male and female, to get a fair education. Attendance is almost compulsory between certain ages. In the cities they have academies, colleges and normal schools, both to prepare males and females. It has been my privilege to visit at Tokio (Yeddo) their military and naval academies, their School of Science, their college, their normal school for young ladies, a very large school for children, taught by female teachers prepared at the normal school and other places of learning. The two former compare very well with our own military and naval academies in course taught, discipline, drill, and progress of the students. A student to enter the School of Science must be a good English

scholar, and after entering all his text books and recitations are in English.

The course is six years, the last two in application of what they learned in the first four. A portion of each year—taking the place of vacation with us—is also spent in the workshops making parts of machinery, models of engines, of looms, machinery for spinning and weaving, etc., etc. Many of their teachers are natives, though the studies are in English. It will be but a few years before they will be able to dispense with foreign instruction entirely.

We leave for home by the "City of Tokio," which will sail from Yokohama about the 27th of August. I shall be glad to be settled down at home. . . .

I forgot to mention that students to enter the college must study English five years first, making a nine-year course. Here, too, they have one or two native professors.

XVII.

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., Jan. 18, 1880.

I wrote you a hasty letter from Philadelphia, but do not know whether you received it. Our trip through the South has been so far without an incident to mar the pleasure of it. All the way from Washington the people of all classes and colors were at the stations to meet the train and to extend invitations for myself and party to stop and accept their hospitalities. The business boom has reached the South, and the people are beginning to feel much better contented in consequence. I am very much pleased with Florida. The winter climate is perfection and I am told by Northern men settled here that the summers are not near so hot here as in the North, though of longer continuance. This State has a great future before it. It has the capacity to raise all the sugar and semi-tropical fruits the whole country needs besides supplying vast amounts of timber, early vegetables, nice material for paper, rope, bagging, coarse matting, etc. It affords the best opening to be found in any country for young men of little means but full of energy, industry, and patience. The impetus given already will supply in a few years all the semi-tropical fruits required by the country. What is now wanted is the establishment of moderate sugar mills over the country to buy all the sugar cane small farmers will furnish. The State is

underlayed and has around it deposits of valuable fertilizers sufficient for many generations. If you do not join me in Cuba I hope you will come here to spend March and April. I do not doubt but you would receive much benefit from the visit.

I will sail from Cedar Keys for Havana on the 20th. The Secretary of the Navy has placed at Havana a vessel at my command. I think I shall make an excursion to Hayti, St. Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica, and swing around by Yucatan, so as to reach Vera Cruz about the 15th of February. When I return it will be by the way of Galveston and Denver. At the latter place and in Colorado generally I expect to stop until the weather is pleasant in Galena, say about the 10th of May. I shall be very much pleased to meet you in Havana and have you go on this trip to the West Indies, if you are sailor enough to enjoy the excursion.

XVIII.

HAVANA, CUBA, February 2d, 1880.

Your letter of the 25th of January is just received. The same mail brings New York papers of the 29th, by which I see you were in that city at that time. Your letter directed to me in Washington City was received there, but I neglected to mention it. I see by the papers the same that you mention about * * * * *. I predict that it will do him no good, and as far as it may affect me I care nothing about it. All that I want is that the government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled. I would much rather any one of many I could mention should be President than that I should have it. On that subject I stand just as I told you in Chicago. I shall not gratify my enemies by declining what has not been offered. I am not a candidate for anything, and if the Chicago convention nominates a candidate that can be elected, it will gratify me, and the gratification will be greater if it should be some one other than myself. In confidence I will tell you I should feel sorry if it should be * * * * * * *. Blaine, I would like to see elected, but I fear the party could not elect him. He would create enthusiasm, but he would have opposition in his own party that might lose him some Northern States that the Republicans should carry.

My reception here has been more than cordial by both officials and the people. The weather is sultry, just such as we run from at home in the dog days. If this winter is a sample, Florida is a much better winter resort.

Please present Mrs. Grant's and my best regards to Mrs. Washburne and your family, with the same to yourself. I shall be pleased to hear from you in the City of Mexico.

XIX.

GALVESTON, Texas, March 25th, 1880.

Your letter of the 11th of February only reached Mexico by the mail but one before my departure. I was away from the City of Mexico at the time on an excursion to the Rio Del Monte Silver mines, and did not return until after the departure of the steamer bringing it. Yours of the 26th of February was taken by the steamer on which I returned. There was no opportunity of answering either, therefore earlier, or so that you could receive it earlier than by writing from here.

In regard to your suggestion that I should authorize some one to say that in no event would I consent to ever being a candidate after 1880, I think any statement from me would be misconstrued and would only serve as a handle for my enemies. Such a statement might well be made after the nomination if I am nominated in such a way as to accept. It is a matter of supreme indifference to me whether I am or not. There are many persons I would prefer should have the office to myself. I owe so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, I cannot decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part.

Mexico shows many signs of progress since I was there thirty-two years ago. Railroads are pushing out slowly from the capital and with every advance greater prosperity and employment for the poor follow. I think it should be the policy of our government now to cultivate the strongest feelings of friendship between the people of the two Republics. Soon we will have railroad connection between the two countries, and our people will begin to mix and become better acquainted. Mexico can, and will, raise all the tropical and semi-tropical products which we now buy from countries that take nothing from us in ex-

change, except sterling exchange, and will take from us in return the products of our manufacturers. Americans are beginning now to work their mines. Soon they will be cultivating their sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations, running their factories, doing their banking, etc. I go to San Antonio for a day or two, thence to New Orleans, and up the river to Memphis. I will probably run over to Hot Springs from the latter to absorb time until the weather in Galena gets pleasant. I do not care to arrive there before the first of May.

TEN YEARS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

THE trumpets and fifes of this almost too glorious summer are over at last, and we sink back into the dowdiness of the day after the feast. This, then, should not be an inappropriate moment for the man of letters to set his house in order, and ask himself what effect all the long-drawn popular triumph which culminated in June has had upon his profession, in what a state it found and left him in his essential capacity. It seems worth while to discover what the last ten years have brought about in English literature, where we are in fact, and what pace we have been making. It by no means follows that political success means intellectual prosperity, and it is notoriously difficult to grasp a situation which is unfolding at our very feet. Yet an occasional summary of symptoms, a closing of the shop for an hour to take stock, cannot but be a useful exercise, though the calculation be not final.

It is quite plain, by every analogy of literary history, that we must not expect the progress of intellectual events to be regular. There have always been bursts of genius, followed by pauses or drops into mediocrity, and in England at least these have been noticeable ever since the art of verse, lifted so high in the hands of Chaucer, fell so low in those of his immediate successors. We ought not to despair of the Republic because there is a hush among the voices, but we should read Matthew Arnold's *The New Age* once more, and learn its excellent lesson. When, however, we attempt to concentrate our attention on the literary developments of these last ten years in England, a more unusual phenomenon, I think, meets our notice than would be caused by the mere fluctuation of talent. As events develop from day to day, each exaggerated in apparent importance as it occurs, and

then unduly submerged in the wave of a new excitement, we perceive no general tendency nor common plan. But a space of ten years is at least a fragment of history. What can we discover of the form and character of 1887-1897 ?

This, first and foremost, is evident : It has been a period of the removal of landmarks. The stream of literature catches itself here and there against little weirs or breakwaters, by which it makes shorter or longer pause before flinging itself onward in cascade. The most effective mode in which this delay is caused is certainly by the protracted life of men of great genius. The prestige of very famous old men, their conservative temper, the instinctive honor paid them even by those whose practice is of a different order, delay the transmutation of literary form. Each ancient person of this kind forms a rock or inert mass, against which the stream of literature breaks and pauses. Death removes the honored obstacle, and the tide of taste precipitates itself over the space it occupied. We have only to examine history, and see what was the effect of the deaths of Ben Jonson, of Dryden, of Samuel Johnson. These facts, the removals in exhausted age of these old men, made 1637, 1700, and 1784 not merely convenient dates in the handbooks of literature, but actual flingings-open of flood-gates to the urgent waters of a change of taste.

If this be so, and it can hardly be denied, the phenomenally congested state of English literature, and particularly of poetry, ten years ago, will be seen to have been a feature which outweighed all others. If one great poet (as Victor Hugo in France) holds back the stream of invention to a highly noticeable degree, what will three or four do ? The more venerable the writer becomes, the greater is his force as a repressive influence. The more kindly, the more sympathetic he is, the more difficult it is to oppose his accepted canons. Such a figure as that of Browning in 1889, or of Tennyson in 1892, possesses an almost superhuman stature. His experience, his devotion to his art, his social assumption above all common praise or blame, enfolds him in a kind of deity which his work presently ceases to enjoy in the coolness of posthumous judgment. The living bard, in extreme old age, touches for a moment the heights of glory. He is regarded with something of a superstitious awe. To younger men he seems, like the prophet Aruns in that marble cave of which

Dante speaks in the *Inferno,* lifted to a height from whence all mortal things can be watched in their spectacular simplicity:

"Onde a guardar le stelle
E 'l mar non gli era la veduta tronca."

But at no previous moment in our literary history were there so many of these wonderful old men, these half-supernatural sooth-sayers, as in 1888. Their congregated tradition, their combined resistance to change and reform, offered a really surprising breadth and height of suspension to the moving flood of taste. Tennyson was writing still, and his modes had not radically changed for sixty years. Browning, having completely conquered the public and the critics, was nearing his eightieth year. For those who loved elegance and lucidity in prose, what could be offered more acceptable than that of Newman, and Newman, on the borders of ninety, was still alive? At Oxford, Jowett formed a barrier of influence; in science, there were Tyndall and Huxley; in history, there were Kinglake and Froude. It was to be expected that, in the natural course of events, these eldest names would be removed by death. It was not less to be expected that they would be succeeded, and their prestige be supported, with a difference, by those of a slightly younger generation. Tennyson and Browning must be taken, of course; but Matthew Arnold and William Morris would remain. Jowett would go, but there would be Pater; Froude must, surely, be succeeded by Freeman, and Church by Lightfoot. So it was naturally to be expected, and thus the length and volume of the cascade would have been broken. But it was not so to be; and the unique feature of this last decade of literary history in England has been that it has not merely removed, in unusual and sinister proximity, the heads of the oldest generation, but that it has taken with them those who should have survived to illuminate the blank they leave.

There are surviving in England at the present time only two aged writers whose appearance on a public occasion could excite universal enthusiasm. Only two; for Mr. Gladstone does not solely or even considerably owe his prestige, as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Herbert Spencer do, to the exercise of the pen. But Mr Ruskin, quite unseen at Coniston, has practically, alas! joined the chorus of those invisible singers whose births made the second decade of this century so incomparably splendid. There re-

mains, then, Mr. Spencer, still visible, and still clothed about with the garment of an extreme celebrity. But, with that exception, there is not now in London left one very old man to whom young people might look as they might ten years ago to a whole galaxy of genius. And in the generation succeeding that of Darwin and Tennyson, death has scarcely been less busy. If Mr. George Meredith is spared to us for ten years more, he will become one of those quasi-fabulous figures which stimulate curiosity so much, and serve so well to keep alight the flame of enthusiasm. But to find a single other name which can conceivably be put in the same topmost rank, we must come down to a still younger generation, to Mr. Swinburne and his juniors, and it will be long, indeed, and far into the twentieth century, before Mr. Swinburne, *flos juventutis* of our poetry, can consent to be venerable.

The removal of landmarks, then, is certainly the main phenomenon of these last ten years, and all other aspects of current literary history are affected by it. In one way it has doubtless had its practical benefit in clearing the ground. The fall of so many forest trees has let in plenty of light, and the youngest generations have directly benefited. The removal of these superlative rivals, against whom few beginners could without confusion be pitted, has given us opportunity to do justice to a large number of developing talents. It has, moreover, prevented the talents from being forced to develop in a way which was unsympathetic to their nature. All this, however, and so far as this is true, merely encourages the equal sprouting of underwood ; it has no effect on potential forest trees, or very little. Hence what we have seen in these last ten years is an enormous extension of literary activity, by no means symptomatic of creative and intellectual force. In other words, the trade of author has suddenly become exceedingly lucrative; so much so as to hide the fact that at no time since 1837 has literature, in the higher sense, been so quiescent as it is now.

There is one exception, however, and this of peculiar interest. The deaths of Arnold, of Browning, of Christina Rossetti, and still more of Tennyson, had an instant and almost entirely beneficial influence on poetry. Over the grave of the great Laureate, the newspapers foreboded that verse was dead. Never was there made a more unlucky prophecy. A whole group of various,

but distinguished and enthusiastic poets, whose presence amongst us had been all but unperceived, came to the front, and renewed their own youth and ours. Nothing can be kept up at such a pressure as was the excitement in poetry between 1891 and 1895; the leaders in the new school have taken their places in current literature and will keep it, but genius no longer seems to burden every bough. It is too much to say that the poets of 1892 console us altogether for the intolerable losses our noblest literature was just then enduring; time has not yet sifted their final pretensions. But it is quite certain that the variety, delicacy, and fervor of its young versemen have done more to redeem the decade from the charge of poverty of spirit than any other products of the pen, and the spiritual quality which interpenetrates some of their best work offers the most encouraging phenomenon of recent intellectual life in England.

But, in other departments, it can scarcely be questioned that a very grave feature of the decade of which we speak has been the cessation of activity in the higher branches of literature. One section of letters, indeed, has flourished to an extremely disproportionate degree, namely fiction. A novel may be of the first or of the last order of merit; its rank depends entirely upon its author and his treatment. There is no dignity or value in a story apart from the skill with which the author tells it. Now, a work of history or philosophy or science, if it exists at all, has a basal value upon which any graces of the writer are superimposed. History, for instance, is the better for being written by a Gibbon or a Green; but it is respectable if compiled by a man of judgment and knowledge who can scarcely put two sentences together. So with most other branches of literature; even poetry has its metrical skeleton, its supporting prosody, for which technical training is required. But prose fiction has nothing whatever to guide it but the cleverness of the person who essays to tell us a tale under the hawthorn. The novel, therefore, is precisely the kind of published matter which we should expect to see abounding in an age indifferent to equipment, and rebellious to the intellectual hierarchy, for this is work which demands no training and bows to no tradition.

The extreme volubility and number of the novelists—a few of them really great, many of them interesting and amusing, the vast majority wholly worthless, mere cumberings of the press—

must not deceive us as to the intellectual character of any epoch. The story-teller is our companion in every age. But although, to the commercialism of the day, the novel seems an extremely important factor in current letters, it has really proved in the past to be the most ephemeral. The great novelists, the Jane Austens and the Charlotte Brontës, the Fieldings and the Thackerays, live among the poets, by virtue of their style and their creative force. The rest, in their thousands, are drowned in immediate and final oblivion a few months after the issue of their books. The ordinary common novel, nowadays, is a mere *article de Paris* or variety of fancy goods. It is manufactured to amuse without a demand for mental effort, and to be thrown away.

It is true, none the less, that even this vast multiplication of novels within the decade now closing cannot be taken as a purely negative phenomenon. It shows a restless energy directed along lines not by any means purely unintellectual. If we compare the activity of English fiction with the deadness of the novel in Germany, or with the fashion in France for books of pure eccentricity, we have not anything to complain of. Excellent novels have been published in England since 1887, and of a singularly various order. The realistic, the antiquarian, the social-didactic, the supernatural, the military, and the idyllic schools have all flourished. An especial feature of the ten years has been the production of a crop of romances, written in broad Scotch for an English audience, but intelligible, it is said, to many readers north of the Tweed. With some of these stories there are issued useful glossaries which bring them within the reach of all. Early in the ten years, Mr. Rudyard Kipling arose, meteoric, like a god out of India, and straightway the field of fiction was infinitely widened. We have novels of Canada and of the Transvaal, of Borneo and of Tahiti.

Fashion grows with what it feeds on, and unquestionably the extreme vogue of this particular kind of book, the prose story, has drawn into its vortex many talents which had no original tendency in that direction. For example, Stevenson, manifestly born to be an essayist and perhaps a philosopher, was dragged, as a magnet draws a needle, to the irresistible rock of story-telling, and *Treasure Island*, begun as a joke for a boys' newspaper, was made the pioneer of a series of tales to which the author's exquisite style gave the persistence of literature. In Mrs. Hum-

phrey Ward a most accomplished literary critic has been lost to us; in Mr. George Moore a candid student of sociology; in Mr. Stanley Weyman a historian of the school of Robertson. Among the departments of literary energy which are now the most neglected is scientific philosophy of the sort so brilliantly illustrated by two of the great men who have disappeared since 1888, by Tyndall and Huxley. The class of writer which they represented, the pioneer in physical discovery, who is also a splendid popular exponent, combining accurate research with the exercise of imagination and style, has ceased to exist in England. Mr. Wells might have risen in it to the highest consideration, but he prefers to tell little horrible stories about monsters. On all sides we may see, and we ought not to see without acute alarm, the finer talents being drawn from the arduous exercises to which nature intended to devote them to the facile fields of fiction.

The result of all this is that, to an extent which ought to occasion all serious observers no little alarm, the great reading public is rapidly becoming unable to assimilate any ideas at all, and to appreciate impressions it requires to have them presented to it in the form of a story. The multitude of readers grows every hour, but with these masses those individuals become fewer and fewer who are able to follow the path-ways of thought without the help of knowing what Edwin did and what Angelina wore. Specialists push the subdivision of observations about fact to an even more extreme nicety; but they only address other specialists. The rest of the world prefers to take its information and its excitement from two sources of entertainment, the newspaper and the novel. It is almost certain that if *Modern Painters* or *The Grammar of Assent* or even *The History of Civilization* had been published within the last ten years, it would have scarcely attracted any attention at all, outside a narrow circle. It is more than probable that Buckle and Newman, if not Mr. Ruskin, would have resigned themselves to the inevitable, and have tried to present their views and convictions in the form of tales.

This curious condition has been greatly encouraged, if it has not been mainly caused, by a change in English habits of life which will certainly interest and puzzle the historian of the future. If any feature of these last ten years has been more patent than another, it assuredly is the predominant prestige of the exterior parts of social existence. The human body has re-

ceived an amount of attention such as no previous age, perhaps not even the Hellenic, had given it. The elements of education have come to reduce themselves more and more into a sort of disciplined athleticism, in which the mind is not indeed entirely neglected, but is made to take a very inferior position to the limbs. Our public schools have fostered this physical training to such an excess that in many of them participation in sports is more obligatory than attendance at lessons, and to be "good at games" is the only pathway to happiness in this world and the next. Masters are chosen not because of their scholarship or their tact, but because of their prowess at football or cricket, and even the good things of the Church may be secured to-day by the spirited application of a reputation for athletics.

The over-materialism of our educational centres, and the dangerous abuse of physical training, date from a period much earlier than 1888. But during the ten years which have just passed, the boys brought up under the athletic system have been in their prime as men of influence. In the general result, I should be the last to suggest that there has not been much to congratulate ourselves upon. This latest generation of Englishmen is healthy, active, and determined; its members are admirably fitted to employ the hours of their wholesome youth and vigorous middle age in energetic action and in spirited interference with the habits and wishes of inferior populations. They form the body-guard of a nation to which it is exceedingly convenient to belong. But these heroes of a thousand fields, these insatiable players of games which are but forms of mimic warfare, cannot expect, and fortunately do not wish, to excel in the peaceful exercises of the mind as well. What with its polo and its golf, its shooting and its fishing, and all its other enchanting physical exercises, the ruling class in England is much too tired and too happy when evening comes to devote its thought to any serious branch of study or to pursue any difficult train of thought. For the sons of men who used to sit up half the night discussing the *Origin of Species*, Mr. Anthony Hope prepares the sleeping draught of his soothing romances. There is nothing whatever to be sarcastic about in this. It acts like the rule of three. If you spend the day in violent strain of the muscles in the open air, it is absolutely impossible to work your brain at night, and it would be hurtful to you if you were to try to do so.

In this respect the masses of the nation have paid to the rich flattery in its sincerest form. They also have accepted the physical or athletic ideal, and are cultivating it to extravagant excess. It is an admirable thing that young men of the working class should be able to relax their sinews and enjoy as many innocent sports as possible. But, in the fullest seriousness, I suggest that it is not admirable or wholesome, but puerile and almost crazy, that the record of these games should swell into the proportions of national events, that news about county cricket and football should take precedence of the most weighty affairs of state, and that hundreds and thousands of persons should be encouraged by their educated leaders in the press to consider a champion billiard-player a more exalted personage than a great statesman or a great scholar. I do not think that Englishmen of the more moderate way of thinking realize the violent degree to which the athletic ideal has pushed all others to the wall within the last few years. Matthew Arnold warned us that we had a barbarian class amongst us. If he had lived till to-day he might judge that we have practically no other.

While, however, I feel bound to express a certain alarm, or disquietude, at the turn which taste has taken during these last ten years, I am far from supposing it to constitute a lasting danger. It is easy to have too much intellectual strenuousness. We are resting a little, after the stern Middle Victorian priggishness. Literature is, after all, merely the reflection of life, and life may be so vivid as not to require to be illustrated. Doubtless the happy nations only read stories, and the millennium will probably know nothing but illustrated descriptions of its own prosperity. The existence of a Briton, since 1887, has been exceedingly varied and exciting. It has not encouraged contemplation ; it has been full-blooded, robust, contentious. There can be no amazement caused by the fact that those who have enjoyed it, those who have felt its tug at their muscles and their heart-strings, should have turned to books for amusement, and not for intellectual exertion. To follow the masters of thought demands laborious days, and Hegel is hardly the author to take up after a long spin on a bicycle. A sedative is what we have wanted, not a stimulant, rest for the brain, and not the stress of mental gymnastics. Nor would I for a moment pose as a scoffer or a satirist. I have the old, fatalistic conviction that whatever is is right. But I see no

reason for claiming triumphs in the particular field where we have not been fighting, nor in pretending that a decade chiefly spent in other interests and with antagonistic habits has been one of brilliant literary progress. Without a suspicion of sarcasm, I merely record that the ten years since 1887 seem to me to have been marked in England, so far as literature is concerned, by an extraordinary removal of the great traditional figures which gave their tone to thought; by an excessive and unwieldy preponderance of one class of book—and that the class least amenable to criticism—namely, the novel; and by a growth of combined athleticism and commercialism highly unfavorable to art and letters.

EDMUND GOSSE.

HAS JUDAISM A FUTURE?

BY PROF. ABRAM S. ISAACS, EDITOR OF "THE JEWISH MESSENGER."

It is difficult to secure a just and unbiased interpretation of Judaism as a modern religion, because the Jew who shares the honor of being included with priests, lawyers, and women in the capacious storehouse of uncomplimentary popular proverbs, is treated either with superlative praise or superlative condemnation. The want of due proportion in the estimate in both cases leads to faulty generalizing and gross injustice. For the Jew is neither angel nor fiend, but a profoundly human animal with all the defects and virtues, original and acquired, that are common to mankind, "Jew and Gentile, bond and free." Perhaps on the whole his enemies have done less harm than his friends. People like to be agreeably disappointed. It is pleasant to realize that the average Jew is certainly no fiend; and it is always more or less of a shock to discover that our idol is necessarily of clay. The Jew, then, is neither a Daniel Deronda nor a Fagin, neither a Shylock nor a Nathan.

That the Jew is treated as a rule with a prejudice which either exaggerates or distorts the truth, is due almost wholly to the amazing popular ignorance of his history and religion—an ignorance which unhappily is not confined to caricaturists in the comic weeklies or playwrights who revel in hooked noses and flashy jewellery as essentially Hebrew characteristics. Even to Thomas Carlyle, Judaism is simply a religion of "old clothes." So cultured and refined a critic as Goldwin Smith seems as much irritated when he touches upon the Jew as was Haman when he saw Mordecai at the gate. It would be harsh to say that the Jew is made a man of straw, a kind of theological scarecrow, dating from the early centuries, and sent adrift down the ages as a per-

petual object-lesson in irreligion, contumacy, formalism, greed, to guileless children of light, who give him an extra kick two now and then, to keep themselves in practice, and satisfy their disingenuous piety. But is the charge without historic basis ?

Practically, the Jew who serves the nineteenth century moral and adorns its tale is the Jew of Gospel records—the Pharisee of the Pharisees, with all the reputed and none of the reputable traits of his class. If he is referred to in sermons and hymns, he is still the Jew of the New Testament. It is Caiaphas and Judas Iscariot who are his representative men. He is a Palestinian, wears broad phylacteries, and utters ghastly imprecations on his enemies in a language which can be understood only by the sacred few. Let him be anathema.

If the Jew, then, is so caricatured, need it excite suprise that Judaism receives as scanty justice ? It, too, is relegated to the past, to the lumber-room of antiquities. It is to be exhibited in a Semitic museum, forsooth, with the fossils and remains of primitive religions. Its rites and ceremonies are to be illustrated in glass cases for the special delectation of candidates for the ministry. It is to be dissected and analyzed for the benefit of students of comparative philology. It can be made to furnish interesting data in the fields of ethnography and anthropology. In one word, it can be tolerated as a skeleton or a corpse, but not as a living organism. It may be granted a past, but no present can be admitted and no future dare be insisted upon.

The Jew pleads for justice, not for glorification. His critics should cease to view him with the telescope, as if he were an occupant of another sphere. Let them abandon their microscope as well, in their fondness to detect the most minute defects, and lay aside favorite spectacles through which only their own mental strabismus can be discerned. Let them judge the Jew as he is. Let them study Judaism as it is. They will discover that both are very much alive. The time is past for labelling Judaism as pre-historic or the Jew as belonging to the extinct civilizations of the East, with the Phœnicians, Hittites, and the rest. Call him an arrested development, if you like ; a survival, an anachronism. He has survived, because, numerically weak, he has been spiritually strong. He has resisted his environment with all of his contradictions and limitations ; he has withstood with heroic endurance opposing forces and he withstands them still. The

very methods adopted to extirpate him have been his salvation. The weapons forged against him, strange to say, have been his protection. In losing Palestine, he gained the universe. He was denationalized to become an international and cosmopolitan. The Orient was only one phase of his history. Just as the Babylonian captivity cured him forever of idolatry, his world-wandering is teaching him the universal spirit which is at the basis of Jewish prophetism. The remedy was radical, because the disease had reached its crisis and heroic measures were imperative.

It is an egregious blunder to consider Jewish history synonymous with Biblical history. The Old Testament tells simply of Jewish beginnings. The greater Jewish exodus did not end with the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. That historic migration still continues. The Hebrew, as the name etymologically suggests, is the emigrant of history—from the time of Abraham to our own age the movement continues. What is occurring in Russia, the landslides in recent decades from Germany, Poland, Roumania, this is but a grim repetition of the long series of migrations that mark every century. It is Persia in one epoch, Egypt in another, Italy and Greece in their turn, then Arab and Christian Spain, Central Europe, England, France, all links in an endless chain. Yet, despite the constant shifting of condition and environment, there were many breathing spells for the Jew when he could prove hammer as well as anvil, and become more than a silent factor in the world's advancement. The story of the Jew's influence on civilization, the record of his services in the arts and sciences, in literature, music, philosophy, and statecraft, is still to be written. The brief monograph of Schleiden requires to be supplemented by a more pretentious work of wider range.

If the critic of Judaism desires to gauge that religion accurately, he must familiarize himself with the history of the Jew in every land ; he must follow the devious windings of his record East and West. He must account for that marvellous vitality which has been his preservative, and the unexampled adaptiveness which made the Jew at home, whether he saw the Guadalquivir or the Vistula at his feet, the Thames or the Euphrates, amid the orange groves of Sicily or the plains of Arabia—an adaptiveness which he still displays as settler in Australia, South

Africa, or the Argentine. The critical inquirer, too, should ascertain the Jew's record in the lands of his dispersion and his relation to the state, however insecure his right of domicile. Did the Jew originally seek a Ghetto, or was it not an enforced seclusion as if he were contamination and needed to be kept aloof from the rest of mankind? Did the Jew avoid society and mingle only with his special clan, or was not that exclusiveness fostered and maintained by civil and ecclesiastical enactment? Was the Jew always a dealer in old clo', a money lender, the pawnbroker of humanity? The French Crémieux and James Darmesteter, the English George Jessel and Moses Montefiore, the Dutch Godefroi and Josef Israels, the German Edward Lasker and Berthold Auerbach, the Russian Rubinstein and Antokolski, George Brandes in Denmark, Luigi Luzzati in Italy, Emma Lazarus in America, are names of our time, who are but successors of illustrious leaders centuries ago in varied fields, Jews who served the state under caliph, king, and pontiff, who aided powerfully in the revival of learning, the discoveries of science, in the dissemination of knowledge and literature. The true student of Jewish history, too, must become acquainted with the inner life of the Jew and the story of the synagogue's development, its devotional and intellectual range, the growth and ramification of Jewish law and custom, which became burden and blessing both, a crown as well as a yoke.

If his inquiry has been genuine, the critic will realize that the Jew's history, far from having ended when the temple fell and Jerusalem became Ælia Capitolina, has been and is still a continuous record. If the study has been thorough and not superficial, it will be found that Judaism, too, has been in constant growth and change, and is in itself a striking illustration of the theory of evolution. Whatever views one may hold of the composition of the Old Testament and the respective dates of its books, to speak of the prophetism of the patriarchs is as much an anachronism as to refer to the rabbinism of Moses or the Judaism of the Judges. One must be prepared to admit distinct phases in the history and development of Judaism, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Ezra, from Ezra to Jochanan ben Zaccai, who founded the school from which Talmudism sprang; from the sages of the Talmud to the mediæval rabbis with whom the rabbinical era began; from Maimonides and his successors with the

development of local codes and customs, which became the orthodoxy of their age, to Mendelssohn, the forerunner of a new epoch, contemporary with the French Revolution on the one hand and the birth of the American republic on the other. Judaism is thus a growth, not an instantaneous creation. The marvellous changes it has witnessed from the day when the Israelites received the olden tabernacle, with its minutiæ of worship, to its latest developments in cultured lands of our time, are but forecasts, perhaps, of greater changes to come.

What, then, of Judaism's future? What will be its final phase, after the travail of ages, the crucifixion of the centuries? Surely the solution of the Jewish problem cannot be the dissolution of Judaism, the total absorption of the Jew by the nations, his abrupt disappearance from the field. Leaving out of the question all theological prejudices, and facing the problem as students of history, the Jew's persistence on the stage of human effort, despite ten thousand odds, is not likely to weaken as the ages advance. He has more factors in his favor than ever before. The world has grown. It is ceasing to be a battle-ground of the creeds, which are slowly becoming lines, not walls. Ugly hatreds and prejudices still are held, but the borderland of the religions is widening day by day, as their agreements, not differences, are kept in view.

The ultimate phase of Judaism baffles inquiry as much as the ultimate phase of human progress. Two opinions, both purely speculative, may be given here. Each is stoutly advocated, with proof-texts in abundance. The one sees the future of Judaism in a rehabilitated Jewish state, with Jerusalem its capital, which shall prove a court of arbitration for the nations, thus diffusing peace and happiness throughout the universe even as the sparks of the sacrificial offerings fly upward. The other finds the future of Judaism not in the absorption of the Jew by the nations, but in the absorption of the nations by the Jew, the thorough permeating of mankind by the spirit of Judaism, as manifested successively by Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the religion of those who recognize God, virtue, and immortality. It claims that the tendency in all modern faiths is toward unity, simplicity, and purification; that as the process continues with the widening of the suns the nations will slip off their theologies and theogonies and derive more comfort from the prophet than from the casuist.

If in the final outcome all forms of faiths disappear and a new combination arises, the law of the conservation of spiritual forces must still hold sway, and not one jot or tittle of the inspiration in the Testaments that have impelled mankind to righteousness will ever be lost. The resultant religion will not be different in spirit to the declaration of the Pentateuch, which is voiced by the Christian Gospel and finds its echo in the bibles of many creeds: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." When the nations shall have reached the heights of perfect brotherhood, Judaism's future will have dawned. It will cheerfully lay down its shield and sword, its rod and staff. The end of religions will have come in the birth of religion!

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

OUR INTEREST IN SAMOA.

BY THE HON. HENRY C. IDE, LATE CHIEF-JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF SAMOA.

On the 14th day of June, 1889, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, the German Empire, and the United States, at Berlin, agreed upon a treaty, or general act, the first article of which declared "that the islands of Samoa are neutral territory. . . . Neither of the powers shall exercise any separate control over the islands or the government thereof." The primary purpose of the treaty was to maintain the neutrality of the islands. The incidental objects were to prevent dissensions between the several governments, to provide for the security of aliens in Samoa, and, "as far as possible," to promote the interests of the Samoan people. The remaining articles provide machinery for accomplishing these results. The treaty, having been duly ratified, was followed by the organization of the new government nearly two years later, the Supreme Court first opening its doors in June, 1891.

The Opposing Claims.—This international compact has been the subject of earnest discussion in our country, especially during President Cleveland's second administration, and President Cleveland and Secretary Gresham repeatedly recommended a withdrawal from it by the United States. It is urged that the islands are unsuited in climate for the residence of white people; that commercially they are worthless; that the inhabitants are intractable; that the new government is expensive and annoying to our State Department; that it fails to secure the results hoped for; and that it involves an entangling foreign alliance, alien to our traditions and best interests.

Upon the other side it is said that our rights in Samoa already secured are most valuable; that its neutrality and independence are matters of great national importance; that the recent adverse

reports relating to its climate and commercial possibilities are contradictory to all former official reports, and come from persons especially appointed to make them, and who remained in Samoa only long enough to prepare them; that so far as the new government has been unsuccessful its failure has been largely due to the want of loyal support by the United States; that the new government has in fact accomplished all that could reasonably have been expected; that the expense of continuing it is too trivial to be worthy of consideration, and that we should retain the strong position which we have acquired. It is the purpose of the present article to throw such light upon this discussion as a residence in Samoa during the greater portion of the year 1891 as United States Land Commissioner, and from 1893 to 1897 as Chief Justice under the treaty, may enable the writer to give.

The Treaty Was Our Deliberate Action.—Historically considered, our present relation to Samoa has not been hastily or secretly adopted. It has slowly, year by year, in the light of repeated official reports, special commissions for purposes of investigation, ample discussion in Congress, by the press and in Presidential messages, assumed its present phase. If the treaty was a mistake, it was one deliberately made, with all the light now available, except that which has come from the short period of its practical working.

For more than twenty-five years we have had a Consular representative in Samoa to give us full information upon every detail. In 1872 the High Chief of Pago Pago granted to our government the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in that harbor. In 1873 President Grant sent a special agent to Samoa to investigate and report, whose exhaustive report was submitted to the Forty-third Congress. In 1877 a treaty was negotiated between the governments of Samoa and the United States, and ratified in 1878, wherein it was, among other things, provided that "naval vessels of the United States shall have the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago Pago, and establishing therein and on the shores thereof a station for coal and other naval supplies for their naval and commercial marine, and the Samoan government will hereafter neither exercise nor authorize any jurisdiction within said port adverse to such rights of the United States or restrictive thereof," and that, in case of

difficulties arising between Samoa and other nations, the government of the United States "will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting those difficulties upon a satisfactory and solid foundation." This treaty was extensively discussed by the press. On its conclusion special reports upon the whole subject, commercial and political, were furnished to the State Department by its representative, Mr. Goward, who had accompanied the Samoan ambassador on his return to Samoa, and they were duly transmitted to the Forty-sixth Congress. In 1886 Hon. George H. Bates, the law partner of Secretary Bayard, was sent to Samoa by President Cleveland "as special agent to investigate and report." His report, together with those of similar German and English "special agents" appointed at the same time, were transmitted to the Fiftieth Congress. Mr. Bates' report was exhaustive, able, and truthful. In 1887 a conference between the authorized representatives of the three powers for the purpose of negotiating a treaty securing the autonomy and neutrality of Samoa was held at Washington and was "adjourned," because Secretary Bayard considered that the scheme proposed by the other negotiators secured to Germany too great a preponderance of influence in the proposed new government. In January, 1889, Hon. Harold M. Sewall, of Bath, Me., for five years our Consul General in Samoa, testified at great length, for several days, before the sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate, his examination covering every phase of the question, historical, political, and commercial. In 1889 Congress, after adequate discussion, with the recent and full light of Mr. Bates' report and Mr. Sewall's evidence, appropriated $500,000 for the protection of our interests in Samoa. During all these years the subject was repeatedly brought to the attention of Congress by messages from successive Presidents. All this transpired before the negotiations of the Berlin act. It may, therefore, fairly be said that the treaty was a deliberate act of national policy in our international relations, entered into with sufficient knowledge of the subject in all its phases, and a knowledge far more reliable, considering the different sources from which it came and the length of time given for the correction of all errors, than any since acquired.

It was a National, not a Political, Act.—The treaty was in

no sense an act of partisan politics or for the furtherance of the policy of any political party. It is true that it was negotiated in the early months of President Harrison's administration, and was confirmed at a time when the Republicans controlled the Senate, and in that sense that party is responsible for it. But on President Harrison's advent to office, the question of our relations to Samoa was no longer an open one. We had assumed international positions upon that subject which could not be receded from with self-respect, and without disregard for that continuity of action in our relations with foreign powers which is essential to national dignity and good relations with other nations. President Cleveland in a special message to Congress in January, 1887, had said, "I have insisted that autonomy and independence of Samoa should be scrupulously preserved," a result which could be secured only by treaty. At the Washington Conference, when the first attempt to agree upon the treaty was made on June 25, 1887, Secretary Bayard submitted at the outset a plan for the new government of Samoa, the first article of which was: "The independence and autonomy of the kingdom composed of these islands are to be preserved free from the control or preponderating influence of any foreign government." One article proposed by Secretary Bayard was: "Each of the Treaty Powers will alternately keep four months in each year a man-of-war in Samoan waters, to assist in maintaining the government so to be established, and to preserve peace and order;" which clearly shows that it was not then contemplated that a new government should be established in an untried field, and then left to its fate without either physical or moral support. If we have departed from our traditional policy in our action in regard to Samoa, that departure was widest under President Cleveland's first administration. Prince Bismarck proposed a resumption of the conference, exciting events, to be hereafter referred to, having meanwhile intervened. On February 5, Secretary Bayard accepted the proposal in a letter to Count Arco, wherein he stated that the conference should "be renewed on the basis of the equal rights of the three Treaty Powers . . . and such a neutralization of territorial jurisdiction as will prevent preponderant control by any nation." The conference was thus agreed upon, as well as the general lines and scope of its work, in the closing month

of President Cleveland's administration, and President Harrison, coming into office on March 4, soon appointed John A. Kasson, William Walter Phelps, and George H. Bates, representing both political parties, as plenipotentiaries to negotiate the treaty.

Its Fundamental Purpose.—It will be observed that the primary object of all our actions relating to Samoa was not the development of commerce, or the rescue of the Samoans from their own internal conflicts. These latter objects, desirable and important as they are, were secondary and incidental, results to be hoped for as flowing from the means adopted for securing the neutralization of the Islands and the preservation of our rights at Pago Pago. Hence, all arguments based on the alleged failure of the treaty immediately to develop commerce in a country whose resources are still largely awaiting the vitalizing touch of industry, and to secure, as by a magic wand, the settled order and peace of old civilizations among a people who have never felt the restraining hand of a central authority, are largely, though not wholly, irrelevant. The important question is, was it unwise in a national sense to have attempted the neutralization of the Islands by international compact? For there was no other possible way to secure that result. It is a very late date to enter anew upon that discussion, after twenty years of prior consideration and the final assumption of international duties from the faithful performance of which we cannot recede without a humiliating admission of vacillation and improvident, though deliberate, action.

*Growing Importance of the Pacific.**—In 1852, William H. Seward, in the United States Senate, said: "The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter." That prophecy is rapidly on the way towards fulfilment. Our own Pacific slope has nearly fifteen hundred miles of sea frontage and a population nearly equal to that of all the thirteen colonies when the Declaration of Independence was signed, while its internal and external commerce are increasing by leaps and bounds. To the north lies British Columbia, with its mines of gold and coal, its millions of acres of forest and its rich agricultural lands, opened to the Atlantic by a mag-

* See Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston's article, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No. 461.

nificent railway system, and to all the Eastern lands by admirably equipped steamship lines. To the south lie the constantly developing countries of Mexico, Central America, Chile, and the other South American nations. On the southwest lie the British colonies, rapidly crystallizing into a great republican federation. To the west lies Japan, a country of forty million of marvellously enterprising and ingenious people, and China with her enormous population and immeasurable possibilities, now opening up to the world. To the northwest lies Siberia, the largest country in the world, in natural resources one of the richest, in the very act of being developed upon the Pacific Coast by a government of absolute power.

Nearly $4,000,000 per annum are paid by Great Britain and her colonies for subsidies for steamship and cable communications in or to the Pacific. With the completion of the Nicaragua Canal there will pour into the Pacific by the new route to the Orient and to Australasia the measureless traffic between those countries and all our Atlantic seaboard and a considerable portion of Europe.

International Importance of Samoa.—In the centre of this ever-increasing commerce in the northern hemisphere lie the Hawaiian Islands, with no other neighboring group to diminish their importance. Laying aside the debatable question of the annexation of those islands, few can be found who would for a moment concede that the "moral suzerainty" which we have for many years maintained over them should be weakened in any degree. The attempt by any foreign power to seize them would be resented as an unfriendly act by any administration, and would be resisted by force, as has been substantially declared by Mr. Webster, Mr. Legaré, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Marcy, Mr. Fish, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Frelinghuysen, and Mr. Bayard.

In the South, Pacific European nations have been swift to seize upon the vantage points. With the French in Tahiti and New Caledonia, the Spanish in the Carolines and Philippines, the Germans in the Marshall Islands, New Guinea, New Britain, and other groups, and the British in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the Solomons, and many other groups, and exercising a practical protectorate over Tonga, there is no independent group left except Samoa. But these islands, lying south 10 degrees and west 173 degrees, are in the very path of commerce. They are

central to all movements in the South Pacific. Directly past them go all steamers between our Pacific coast and Australia. Here a Pacific cable will doubtless find one of its stations. Samoa stands as a sentinel and outpost in that vast southern sea, just as Hawaii does in the northern. If it is appropriated by any foreign power, we have no foothold left south of the equator, no place to which we can go as a matter of right. When we once relax our grasp we do so forever. Immediate annexation by England or Germany would follow, and those hands never open to release what they have closed upon.

Our Interests at Pago Pago.—Our modern warships are absolutely dependent on frequent coal supplies. As Mr. McAdoo said in his speech in the House: "All the greatest nations of the world are trying to secure for themselves places where they can get supplies of coal in emergencies. . . . This harbor of Pago Pago is a great advantage to us, and we have gotten it in an honorable way." Without criticising the opinions of respectable gentlemen who have never been within many miles of Pago Pago, but have recently officially reported that the harbor is of little value, it will be useful for a moment to see how it has been regarded by those who *have* seen it, and whose opinions are of especial value. In 1830 it was visited by that veteran missionary of the South Seas, John Williams, who reported that the harbor was an excellent one and should be acquired by England. In 1839 Admiral Wilkes visited it, and after describing it fully says: "This is of all the ports the best fitted for the refitting of vessels." In 1871 Captain Wakeman, sent out to report by the famous shipbuilder William H. Webb, wrote: "I found myself in the most perfectly land-locked harbor that exists in the Pacific Ocean," and gave full and satisfactory descriptions of widths, depths, landmarks, etc. In 1873 the British Consul at Samoa reported to his government the existence of an agreement transferring to the United States important concessions "in the magnificent harbor of Pago Pago," and expressed the hope that in case of failure of subsequent negotiations, "it may be possible to transfer the overtures of the chiefs to ourselves." In the very same year, the North German Confederation had instructed its Consul to secure the control of Pago Pago harbor, but he arrived too late. Our commander had completed his work. Our Commissioner, Mr. Goward, wrote from Pago Pago

in 1878: "The harbor of Pago Pago is the most important in the South seas." *Findlay's South Pacific Directory,* the standard of navigation for those waters, says of Pago Pago: "It is a deep, land-locked basin, of easy approach, and perfectly secure anchorage."

For the more perfect realization of the rights secured to us, Secretary Tracy ordered a survey of the harbor to be made, which was carried out under the direction of Admiral Kimberly, and the most valuable portions of the shore front, as selected by him, were purchased in fee in 1889 and 1890 and are now absolutely owned by the United States government. To the suggestion that we have not secured title to enough of the shore front, the obvious reply is that if Admiral Kimberly's judgment was at fault, the adequate remedy is to buy more land. There are no known obstacles in the way, either of fact or law. The Berlin Act recognizes the validity of the former treaty with the United States, and does not forbid the acquisition of land by our government. In fact, many of our present titles were acquired since the execution of the Berlin act and have long since been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Samoa.

No one has better stated, in brief form, the reasons for the treaty than did Secretary Bayard at the Washington conference, where he said to his associates:

"These islands lie in the pathway of a commerce that is just being developed. There is something beyond the mere material present value of the land or the products." In his instructions to Mr. Bates he wrote: "The Samoan Islands are to-day almost the sole remaining neutral territory in Oceanica. . . . The principle of neutralization is of special importance to the United States, for in no other part of Polynesia is a right of this nature possessed by them." In his instructions to the plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Berlin act, Secretary Blaine said: "The interests of the United States require the possession of a naval station in those remote parts of the Pacific, and by a treaty with the lawful authorities of Samoa they have been put in control of the harbor of Pago Pago for these purposes. We cannot consent to the institution of any form of government in Samoa subject directly or indirectly to influences which, in the contingencies of the future, might check or control the use or the development of this American right."

In the light of these facts it is a matter of surprise to read in Secretary Gresham's communication to President Cleveland of May 9, 1894, recommending substantially a withdrawal from the treaty, elaborate arguments based upon difficulties of administration, and its failure to increase our commerce, or to benefit the natives of Samoa, without the slightest mention of the fact that we had already acquired the shores of Pago Pago and that the security of our rights there and the neutralization of the islands were the prime factors which had controlled our action. The real question was absolutely untouched by the distinguished Secretary.

Climatic and Commercial Considerations.—A word should be said, incidentally, about the climate and possible resources and commerce of Samoa. The climate is necessarily tropical, and that imports such diseases as are incidental to tropical countries. An occasional year, like 1894, can be selected, when influenza or some fever has prevailed, which will show a high death rate among white residents. But there are no statistics existing, and no facts known, tending to show that Samoa is not one of the most salubrious of tropical countries. With a temperature in which sixty degrees and ninety degrees, Fahrenheit, are the extremes of heat and cold, relieved during the greater portion of the year by refreshing trade winds, with a luxuriant and marvellously beautiful tropical foliage, with absolute freedom from all noxious animals, and with a native population picturesque, kindly, polite, and hospitable, Samoa is in many respects a most delightful place of residence. The writer's own family, including three ladies, never, on the whole, before enjoyed as good health as during the years of their residence in Samoa. It was the only place in which Robert Louis Stevenson could enjoy life. In his own Scotland he must cling to the fireside or creep out of doors wrapped in a shawl. In his beloved Samoa he lived out of doors, rode horseback, took long excursions about the islands by boat, and was a man among men until the bursting of a blood vessel in his teeming brain ended his brilliant career. His family still live in the island home.

The soil is rich and productive. It supports a population of between 30,000 and 40,000 people in comparative idleness, while only mere fringes are yet under cultivation. He would be a rash man who would venture to say that the day would not come, and

at no remote date, when a great population would find its delightful home and abundant sustenance in these fruitful islands. The "Great American Desert," once denounced in the United States Senate, as unfit for human habitation, is now partially divided into great States, among the most prosperous in our Union. Fifty years ago little could be said of the Hawaiian Islands, except that there Captain Cook was murdered. To-day their commerce invites the heavily laden ships of many nations, but those of our own country incomparably beyond all others. Looking backward, what should we now say of the statesmanship that thirty, or even twenty, years ago would have allowed any European power to absorb Hawaii without remonstrance upon our part, upon the ground that its commerce was then insignificant, or that rebellion and political upheaval were imminent, or actually existing? In such a question, the possible future, not the insignificant and transient present, is to be the guide of wise political action.

Abandonment of Samoa by President Cleveland.—Manifestly no reasonable man could have expected that the treaty, under the best of circumstances, could prevent the depreciation in the world's market of the price of copra, the principal product of the Islands. That depreciation arose from increased production in other parts of the world. Its effect was necessarily to produce hardship and political discontent in Samoa, just as similar depreciation in the value of staple products in the United States produced similar results. Nor could it be expected that a new government, established among a people untrained to submission to a central authority, among whom the chief was the unit of political power, divided into factions with prejudices as bitter and deep as those of the ancient Scotch Highlanders, enjoying political excitement as the very breath of life, accustomed from time immemorial to settle their political and factional controversies by fighting, could heal these ancestral controversies and ensure established peace and good order, without substantial physical and moral support for a time. Water so long troubled could not be quieted by the mere command, "Peace, be still!" No one did so expect when the treaty was made.

At the Washington conference the fifteenth article of Secretary Bayard's proposal was: "Each of the Treaty Powers will alternately keep four months in the year a man-of-war in Samoa

to assist in maintaining the government so to be established and to preserve peace and order." Mr. Bates in his report says: "The central government must be, for a time at least, *administered* by the three Treaty Powers." On February 20, 1892, Secretary Blaine wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefote: "In order to carry out the spirit of the Berlin Treaty, it would be advisable for the Treaty Powers to sustain in some proper and judicious way the recognized authorities of Samoa, and suggests the use of men-of-war for that purpose, particularly in enforcing the warrants of the Supreme Court." On June 19, 1893, Secretary Gresham wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefote that the government of the United States "will join in an active demonstration for the purpose of surrounding Mataafa and his followers and disarming them."

But during the whole four years of President Cleveland's administration no American warship was ever seen in Samoan waters. In no single instance has the enforcement of any process of the Supreme Court of Samoa been aided, either physically or morally, by any warship or other aid furnished by the Powers. Meanwhile, not only did our government withhold its promised aid, but what was far more deleterious, it withdrew its moral support. The President in his annual messages for 1893–1894–1895 recommended a withdrawal from the treaty. This, of course, was known by all in Samoa. The factions of natives knew it, and that the Powers were not united in supporting the treaty. They naturally quickly join an opposition upon the least show of weakness. The desertion by the United States bore its legitimate fruit, and so-called civil war broke out. Under date of December 5, 1894, the United States Consul-General in Samoa wrote to the State Department: "That the United States is to withdraw is accepted as a fact by the general community." The *Samoan Herald* of September 12, 1896, editorially said: "The United States has evinced a positively disgraceful disregard of her obligations under the treaty. . . . She gave absolutely no assistance to the other Treaty Powers in quieting disturbances and restoring order here; not a vessel of her navy has deigned to call here for years, and the present administration has made frequent efforts to scuttle out of Samoa altogether. We admit that we have received from the United States an able judge. . . . So far as we know this is the only benefit America has conferred upon the country. In view of all this it certainly does seem rather

cool for the official representative of the United States to talk about some injustice to America which he does not define, and no one knows anything about." It is within the bounds of extreme moderation to say that so far as the new government has been successful, it has won that success under most adverse circumstances, and more in spite of the opposition of the United States government than by reason of its support. The wonder is, not that the success has not been greater, but that so much can be shown of good results in the face of great difficulties.

Results Secured by the Treaty.—For the treaty can show some positive results that are worthy of consideration. It should first be viewed with reference to the conditions existing at the time it was negotiated. The danger that is past soon becomes, in public consideration, the danger that never existed. But in 1887 and 1888 the relations between our country and Germany had become strained to the danger point. In the face of a mutual understanding to the contrary, Germany had by force attempted to seize Samoa. The natives of that country were divided into hostile camps of armed warriors, one supported by German arms, and one by British Colonials and citizens of the United States. More than fifty young and brave German sailors had been killed or wounded in a single battle wherein the opposing force was openly supplied with arms, ammunition, food, courage, and brains by American citizens. Actual, though not nominal, warfare existed between Germans and Americans in Samoa. Martial law was proclaimed in Apia by the German officials, and the attempt was made to enforce it upon American citizens. Two German warships and three bearing the Stars and Stripes were crowded into the little harbor of Apia.

Commander Leary, of the United States warship "Adams," on September 6, 1888, formally wrote to Captain Fritze, of the German corvette "Adler": "I hereby respectfully and solemnly protest in the name of the United States of America and of the civilized world in general against the use of a national war vessel for such service as was yesterday rendered by the German corvette 'Adler.'" Commander Leary also formally notified the German ruler of Samoa, that any violation of the rights of American citizens by his authority "would be considered a just and sufficient cause for such action as may be deemed proper." Whatever the meaning of these communications may

have been, they clearly were not pacific; coming from a warship they were decidedly threatening. The Navy Department instructed our commanders "to interfere vigorously should occasion arise to protect the persons and property of American citizens." Marines were landed to protect the American consulate, and there to furnish a refuge for our citizens. Our grievances were in part thus stated by Secretary Blaine: "To subject the citizens of the United States to the inspection of the German navy; to require reports from each household as to arms kept for its necessary protection; to make permission from the German authorities a needed prerequisite to the natural right of American citizens to guard themselves from danger; to inquire into the character of even their rumored conversations and hold them answerable therefor to the summary proceedings of a German court-martial. All these were trials and indignities to which they ought never to have been subjected." The press teemed with inflammatory condemnations of German aggressions. Congress appropriated $500,000 for the defence of our interests in Samoa. Stocks were affected. A single indiscreet act might have precipitated hostilities. Many of the wars of modern times have sprung from conditions far less critical. At such a moment, the proposition for a renewal of the negotiations of a treaty securing the neutrality and autonomy of Samoa came upon the scene like a benediction. War was averted. Honorable peace was secured without surrender of national dignity or the abandonment of a single right. The friendship of two great nations, already sadly strained, was renewed. There are those who consider this one fact far more than adequate compensation for all that the treaty has cost, and that the treaty, instead of being an "entangling alliance," relieved us from a most dangerous situation. In the next place, it has secured the neutrality and autonomy of the Islands, perfected our titles to the lands on the shores of Pago Pago harbor for a coaling station, and has given us a standing ground and substantial position of influence in the South Seas, from which we cannot be dislodged without our own consent. On the other hand, it has preserved the native Samoans from falling absolutely upon the the tender mercies of the Germans.

Again, it has secured to our citizens now resident in Samoa, and to such of them as shall hereafter carry our flag and our

commerce thither, absolute equality with all others in trade and protection of the laws and freedom from aggressions by other nationalities. Those who are familiar with the utter annihilation of American trade in the Marshall Islands by unjust discriminations in favor of German merchants in customs and other legal exactions will know that German protection in Samoa would have meant not merely the ruin of all our countrymen now resident there, but also our permanent exclusion from all commercial facilities in the future.

Again, the great majority of aliens reside in Apia. By the treaty the Municipal District of Apia was created with special powers of local government. That municipality is as well governed as municipal corporations of its size are in old civilized countries. It has an elective council, efficient police, a municipal court, lighted streets, valuable land and building for customs sheds and police court, and approximately ten miles of road, all well rounded and ditched, and nearly one-half of it macadamized with the cheap and useful coral and gravel immediately at hand. After sixty years of partial occupancy by missionaries and traders at the time the treaty was made, only two pleasure carriages had, during all those years, ventured into the country. Now there are nearly one hundred in Apia alone. More progress has been made in the municipality in the way of acquisition of public property, facilities for extinguishing fire and the building of roads and bridges within the six years since the treaty went into actual operation than in all the sixty prior years. All this has been done under adverse circumstances, but without incurring debt.

Again, until the treaty was made, the Samoan government had not where to lay its head. The peninsula near Apia, where the government was supposed to have its seat, was claimed by the Germans, and the government did not own an acre of land. Now the German claim upon the peninsula has been satisfied and the government owns the property in fee. Upon it have been erected valuable government buildings. A fair carriage road westerly for thirty miles along the north shore of the Island of Upolu has been built and opened to travel within the last year. While road building has really only begun, yet more has been done in that direction since the making of the treaty than in all time before that date. In all this the government has paid its own way. It is not in debt.

Again, the provisions of the treaty prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives are well enforced, and are exceedingly valuable. Public sentiment favors their enforcement. A drunken native is a rare sight. The fine-looking and courtly Samoan race is at present in no danger of the degeneration and annihilation that come to all aboriginal races in the presence of the unstinted use of alcoholic drinks.

Again, all authorities agree that the confusion of land titles was one of the most fruitful sources of friction between natives and aliens. Foreigners held deeds from natives of far more land than there was in all Samoa. Many of the titles were fraudulent, and conflicted with one another. There was no court competent to deal with the question, and no one could safely invest money in land or develop industries until titles were settled. All progress was necessarily stayed. The treaty provided adequate tribunals for undertaking this great work, which has now been brought to a successful conclusion. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been restored to natives. They are not to be a homeless people in their own country. They have abundant fertile land to supply their wants and those of their posterity for all time. Their title is absolute, and the treaty prohibits further alienation by them except under the strictest supervision of the Chief Justice. The benefit to the Samoans is incalculable. But, on the other hand, the benefit to aliens is equally great. Every alien title has been finally passed upon by the court, and unassailable grants have been issued. A complete system of registration of titles has been adopted. Every acre of alien land in Samoa can "read its title clear." In no country can more certainty of a solid title be obtained. Capital can now be safely invested in lands. Controversies with natives are largely ended by the removal of this great cause of friction. The most perplexing of all questions in New Zealand and Fiji has for many years been the obtaining of good titles to native lands. That work has all been finished quickly and cheaply in Samoa. In this respect the treaty has deserved and received the gratitude of Samoans and foreigners alike, and has amply vindicated the wisdom of its authors.

Finally the establishment of the Supreme Court has secured important results. Before the treaty the attendance of parties or witnesses could not be compelled, except in the Consulate of

the defendant, and there other nationals could not be compelled to appear as witnesses. No court had general jurisdiction. An American aggrieved by a German must remain without redress or go into the German Consulate to try his case, by German law, before a German judge. The new court, administering a uniform system of English law, having jurisdiction over all controversies between different nationals, revising judgments of native tribunals, freed from national prejudices by the international character of its appointment, has commanded respect and obedience, and has proved a useful object lesson to the teachable Samoans. In a very few instances its authority has been defied temporarily by rebellious natives in remote parts of the islands, but in nearly every such instance the matter in controversy has ultimately been properly adjusted. All this has been accomplished wholly by moral force, without the aid of the Powers in a single instance.

Manifestly some of the important results hoped for have been secured, and Secretary Gresham's official declaration that, "the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements have so far been its only fruits," would seem somewhat overdrawn.

Objections Considered.—But something more specific should be said upon the subject of expenses and difficulties. The expenses of negotiating the treaty, paying the first year's salary of the Chief Justice, and the cost of the International Land Commission were large, and were borne by the three Powers equally. The Commission finished its work in 1894. All the items of large expense are past. Since the first year, the new government has paid its own way without assistance except as to the items next to be mentioned. It might be thought that, inasmuch as we *had* incurred large expenditures in the initial work of the treaty, and as that expense was now ended, that fact was an argument for holding on to the treaty and realizing the benefit of our investment. The maintenance of a Consul in Samoa is no part of the expense of the treaty. We had one in Samoa many years before the treaty was thought of. The only known expenses which our government has incurred in relation to Samoa since 1894, aside from the expense for surveying, are one-third of the expenses of maintaining Mataafa and his associate rebels in the Marshall Islands, and the transportation expenses of the two foreign officials,

the Chief Justice and President of the municipality of Apia, whenever new officials are appointed. The former item, support of Mataafa and the chiefs, costs our government less than $500 per annum, and this expense is temporary. The other item, transportation, occurs only about once in four years and at the highest estimate will not cost more than $800 per year on the average. The actual expense to our government of continuing the treaty will apparently be less than $1,500 per year, a petty sum to be made the ground of receding from our solemn international compact. Even if the new government should occasionally receive a little assistance, every River and Harbor Appropriation Bill in Congress dedicates a far larger amount for improving some mud creek, in the name of promoting commerce, than will be required for maintaining our hold upon a group of islands lying in the very pathway of enormous commercial interests. If a warship should occasionally be sent by us to Samoa, as is done by the other Powers, and as should be done by us, the cost is no more than that of maintaining the warships in other remote parts of the world where they carry our flag. Congress did not consider $500,000 too great a sum to be appropriated for the protection of our interests in Samoa. The native troubles, though greatly to be deplored, have been magnified enormously in official and other correspondence. Samoa is an international megaphone. The firing of a few muskets in a bush scrimmage there seems to echo and re-echo all over the world, and to be amplified into salvos of artillery and volleys from great armies. The killed and wounded in all the fighting in Samoa during the last seven years would not equal the number of dead and maimed in a single railway accident in the United States. Not a foreigner has been touched, nor has his property been invaded by reason of those hostilities, except by the petty stealing incident to disturbed conditions. Absolute peace has prevailed for nearly three years. It is of little importance to aliens whether all Samoans do or do not recognize allegiance to King Malietoa as long as they keep the peace. The treaty recognizes their right to govern themselves in their own way in all particulars save those specially otherwise provided for. Some disturbances were to be expected in such a country as Samoa. They were, are, and will be inevitable. Even in our own country, which we are wont to

regard as the final fruition of the teachings of all the ages in good government, we read of more lynchings than legal executions year by year; we see governors of a great State vainly trying for years to execute criminal process upon Jesse James, and finally succeeding only by the aid of hired assassins; our Indian Territory filled with murder and violence, railway trains wrecked and robbed, and the commerce of half a continent paralyzed by unrestrained mobs. Surely we may excuse poor Samoa if she does not instantly abandon all her old ways, and leap at one bound into the blessings of perfect order and peace. The life of any decently behaved white man is as secure in any portion of Samoa as in the most quiet hamlet of rural New England.

It has been a subject of unfriendly comment that the King of Samoa receives a mean and insignificant allowance. This is true. But it is equally true that he receives far more, and with far more regularity, than either he or any other King of Samoa ever received before the making of the treaty. His condition in that respect has been greatly improved by the treaty. According to the official publication entitled *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1889,* page 324, the first item in Samoan budgets of expenditure was: "Two Kings at $500 each. . . . $1,000." Clearly, kings were far cheaper in those days than now, when a single one receives $1,800 per year from the Treasury, and an abundance of all he needs, supplied to him by his people.

Some criticism has been made upon the salaries paid to the two foreign officials, and their expenses, but it is a just measure of the reasonableness of these expenditures to say that the whole expenses of maintaining the Samoan government, including the salaries of the two foreign officials, but not including the other expenses of the municipality of Apia, are less than those of the German Consular office in Apia, with its staff and offices. The German government is not accustomed to extravagance, but does believe in the utility of a well-trained and well-paid Consular service. That there are defects in the treaty, shown by its practical working, particularly in its unjust and unworkable provisions for taxation, is true. This was anticipated. The treaty provided that, "Upon the request of either Power, after three years from the signature hereof, the Powers shall consider by common accord what ameliorations, if any, may be introduced into the provisions of their general act."

Future Action.—In the face of successive recommendations of a withdrawal from the treaty by President Cleveland, Congress has taken no action. Manifestly the country did not respond to the President's appeals. The question is not, shall we enter upon a career of extension and annexation in the Pacific? That question is closed. The field is occupied; everything in the Pacific, except Hawaii and Samoa, has been annexed and appropriated by other Powers.

The real questions are, having secured the autonomy and neutrality of Samoa by the only available means, shall we now permit the islands to be appropriated by a European power? Having in an honorable way acquired valuable rights in one of the best harbors in the Pacific, shall we fling them from us? Having deliberately and with full knowledge entered into an international compact which forever made secure to us rights, and the only remaining possible ones, in the centre of a vast commerce, shall we voluntarily release our grasp? Having incurred a large expenditure of money, and devoted years of careful diplomatic action to obtain what we have, shall all the results be passed over for the sole benefit of other nations? Having by practical experience learned the imperfections in present conditions, should we not be short-sighted indeed, if, instead of arranging "ameliorations" of those conditions, we were irretrievably to throw away all the future?

HENRY C. IDE.

SHALL THE CIVIL SERVICE ORDERS BE AMENDED?

BY GENERAL GREEN B. RAUM.

THE orders of President Cleveland adding more than 44,000 officers and employees of the Executive Departments to the classified service, including many important positions, has challenged widespread comment and opposition, and there is an earnest demand that his orders and rules shall be abrogated or greatly amended.

This subject is now worthy of careful examination.

Civil government under our republican system is a great progressive science ; especially is this so in regard to the executive administration. During the past thirty-six years there has been a wonderful growth in the character and volume of business transacted in all the great departments of the executive branch of government. There has also been a steady improvement in the methods of business, in the enforcement of the laws, and in the accountability of public officers charged with the collection and disbursement of public moneys. The improvements in the public service were the result of wholesome laws and efficient administration. The present Civil Service law was approved by President Arthur, January 16, 1883. At that time the Civil Service list was in a highly satisfactory condition.

Capable and efficient officers were at the head of all departments and bureaus.

The clerical force was exceptionally competent and efficient. It had been appointed by selection, after due examination as to fitness, by boards of examiners in each department.

These boards were organized under Section 164 of the U. S. Revised Statutes, which prohibits the appointment of a clerk until he has been examined and found qualified.

The business of the departments was conducted promptly and in a thorough businesslike manner, and effective supervision was maintained over the related offices throughout the country.

The records of the Treasury Department show that for a number of years prior to January, 1883, the losses of the government by defalcation of its officers amounted virtually to nothing; so that at the time of the passage of the Civil Service law there was nothing in the departments to reform so far as integrity, capacity, and efficiency in the transaction of the public business was concerned.

In fact, the Civil Service reform agitation was not directed to the improvement of the business methods of the departments, nor was the law enacted for any such purpose. It is entirely consistent with truth to say that no abuse in administration has ever been corrected, and no improvement in methods introduced, because of the Civil Service reform agitation or the enactment of the Civil Service law. There has been a healthy public sentiment in favor of wise laws and honest administration, and the executive government has struggled to keep abreast with that sentiment. The Civil Service reform agitation had but one object in view, namely, the elimination of politics as a factor in the appointment of people to office. The present law was passed in response to that agitation; it provides for classifying certain places in the departments at Washington, and in custom-houses and post-offices having fifty or more employees. The law authorizes the President to extend the classification further to other offices of the executive departments and service. The law prohibits the collection of political assessments by one set of government officers for other officers or employees, and prohibits the filing or consideration of recommendations for office of senators or members of Congress, except as to character and residence of the applicant. The law contains no limitation upon the power of removal from office.

Under the law about 15,000 clerks were classified during President Arthur's term. President Cleveland added about 7,000 more during his first term. President Harrison caused the classification of the employees of the free-delivery post-offices, numbering nearly 8,000, and the natural growth of the service brought the number up to about 43,000 clerks at the date of President Cleveland's second inauguration.

During his last term President Cleveland issued twelve orders increasing the classified service and adopting rules governing the same; he added about 44,000 persons to the classified lists, and issued a rule declaring that no person in the classified service should be removed or changed in grade on account of his political opinions or affiliations, and fixed a penalty of dismissal from the service for a violation of this rule. Mr. Cleveland did not confine his action to the clerical force; his orders bring into the classified service the entire body of the Civil Service in and out of Washington, except a few Presidential appointments, and the fourth-class postmasterships, and in his annual message he advocated placing these offices in the classified service, one of the reasons assigned being "the peace and quiet of neighborhoods." All heads of divisions, chief clerks, appointment clerks, law clerks, and disbursing officers of the departments and bureaus are now in the classified service; the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, the Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Medical Referee of the Pension Office, and the Internal Revenue agents are all now in the classified service. It would be fair to suppose that a President who had done so much to add to the number in the classified service would govern his own actions in regard to appointments by the rules of non-partisanship which he prescribed for the government of his successors. But what are the facts? When Mr. Cleveland became President in 1885, after appointing a Democratic cabinet, his administration at once entered upon the work of removing Republicans from office and appointing Democrats in their stead; a complete change was made in the heads of all bureaus and their assistants and deputies, new chief clerks, new appointment clerks, and new heads of divisions were appointed in all the departments and bureaus. Not one Republican was appointed. Every new man was a Democrat; in fact, almost every position above and below the classified service was changed and Democrats put in place. Many young men were appointed messengers, laborers, etc., and assigned to clerical work. Outside of Washington the same rule was observed. All collectors of customs, all collectors of internal revenue, naval officers, appraisers, assistant treasurers, district attorneys, marshals, pension agents, and postmasters, great and small, were changed and Democrats appointed. The

entire diplomatic and consular service was changed and filled with Democrats. Changes were made in almost all the unclassified offices and employments in the departments and offices, and Democrats appointed.

When Mr. Cleveland became President again in 1893 his policy in regard to the patronage was unchanged, but was carried out with more thoroughness. Outside of the classified service wherever a Republican was found in office he was superseded by a Democrat. The number of Republicans left in office was so small that their retention scarcely made an exception to the rule; their services were required for particular reasons, and they were kept. But in addition to this the classified service was invaded, and large numbers of clerks were removed or reduced in grade for no reason except that they were Republicans, and their places were wanted for political and personal favorites. This was notably the case in the Treasury and Interior Departments. In these departments nearly 3,000 clerks and employees were retired. Of these 1,564 were messengers, watchmen, etc., not in the classified service. They were turned out because they were Republicans, and their places were filled with Democrats. If this great work of turning out Republicans and appointing Democrats had been done upon the alleged ground that the people had, in electing Mr. Cleveland President, decided to change the policy of the government by changing its officers and employees, the reason would be intelligible; but while this work was in progress loud claims were made that the President and his administration were in favor of Civil Service reform, and to verify this claim as soon as these changes were well under way Mr. Cleveland began the work of putting his appointees under the protection of the classified service. This work began May 11, 1894, and continued from month to month until the promulgation of the rules of November 2, 1896. The work of classification was left to the Civil Service Commission, and this was not completed and promulgated until after the inauguration of President McKinley. As a result of these various orders the great body of the official force of the government is now in the classified service, except the fourth-class postmasters and a few Presidential appointments, and the Civil Service Commission, supported by Mr. Cleveland, favors placing these fourth-class postmasterships in the classified service, and they also advocate the repeal of all

laws fixing the term of four years tenure to certain offices. These measures will, of course, deprive the people of all action in connection with the appointment of the official force of the government.

There was no public demand for these sweeping changes either through the public press or by petition from the people. The party platforms of the great political organizations had not demanded them; and there were no resolutions of either branch of Congress recommending them. It was the act of the President and the Civil Service Commission unsupported by public sentiment; it was strictly a partisan measure, the effect of which Mr. Cleveland no doubt duly considered. He knew that it would prove a great embarrassment to the incoming administration. He believed, no doubt, that if the orders were allowed to stand, there would be serious discontent in the Republican party, and if the orders were revoked, or largely amended, the advocates of Civil Service reform would attack the administration. This action forces on the country the consideration of a number of grave and important questions. It is claimed by Mr. Cleveland and the Civil Service Commission that there will be a marked improvement in the public service.

Let us consider this point.

It has been the experience of every officer whose duty it was to make selections for appointments from the list certified by the Civil Service Commission that the examination papers do not contain the necessary information to enable the nominating and appointing officers to form a just estimate of the character of the candidate, or of his fitness for departmental work. These papers contain no endorsements of well-known persons, certifying to the good character, the judgment, discretion, aptitude, integrity, or fidelity to trust, or any of the qualities, which make a trustworthy and loyal subordinate. Dependence must be placed solely upon the academic examination. No experienced officer would prefer to appoint a man to an important position simply upon the examination papers of the Civil Service Commission. It has therefore become a universal practice in the departments to appoint all persons coming through the Commission to the lowest grades and lowest salaries. It is therefore the fact that men of high standing who are competent to fill the higher positions, recently classified, do not take Civil Service examinations. The conse-

quence is the appointment of men who are yet to prove their capacity. In fact, the Civil Service Commission advocates this plan of making appointments into the low grades and earnestly opposes the bringing into the public service to fill the higher places recently classified of men of well-known character and capacity.

Men of splendid ability, broad experience, and high character will accept positions as chief clerk, appointment clerk, law clerk, head of division, etc., in the departments, and will be an actual reinforcement to the public service, but they will not pass through the Civil Service machinery to accept small salaries as clerks. It must be borne in mind that the law fixes the responsibility of administration upon the President, the heads of departments, and certain other officers appointed by the President. The business of the government is performed under their supervision and in their name ; they are responsible to the country for the success of the administration ; their chief clerks, appointment clerks, and heads of divisions receive almost all the business that enters their offices, and take the initiative in disposing of more than nine-tenths of it. The volume of business in the departments is so great that it is impossible for the principal officers to examine all the work ; they must depend upon the men who have it in charge ; and they should be permitted to exercise the broadest discretion in the selection of persons for these importan positions. They should not be confined in their selections to the employees in the office, but should have the right to select competent men from private life.

The heads of departments should have the right now, as their predecessors from time immemorial have had in the past, to appoint men of their own selection to the important confidential places in their departments. It is a safe rule to allow an officer charged with the performance of important duties to appoint his chief subordinates. From these considerations alone it seems clear that bringing these important positions into the classified service is not an improvement, but will prove a serious detriment to the service, and in this view of the case it is important that the existing Civil Service rules should be reformed.

The Civil Service reform movement had its origin in a distrust of the political integrity of the people and distrust of and contempt for government through party organization. The appointment of competent men to office upon the petition and recom-

mendation of party friends was denounced as a prostitution of the appointing power. The reform demanded was the adoption of a system of educational tests of fitness to be determined by competitive examinations of self-selected candidates, by a commission appointed for that purpose; the names of those who pass the examination to be placed upon lists and the appointments to be made from names furnished by the commission. The plan included the repeal of all tenure of office acts, and the entire elimination of political influences from appointments to office or removals therefrom. The obvious result intended was to deprive the people of the right of taking any part whatever by petition or recommendation in securing the appointment of any person to office. Popularity with the people, the wishes of the people, were to count for nothing. The object of this reform was to create a privileged office-holding class, removed from the influences of popular sentiment, who were to hold their offices during good behavior.

The designs of the advocates of Civil Service reform have almost been accomplished. Such a system is inconsistent with the genius of our government and must be contrary to public sentiment. This Civil Service system will repress the laudable and honorable ambition of prominent men to serve the government in these appointive offices, and will thus manifestly tend to weaken the hold that our system of popular government has upon the minds of the people.

Citizens have just as much right to aspire through their political organizations to these appointive offices as other citizens have to aspire to the elective offices. And the people have just as much right to express their preference as to who shall be appointed to office, as they have to express their preference at the polls for a candidate who seeks election to office.

When the people elect a man to office they expect him to exercise the power of appointment in favor of men identified with his party. In fact there is an implied obligation that he will do so.

It is only through party organization and party machinery that an elector is able to give expression to his political sentiments. We elect men to make and to enforce laws who agree with us in politics. Agreement in political opinions is the great lodestone that brings men together. It is the fundamental principle of all action in our political life. Therefore, the

principle influencing the exercise of the power of appointment to office should be in complete harmony with the principle which controls electors at the polls—namely, agreement in political opinions. Any serious encroachment upon this fundamental principle does violence to our representative republican system of government. It is a dangerous innovation, and is calculated to work great harm to our system of government.

Under existing Civil Service rules no officer, however high, is to be trusted to exercise choice, discretion, or judgment in making appointments to office. The President shall not choose the people about him at the Executive Mansion. He must keep those he finds there or select others from names sent him from the Civil Service Commission. Heads of departments must keep the old force around them, or if they make changes they cannot bring in new men of their own choice, however competent. Collectors of customs and internal revenue who receive the hundreds of millions of government cash can have no choice of subordinates to aid them in transacting the immense and responsible business under their charge.

No appointing officer can select persons for particular places and send them before the Commission for examination and appoint them if they stand the educational tests. They are not permitted to examine the lists of eligibles and make selections for appointments. The Commission by an automatic process will select three names from which an appointment shall be made. Such a system is obviously inconsistent with common sense and reason and cannot bear good fruit. The Civil Service law has been in force for more than fourteen years. Have its workings changed public sentiment in regard to electing and appointing people to office? Have electors become non-partisan in casting their ballots? Have party organizations devised a scheme of selecting candidates by machinery without reference to their political opinions or affiliations? Has the press ceased to express a preference for the election and appointment of their party friends to office? Not so, the people, the party organizations, the public press, adhere to the old doctrine that the government can best be administered by their party friends. Every administration, whether Republican or Democratic, in power since the passage of the Civil Service law, has shown by its acts that it preferred its friends in office. Mr. Cleveland with an eight years'

experience in the White House has never been known to appoint a political opponent to office. These facts are conclusive proof that the people of the United States do not favor the scheme of turning the great body of official positions over to the Civil Service Commission. The people do not want a life tenure to any office; it will be far better to fix a four years' tenure to every position with the right of reappointment. It will better comport with our Republican system of government to make postmasters elective, than to place their appointment under Civil Service rules. Educational tests of fitness by Civil Service examinations should be ancillary to the appointing power, and not displace the right of choice and the exercise of judgment and discretion.

The people of this country stand nearer to the government than ever before. They have an abiding faith in our representative republican system, and it seems improbable that they will so lose interest in public affairs as to acquiesce in the rules and orders which have so extended the power and influence of the Civil Service Commission. Who shall say that the people of this country cannot be trusted with their government? A healthy and progressive public opinion has inaugurated and carried forward all the great reforms of our government in the past, and has placed this nation in the lead, and it is not be believed that the people will submit to encroachments upon their rights and privileges by these unwise and unjust rules of the Civil Service Commission.

GREEN B. RAUM.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IV.—THE PRAIRIE STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States are twelve in number, but only seven of them had existence in 1850, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas being of later date. The population is still sparse, hardly thirty-five to the square mile, although it has quintupled since 1850, viz.:

	1850.	1890.	1897. Est.
Ohio	1,980,000	3,672,000	3,890,000
Illinois	851,000	3,826,000	4,250,000
Indiana	988,000	2,192,000	2,290,000
Missouri	682 000	2,679,000	2,970,000
Michigan	398,000	2,094,000	2,390,000
Wisconsin	305,000	1,687,000	1,920,000
Iowa	192,000	1,912,000	2,160 000
Minnesota, etc	6,000	4,300,000	6,450,000
Prairie States	5,402,000	22,362,000	26,320,000

Illinois is now the foremost State of this group, whereas in 1850 its population was less than half that of Ohio. Immigration has played a more important part in these States than in any other portion of the Union, the last census showing that nearly one-fifth of the inhabitants were foreign settlers. The figures for 1850 and 1890 compare as follows :

	1850.	1890.	Increase per cent.
Americans, white	4,654,000	17,871,000	285
Colored population	136,000	431,000	217
Foreigners	612,000	4,060,000	563
Prairie States	5,402,000	22,362,000	314

In the above interval of forty years the rate of increase in the whole Union was 165 per cent. for white Americans, and 105 per cent. for colored people, from which it follows that large numbers of both came into the Prairie States, as the above excessive

rates of increase show. The population in 1890 was apparently made up thus:

	Born in Prairie States.	Immigrants.	Total.
*Americans, white	12,100,000	5,771,000	17,871,000
Negroes	280,000	151,000	431,000
Foreigners	.....	4,060,000	4,060,000
Total population	12,380,000	9,982,000	22,362,000

It appears that only 55 per cent. of the population is of Prairie birth, the rest being made up of Americans who have "gone West" and of foreign settlers. The growth of urban population in 20 years, from 1870 to 1890, was four times as rapid as rural: the former having risen 210, the latter only 50 per cent., viz.:

	Urban.		Rural.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
Illinois	410,000	1,431,000	2,130,000	2,395,000
Ohio	469,000	1,106,000	2,196,000	2,566,000
Missouri	372,000	701,000	1,349,000	1,978,000
Michigan	119,000	501,000	1,065,000	1,593,000
Other States	396,000	1,754,000	4,475,000	8,337,000
Prairie States	1,766,000	5,493,000	11,215,000	16,869,000

Urban and rural stand as one to three, whereas in the Middle States and New England they are as two to two. Foreign settlers are relatively most numerous in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Dakota, where they form one-third of the population, and lowest in Missouri and Indiana, being under 10 per cent. Foremost of European immigrants are the Germans, 40 per cent. of all settlers, the States preferred by them being Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Scandinavians come next, 18 per cent., and these are chiefly congregated in Minnesota. Irish stand for 11 per cent., and are found mostly in Illinois and Ohio. Canadians have settled largely in Michigan. It is a significant fact that, while the Prairie States have received a great impulse by the immigration of four million persons from Northern Europe, the Latin element is almost unknown, the total of French, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese being only 60,000.

Agriculture.—Climate, soil, and position mark out the Prairie States as the especial home of agriculture in the New World. They produce more than two-thirds of the grain, and possess

*Including children of foreign parentage.

nearly half the live-stock of the Union. The census returns of grain crops showed as follows :

	Millions of bushels.				Bushels per inhabitant.
	Wheat.	Maize.	Oats, etc.	Total.	
1850	44	222	46	312	58
1870	195	439	178	812	62
1890	321	1,599	713	2,633	118

While the grain crop multiplied eightfold, there was also a prodigious increase in the production of meat, viz.:

	Beef.	Mutton.	Pork.	Total tons.
1850	215,000	77,000	342,000	634,000
1894	1,092,000	128,000	968,000	2,188,000

Farming has advanced with even greater rapidity than population, the improved area in 1890 exceeding 8 acres per inhabitant, as compared with 5 acres in 1850, viz.:

	Acres improved.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
Ohio	9,850,000	18,340,000	5.0	5.0
Illinois	5,040,000	25,670,000	5.9	6.7
Indiana	5,050,000	15,110,000	5.1	6.9
Missouri	2,940,000	19,790,000	4.3	7.4
Michigan	1,930,000	9,870,000	4.9	4.7
Wisconsin	1,050,000	9,790,000	3.4	5.8
Iowa	820,000	25,430,000	4.3	13.3
Kansas, etc	530,000	60,300,000	..	14.0
Prairie States	27,210,000	184,300,000	5.0	8.1

In forty years the improved area under farms showed an advance of 157 million acres, equal to 13,000 acres daily. In other words, the new farms laid down and improved between 1850 and 1890 exceeded the total superficial area of the German Empire, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark collectively. There has been nothing like this in the history of mankind, nor is there any part of the world where farming is on so gigantic a scale, the census of 1890 showing a grain crop equal to three tons per inhabitant, or ten times the European average. It is true that since 1890 the production of grain has declined, the average crop for the years 1893–94–95 being much less; nevertheless the production of food is colossal, compared with Europe, for the Prairie States raise nearly as much grain as France, Germany, and Austria collectively, and almost twice as much meat as either France or Austria. The foremost State in food production is Iowa, with an average of five tons of grain and 500 pounds of meat per inhabitant, her grain crop being larger

than that of Italy or Spain, although her population is only two million souls. The value of farm products of the Prairie States is approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Million dollars.
Grain	50,000,000	610
Meat	2,190,000	318
Tallow and lard	400,000	36
Dairy products	.....	271
Hay	27,300,000	185
Potatoes	2,710,000	44
Sundries	.....	293
Total	.....	1,757

This gives an average of $9.50 an acre, against $14 in the Middle States. With regard to dairy products, the Prairie States have such a surplus of milch cows (at least two millions more than necessary) that they are able to meet the deficit which exists in the Middle States and New England. Thus, in 1890, they produced more than 50 per cent. of the butter of the Union. The production in these States that year averaged 23 pounds to each inhabitant, while the consumption in the Union at large was only 16 pounds, from which it may be inferred that fully one-fourth of the butter made in the Prairie States is sent to the Eastern States. There is also a great surplus of poultry and eggs, the production of the latter being sufficient to give 208 per inhabitant in 1890, the average consumption in the whole Union being only 157. In the other parts of the Union we have seen a marked tendency since 1850 to make farms smaller, but the reverse has occurred in the Prairie States, the average cultivated or improved area of each farm having risen in the interval from 61 to 96 acres. Moreover, the farmers of the Western States cultivate individually larger areas than those of the Eastern or Southern, as we see by comparing the number of hands engaged in farming with the extent of improved land, thus:

States.	Hands.	Acres.	Acres per hand.
Eastern	1,100,000	46,500,000	42
Southern	3,850,000	103,800,000	27
Western	3,370,000	207,300,000	62
Union	8,320,000	357,600,000	43

These figures eloquently show the superiority of the Western farmer, which is confirmed when we compare the production of grain and meat (average of years 1893–94–95), and the number of agricultural hands, with the figures for the other States and for certain European countries, viz.:

	Hands employed.	Tons. Grain.	Tons. Meat.	Per hand. Grain bush.	Per hand. Meat, pounds.
Prairie States	3,060,000	49,700,000	2,190,000	650	1,610
Other States	5,260,000	23,300,000	2,760,000	177	1,170
Union	8,320,000	73,000,000	4,950,000	352	1,340
United Kingdom	2,530,000	7,500,000	1,100,000	117	970
France	7,220,000	18,100,000	1,200,000	100	370
Germany	9,350,000	17,100,000	1,520,000	72	360

One hand in the Prairie States raises as much food as five can do in the most advanced countries of Europe, and this is evidently due in great measure to the use of improved agricultural machinery, for it is a strange fact that the reaping-hook is still seen in some parts of England, France, and Germany. Nor is this the only advantage possessed by the Western farmer, for land can be purchased much more cheaply than in the Eastern States, and at less than one-third of prices in Europe. And here it may be interesting to compare the average value per acre in various parts of the Union according to census returns in 1850, 1880 and 1890, viz.:

	Dollars per acre. 1850.	1880.	1890.
Prairie States	28	37	38
Middle States	45	65	63
Southern States	20	21	23
New England	34	44	46

Such has been the industry of the Western farmers that their wealth increased ninefold in 40 years, the value of farms in the 12 Prairie States in 1890 being equal to the agricultural wealth of the Austrian Empire. We find that during the said 40 years the average number of persons engaged in farming, according to census reports, was 1,930,000, the increase in farming wealth having been 7,596 millions of dollars, or 190 millions per annum; that is to say, each farming hand increased the public wealth by 99 dollars a year. If we compare the value of farms in 1850 and 1890 we find as follows:

	Millions dollars. 1850.	1890.	Annual increase.	Mean No. of hands.	Dollars yearly per hand.
Illinois	127	1,478	34	343,000	99
Ohio	416	1,196	20	368,000	54
Iowa	22	1,101	27	167,000	159
Indiana	165	869	17	249,000	68
Missouri	87	787	17	242,000	70
Michigan	63	648	15	194,000	77
Other States	35	2,432	60	367,000	164
Prairie States.	915	8,511	190	1,930,000	99

In the economic history of the United States there is perhaps no lesson more striking or instructive than the one contained in the above table. Less than half a century has sufficed for a comparatively small number of farmers to convert the Western prairies into one of the most productive regions of the globe, and to create and build up as flourishing a community as can be found to-day in either of the hemispheres. How different the condition of these prairie farmers from that of the same class in Europe is seen when we compare the amount of wealth with the number of agricultural hands.*

	Hands.	Million dollars.	Dollars per hand.
Prairie States	3,060,000	8,511	2,780
France	7,220,000	14,845	2,050
Germany	9,350,000	12,042	1,290
Austria	12,940,000	8,630	664

Three Prairie farmers possess as much wealth as 4 French, 6 German, or 13 Austrian farmers, while their taxes are much lighter, and they are free from military service.

Forestry.—These States are not heavily timbered, their forest area being under 90 million acres, or one-fifth of the wooded area of the Union. The cutting is, meantime, excessive, the census of 1890 showing that the Prairie States yield 51 per cent. of the sawn timber produced in the United States. In 1894 the estimate was 42 million tons of lumber and 140 million tons of firewood, fencing, etc., of a total value of 330 million dollars, equal to $3.60 per forest acre, whereas the average product of the wooded area of the Union was only $2.20. If we exclude the Prairie States, the average for the rest of American forests is only $1.80 per acre, and hence the cutting in these States appears to be double what it ought to be. Congress ought to take timely measures to prevent some of the Western States from being denuded of timber. At present the Prairie States have only 3½ acres of timber per inhabitant, while the average in the rest of the Union is 8 acres.

Manufactures.—The rapid growth of population has caused a shifting of equilibrium in the occupations of the people. Thus, in 1850, the Prairie States had only 1 factory operative to 7 farming hands, whereas, in 1890, the figures stood relatively as 5 to

* For amount of agricultural capital in European countries, see *Industries and Wealth of Nations* (Longmans, London, 1896).

11. The census returns of manufactures in 1850 and 1890 showed thus:

	No. of Operatives.	Million dollars. Wages.	Million dollars. Product.	Per operative, dollars. Wages.	Per operative, dollars. Product.
1850	111,000	30	147	270	1,324
1890	1,407,000	672	3,161	478	2,247

The average product per operative rose 70, wages 77 per cent., showing the advantage on the workman's side. The production of hardware is not quite sufficient for requirements, that of textiles so small that they are obtained almost wholly from New England. Food and lumber constitute the principal manufactures, some of these States carrying on the largest meat-packing business in the world, the returns for 1890 showing as follows:

	Million dollars. Flour.	Meat.	Lumber.	Sundries.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant
Illinois	38	213	26	632	909	238
Ohio	40	17	28	557	642	175
Michigan	23	...	94	161	278	132
Minnesota	60	3	30	99	192	148
Other States	130	76	124	810	1,140	99
Prairie States	291	309	302	2,259	3,161	141

These States stand for 60 per cent. of the flour, 55 per cent. of the meat business, and 50 per cent. of the lumber, produced in the Union, according to the last census.

Mining.—In 1890 the Prairie States produced 34 million tons of coal, chiefly from Illinois and Ohio, and 8 million tons of iron ore, mostly from Michigan, besides 150,000 ounces of gold and 100,000 of silver from Dakota. The total mining output was valued at 183 million dollars, or one-third of that of the Union.

Railways.—In 1895 these States possessed 94,300 miles of railway, which represented an outlay of 4,340 millions, or $45,000 per mile, being one-fourth less than the average cost of American lines. The length of the Prairie railways exceeds the aggregate of lines in France, Germany, Russia, and Austria. Each inhabitant of the Prairie States has seven yards of railway, against one yard in France or Germany, and two-thirds of a yard for Europe in general.

Banking.—Discounts in 1895 amounted to 840 million dollars, or $33 per inhabitant, against $77 per head in the Middle States, which seems to show that banking is not fully developed, perhaps because the population is scattered. Illinois and Ohio are ahead of the other States, discounts in them being respectively $52 and

$46 per inhabitant. Savings banks are not much in use, the total deposits of the 12 States being only 101 million dollars, or $4 per inhabitant, against $151 per head in New England.

Wealth.—The components of wealth in 1890 were as follows:

	Million dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	
Ohio	1,196	1,480	424	852	3,952	1,077
Illinois	1,478	2,031	522	1,036	5,067	1,325
Missouri	787	813	323	475	2,398	895
Indiana	869	533	310	383	2,095	957
Iowa	1,101	404	443	339	2,287	1,197
Michigan	648	593	375	479	2,095	1,000
Wisconsin	561	621	294	357	1,833	1,084
Minnesota	415	694	282	301	1,692	1,302
Kansas	707	380	462	250	1,799	1,263
Nebraska	512	306	272	186	1,276	1,204
Dakota	237	200	230	95	762	1,494
Total	8,511	8,055	3,937	4,753	25,256	1,130

The creation of wealth in these States has been exceedingly rapid, the accumulation per inhabitant being 2½ times as much as in Great Britain. If we take the interval from 1860 to 1890, we find that the mean population of these States was 15,400,000, that of the United Kingdom 33,400,000, and the statement of wealth was as follows:

	Million dollars.			Dollars yearly per inhabitant.
	1860.	1890.	Increase yearly.	
Prairie States	3,966	25,256	709	45
United Kingdom	34,590	53,090	617	19

In these States wealth has multiplied sixfold in 30 years, whereas in the United Kingdom it only doubles in 50 years. It may here be observed that the lowest average of wealth per head is in Missouri, which is, moreover, the only State having a large colored population; the ratio of the latter is 6 per cent. in Missouri, and only 2 per cent. in the Prairie States generally.

Mortgages are relatively less than in the Eastern States, amounting to one-seventh of the value of real estate; farms are more heavily mortgaged than house property, viz.:

	Million dollars.		Ratio per cent.
	Value.	Mortgages.	
Farms	7,070	1,197	17
Houses	8,055	881	11
Total	15,125	2,078	14

The only State heavily mortgaged is Kansas, where the ratio is 26 per cent. of the value of real estate; the lightest is Ohio, only

10 per cent. The rate of interest ranges from 6½ in Ohio and Illinois to 9½ per cent. in Dakota. The sum paid yearly for interest on mortgage in the 12 States is equal to $7 per inhabitant, against $6 for the whole Union.

Property covered by insurance amounts to 2,145 million dollars, or only $96 to each inhabitant, the average for the Union being $300. Wisconsin shows the highest insurance ratio among these States, namely, $200 per head.

Finances.—The sum of local and State taxation in 1890 was 182 million dollars, or $8 per inhabitant, of which one-third was for maintenance of public schools, the rate over the whole Union in 1890 being $9.10 per inhabitant.

Education.—The ratio of instruction for the whole population is higher than in any other part of the Union, viz.:

	Per cent. Illiterate.		
	Americans.	Foreigners.	Total population.
Prairie States	3 4	10.6	5.7
Middle States	2 8	14.5	7 0
New England	1.7	18.1	6.3

The foreign settlers in the Prairie States are of a superior class to those in the Eastern, the former being mostly farmers from Northern Europe, while the bulk of the latter consists of factory hands and unskilled laborers. The educational statistics in 1890 were as follows :

	Population over 10 years.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
Americans, white	12,652,000	436,000	3.4
Foreigners	3,909,000	414,000	10.6
Negroes	349,000	114,000	32.8
Total	16,910,000	964,000	5.7

The schools of these States are not only efficient, but also conducted with economy, each scholar costing only $11 yearly, against $15 in the Middle States and $17 in New England.

Compared with the Union at large, the Prairie States stand for 36 per cent. of population, 47 per cent. of agriculture, 34 per cent. of manufactures, 31 per cent. of mining, and 39 per cent. of wealth ; so that they may be said to constitute all round 35 per cent. of the Great Republic. In many respects they surpass in importance five or six European empires and kingdoms rolled into one ; and yet men still living can remember when their population did not exceed that of the island of Sardinia.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH WARSHIPS' DESIGN.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

THE advice to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is not commonly tendered to those authorities who have ultimately to determine the type of the warships. And yet I am not clear that it is bad advice even to them. What they have to buy is naval force, and what they have to sell is the result of force should war send them to market. All the adverse criticisms that can possibly be offered on the type, armament, speed, and endurance of any warship only result in asserting that more force for sale could be bought with the money. No doubt the fact is little present to the minds of such hostile critics as are in the habit of straining at naval gnats and swallowing naval camels; but if it were present in a greater degree the criticisms pronounced would generally be sounder. But as we stand, in the middle of all the controversies as to whether the ships are too large or too small, whether the battleships and cruisers are properly proportioned in number, whether there is a sufficiency of end-on fire, or whether any ship is fast enough, it requires a distinct intellectual effort to realize that we are discussing economy measured in money.

The British purse is so long, and when our people are hot on any subject so easy to get at, that we are sometimes disinclined to look at alternative articles in the buying market. The sweep of invention in the matter of warship design is then in a measure turned in on itself, and can only modify the models it finds already adopted

The alternative thesis in design is a necessity in the question of cost. If so many ships of such a design represent so much force and cost so much money, will so many other ships of such

another design represent the same force for less money? That is the real question always before the naval architect, but it is much less pressing on him in times of naval boom than when the Chancellor of the Exchequer keeps his pockets buttoned. In times of boom the cry is for a full supply of existing designs; it is when the cold fit is on that alternatives receive attention.

But alternatives are constantly offered to the naval architect which do not admit of choice. There are inventions to improve the power of the gun, and the armor for resisting its projectiles; increases in the range, accuracy, and charge of the torpedo, and means for reducing the waste in burning the pound of coal so as to get more propulsive power out of it. To be improvements these inventions must yield an increase in result without a proportionate increase in the weight, or perhaps the space, that they claim in any design. Once this is proved by experiment the designer has no choice; he must adopt the new inventions or be left behind in the race.

The alternatives only offer a choice when it is considered how the economies offered by invention shall be applied. Shall all design remain as it is, and shall we increase the gun-power, armor resistance, torpedo power, speed, and coal endurance in the proportions allowed by invention? Or shall gun-power be varied, increasing numbers and decreasing individual power? Or will it be desirable to reconsider the gun's position in ships as a tactical question? Or shall the gun remain in power and place as it was, in order to add to some other element? Shall armor cover greater areas of side with the old resistance? Or shall the old areas and resistance be maintained in order to put the weight saved into speed, or coal endurance, or gun-power? Shall coal endurance yield to speed, or speed to coal endurance? Or shall both remain so that armor resistance and gun-power may be increased? This great list of alternatives comes before the naval architect as soon as it is decided to adopt any of the improvements described, and the real interest in the problem is the economy of the choice.

But the designer's difficulty lies in the fact that, as far as the adoption of any such improvement goes, he can fully verify his position by experiment in peace time; while until the experiment of war overtakes him he can seldom verify the wisdom of his alternative choices. But it is even worse than that, for he

must build and equip by the light of an opinion which is continually changing, which will lead him on in certain directions, and then turn around on him and denounce him. It must be so in the absence of war experiment, but even this will not act with much suddenness.

All warships' design rests on some tactical ideas which are now more or less incompletely thought out, and there is continual action and reaction going on between the tactical idea as creating the concrete design and the concrete design as modifying the tactical idea. This interaction may go on till the experiment of war settles it, perhaps in a way that shows the whole thing to have been a fallacy.

It is scarcely a paradox to say that the French Admiral Bouet-Willaumez, writing in 1855, influenced the defeat of the Chinese in 1894, tactical idea acting on design, and design forcing the hand of tactics. The simple story is on this wise. Bouet-Willaumez, in 1855, conceived that steam had broken with the old line of battle—a fighting formation in Indian file; and he declared that the line abreast—ships ranged beside one another like a line of soldiers—was the true fighting formation for steam fleets. In the old line of battle, the side of the ship was presented to the enemy, and warships prepared to fight in it were denuded of guns at bow and stern so that the whole strength of their fire was delivered at right angles to the line of keel. If steam fleets were henceforth to fight in line abreast, it followed that they might be denuded of fire at right angles to the line of keel, or at least weakened in that direction, provided their greatest strength was given to fire in the line of keel. Bouet-Willaumez reaffirmed his opinion in 1865, and the idea coinciding with that of fighting with the ram rather than with the gun, was much followed up in England. It soon began to affect design, so that a sort of craving for heavy bow fire grew up and increased the more it was yielded to. At length came the "Inflexible," where the power of broadside fire was distinctly sacrificed in order to fully develop fire in the line of keel. Other ships of the same type followed, and any Admiral commanding a group of them must have recognized that their force would be best employed in the line abreast.

The most powerful of the Chinese ships, the "Ting-Yuen" and the "Chen-Yuen," followed in an even more pronounced

manner the tactical idea embodied in the "Inflexible." They could only bring out their full force when fought beside each other in the line abreast. The officer in command of the Chinese fleet was thus forced, as it were, by the designs put into his hands, to make Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea his own. Every one heartily condemns the Chinese tactics, but few understand how they were forced on Admiral Ting by the designs under his command. Still fewer understand that the plan of the battle and the losing side in it were determined in 1855.

Even more than this may be said. The conclusiveness of the Yalu experiment in condemning Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea and all that it led to is like to be lost. I have seen but one published diagram of the battle of the Yalu which shows its tactical significance. That one comes direct from Japan. The English diagrams that I have seen condemn Admiral Ito as a tactician, and exhibit his fleet as offering the highest advantages to the Chinese. The draughtsmen have not understood that the battle of Yalu was the first experiment testing the "Inflexible" design; that it was the first trial of the great action of line-ahead against line-abreast; the first practical condemnation of the idea that broadside fire could be economically sacrificed to right-ahead fire.

Hence, the point of interest so far is to note how in new designs the improvement in guns is being used—whether in strengthening fire in the line of keel, or at right angles to it—whether it tends to make our admirals prepare to fight their fleets as we always used to fight them, in the line ahead, or in the manner first proposed by Admiral Bouet-Willaumez.

There is no doubt it is tending, though perhaps slowly, in the direction opposed to Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea. The highest form of compromise was reached in the "Devastation," when she was provided with an armament of four heavy guns, two to fire ahead, and two to fire astern, while all four ranged over a considerable arc on the broadside. That compromise now remains in all our battleships, but gradually the really broadside fire of lighter guns has been added. The repelling of torpedo-boat attack has counselled a numerous very light armament, which, because of its number, must be chiefly disposed on the broadside. For some time past, then, design has embodied these things, and for the present it rests with a heavy, a me-

dium, and a light armament; where broadside force, almost from the nature of the case, advances, the treble armament ignores the views of our ancestors, who may be said to have generally avoided variation in calibre except when they could not help it. There is a further question, therefore, as to whether any tendency to reduction in the variation of calibre is on foot.

Take a late battleship like the "Majestic," and we at once find that the improvement in the gun tends, however indefinitely, toward the older tactical idea. The "Royal Sovereign," her immediate predecessor, provides a heavy bow and stern fire of four 67-ton guns, which exhaust the fifty-second part of her weight. The "Majestic" keeps to the compromise on the four heavy bow and stern guns, but they are only forty-six tons each, and only exhaust the eighty-first part of her weight, yet the improvement in the later gun is such that its fire is by no means weakened in proportion to its weight.

The fire in the line of keel of the "Royal Sovereign" is supplemented by four 6-inch guns of seven tons each, which can also be used as broadside guns; this plan remains in the "Majestic." But as the "Majestic" displaces 14,900 tons to the "Royal Sovereign's" 14,150 tons, and as there is the saving of weight on the heavy end-on fire, the "Majestic" shows a broadside fire of six 6-inch guns on each side, against five on each side carried by the "Royal Sovereign." Coming to the light armament, we find that is the same in number in both ships, twenty-eight. Each carries twelve 3-pounders, but the "Majestic" carries sixteen 12-pounders, against the "Royal Sovereign's" 6-pounders. We see, therefore, that, though the influence of Bouet-Willaumez's tactical idea is not lost in the "Majestic," it is weakened; and also that the calibres of the guns mounted are nearer to the mean in the later ship. The designer has used invention to approach, though not by any vigorous steps, the tactical ideas which rested on the experiments of war.

A leading feature in the "Majestic's" design is to carry the guns higher out of the water than usual, and I suppose we must say that it is Harvey armor which has allowed it. The choice of the designer has been to spread over the side of his ships a mean thickness of armor of the old resisting capacity. Belt armor of 18 inches in the "Royal Sovereign" falls to 9 inches

in the "Majestic." The above-water belting of 5 inches in the "Royal Sovereign" remains 5 inches in the "Majestic," with, of course, increased resisting power. While the heavy guns were protected by 17 inches of armor in the "Royal Sovereign," they take only 14 inches in the "Majestic." In the latter ship the 6-inch broadside guns are not only enclosed in lightly armored citadels like the "Royal Sovereign," but they fight behind heavy broadside plating. The smaller and later ship, the "Renown," discloses the same characteristic changes in guns and armor that are shown in the "Majestic," and any one comparing the drawings in *Brassey's Annual* with an intelligent comprehension of the interactions of tactical ideas and concrete designs may trace the tendency to return to the pattern of the "Achilles," a ship designed before the tactical views of Bouet-Willaumez, combining with the notion of a ram battle, had raised to its full height the demand for the line abreast as the fighting formation, with a powerful bow fire to suit it.

Coming to cruisers, it is useful to compare two of the same displacement, such as the "Australia" of 1885 and the "Eclipse" of 1893, in regard to guns and armor. The tactical idea of an end-on battle—modified very likely by supposing a cruiser to be perpetually in chase or chased—impressed the design of the "Australia" so as to furnish her with bow and stern guns of twenty-two tons, capable, in the terms of the compromise, of being also used on the broadside. Then, out of a total of ten slow-firing six-inch guns, two were arranged to fire right ahead and two right astern, as well as on the broadside. The light armament consisted of six 6-pounders and ten 3-pounders, mostly of necessity disposed upon the broadside.

In the "Eclipse," in part, no doubt, because of the increased power given to the 6-inch gun, and in part, I believe, because of the change in tactical idea, the two 22-ton 9.2-inch guns have disappeared altogether. The right-ahead fire is represented in the newer ship by three 6-inch guns instead of by one 9.2-inch, and two 6-inch guns as in the older ship. The right astern fire in the "Eclipse" is represented by two 6-inch guns only. Although something must be said for the increased power which is got out of the lighter guns, the change must be regarded as a weakening of the former tactical ideal. Further advantage is taken of increased power in the individual gun to substitute in the "Eclipse"

six 4.7-inch guns for the six purely broadside 6-inch guns which were found in the "Australia." Again, the light armament is reduced in number as compared with the "Australia," but it is increased in calibre. The "Eclipse" carries eight 12-pounders and only one 3-pounder; at least six of the 12-pounders being purely broadside guns.

It would seem that in the later ship the whole of the increased power of the gun has not been retained, unless, indeed, it might be found in dependence on increased speed of fire, and ammunition in correspondence therewith. But otherwise the general tendency is what we have seen in the "Majestic." The extremes of calibre are cut off, and a mean uniform calibre is more nearly approached. The preparation for an end-on action in line abreast is probably diminished, and that for a broadside action in line ahead is probably increased.

Passing to the armor, I am surprised to note how strongly we hold to the protective armored deck alone, most of it below water, as in the "Eclipse," in place of the combination of armored side with protective deck, all of it above water, as in the "Australia." Full materials for judging rarely travel outside designer's offices, but I have never considered that the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems have been completely threshed out. I anticipated that Harvey's invention would set the controversy in motion again, but it shows no sign of doing so. I have never been able to see that a ship with only a protective deck is safe from being sunk by the lighter guns without penetration of her armor, whereas a ship with belt armor rising a foot or two above water and closed at top by an armored deck is safe unless the armor is pierced. I know it is held that light guns which do not penetrate the "Australia's" armor might destroy her stability by admitting water in a seaway above the armored deck. This is true enough if means are not provided to allow the water to flow out as fast as it comes in. Such means are patent to the experience of any one who has served in the small sailing ships of the past. At any rate we find the "Australia" with a 10-inch belt, capped by a 2-inch protective deck, and the "Eclipse" with only a protective deck of 1½ to 3 inches. It is possible that Harvey's invention may have saved weight which has gone elsewhere.

One of the novelties in armoring which makes considerable

progress is the isolation of single guns in small armored citadels. The idea is, of course, to minimize the effects of shell bursting in the ship, but as there is no rose without a thorn, I doubt about the moral effect of such isolation unless the number of officers is very much increased. But at least one fallacy seems to be disappearing. It used to be held that it would be better to have no armor at all than armor which was penetrable. The "Inflexible" again was the embodiment of the proposition, showing an immense side with only a small patch of very thick armor in the middle of it. The truth, of course, is that it is no use firing 12-pounders at a ship clothed with four inches of wrought iron, whereas if there were no armor every 12-pound shell would be effective. The armor limits the effective fire, and that is its sole function.

In propulsion, the great change that is coming is the water-tube boiler, which is but the child of true necessity for using steam at very high pressures. Controversy rages over placing it in two of the largest cruisers. The Admiralty moves so cautiously in the general adoption of improvements that it will be somewhat strange if here they should be in error.

But I am not at all sure of our ground in the elements of propulsion. It is very difficult—more difficult than it used to be—to speak with exactness of speed and coal endurance. Forced draught and induced draught each give an elasticity to horse-power too tempting to the designer. Speed for a time can be reached which would be destructive to the boilers if continued. Every sort of care is taken to keep within the margin, but it is a pity that there should be a margin. It is the same with coal supply and endurance. The steaming powers of the ships are now calculated for a quantity of coal which does not represent any uniformly proportionate part of the total coal capacity, and the data are apt to become a question of account. The "Royal Sovereign's" elements are calculated on a 14,150 tons displacement, with 900 tons of coal on board. So are those of the "Majestic" on a displacement of 14,900 tons. But it is represented that the coal capacity of the "Royal Sovereign" is 1,400 tons and of the "Majestic" 1,800 tons, and thus any real comparison between the ships in these respects fails. In the same way the horse-power of the "Royal Sovereign" is put at 9,000, which increased draught may develop to 11,000.

The "Majestic" has nominally 10,000 horse-power, to develop under forced draught to 12,000. In ordinary speed the "Royal Sovereign" stands for 16 knots, developing under pressure to 17½. The "Majestic" shows 16½ knots for her ordinary speed, but does not exceed under pressure that of the "Royal Sovereign."

In the "Australia" and "Eclipse" we have the same features, the "Eclipse" showing 550 tons to the "Australia's" 750 as normal supply, with an indeterminate capacity to the "Australia's" 900 tons. It is in the one element of speed that the newer design distinctly surpasses the old one, the speeds of the "Eclipse" being 18½ to 19½ knots, while those of the "Australia" are from 17 to 18½ knots.

There are general principles on which an opinion may be pronounced. I cannot but think that the building of unarmored cruisers of displacements approaching even those of battleships is buying in the cheapest market. No nation but Great Britain could afford to throw her money about as she has done on the "Blake" and the "Blenheim," the "Powerful" and the "Terrible." They are simply efforts to "go one better" than certain foreign ships, and it is almost impossible to find a place for them in the economy of war that would not be as well filled by smaller and cheaper ships.

But since I wrote on the future of the torpedo in a former number of this REVIEW, I only become more and more convinced that it is there that we should centre our regards. I cannot look on the "Majestic" as a permanent type when purely torpedo vessels, such as the torpedo-boat destroyers, are growing up beside her. There is a much wider margin of possible improvement before the torpedo vessel than there is before the battleship of present type. Even now an armored torpedo vessel is afloat, and speed here tends to increase, while in the battleship it seems to be stationary. No doubt feeling runs just now against the above-water torpedo, and the torpedo vessel only fires them as yet in that way. But it seems to me that presently the naval mind will spring to the conception that buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest demands the development of the torpedo vessel pure and simple as against the battleship.

P. H. COLOMB.

QUARANTINE METHODS.

BY DR. ALVAH H. DOTY, HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

No subject of importance is perhaps less understood than that of quarantine. Therefore, the general public is not familiar with the changes which have taken place in maritime sanitation during the past few years. Travellers who come within its jurisdiction are restless until released and are often too ready to condemn a service which occasionally is the cause of a disagreeable detention. To the residents of inland towns, quarantine methods are practically unknown; and only a transient interest is taken in the subject in seaports, where the quarantine restrictions imposed are apt to be looked upon solely as an obstruction to commerce. That unscientific and unpractical work has at times brought quarantine into deserved ridicule is only too true; fortunately, however, a new era in this work has been established and the treatment of infected ships (which in the past has been largely guided by theory) will hereafter, at a properly equipped quarantine station, be directed in a manner consistent with the positive knowledge of established facts which we now possess as the result of scientific research.

In order to appreciate fully the changes which have taken place, it is necessary to compare the methods of earlier times with those which are now employed. To a modern sanitarian, a review of quarantine from the fourteenth to the beginning of the present century is anything but satisfactory. The impotent and empirical methods then employed were almost on a plane with the incantations of the Indian medicine man. After 1800, Jenner's discovery of the protective power of vaccination caused considerable improvement in quarantine methods. From that time on more or less advancement was made, and the subject gradually

attracted the earnest attention of the scientific men of the world. Progress in this direction has been necessarily slow, as the work has been based largely on theory. Within the past ten or fifteen years, however, bacteriological investigations have given us indisputable evidence regarding the life and character of the germs which produce the infectious diseases (pathogenic organisms). The knowledge thus acquired has made it possible to study the action upon these micro-organisms of agents known as disinfectants and to ascertain the germicidal power of the latter. Positive knowledge as to the value of a disinfectant enables us to follow a course determined by facts and not by theories. Although the investigations in this direction are not complete, they have progressed sufficiently far to insure the most promising results.

"Quarantine," which from its derivation means a detention of 40 days, was originally instituted as a means of protection agains the Bubonic Plague, an outbreak of which during the past year has so seriously affected Bombay. It is probable that the first attempt to establish a quarantine station was made in Venice, in 1348. It was at that period that the Plague, under the name of the "Black death," prevailed in Europe. The devastation which ensued seems almost incredible. Hecker estimates that 25,000,000, or one-quarter of the population of Europe, succumbed to this disease; 50,000 died in Paris, and out of a population of 2,000,000 in Norway, only 300,000 survived. It is not to be wondered at that the most drastic measures were taken to shorten this reign of terror. There is very little to show, however, that the means employed were effective, either at the seacoast or in the interior. Still, occasionally, we find evidence of good work; for example, during the outbreak of the Plague, which occurred in Italy in 1656, there were 300,000 deaths from this disease in Naples, and only 1,400 in Rome. This was attributed, and probably justly so, to the strict sanitary precautions enforced by Cardinal Gastaldi in the latter city.

The quarantine regulations first begun in Venice were subsequently put in operation along the Mediterranean coast, and in 1710 and 1721, by acts of Parliament, a rigorous quarantine was established in England against the introduction of the Plague. This was afterwards made operative against other "highly infectious disorders." That no well-defined idea of the methods necessary to insure protection against infectious disease existed at

this period is shown by unwarranted measures enforced in the treatment of presumably infected ships. For instance, in 1721, two vessels arriving in England laden with cotton from Cyprus, then affected with the Plague, were burned with their cargoes, the owner receiving an indemnity of $116,324; and as late as 1800 two vessels bringing hides from Morocco were ordered sunk by the British authorities, for which the government paid $72,000. The quarantine fees exacted from ship owners frequently amounted to from five to twenty per cent. of the value of the cargo. These charges were frequently imposed on ships carrying clean bills of health. The treatment of the cargo usually consisted of exposing the goods on the deck of the vessel from ten to twenty days; at the expiration of that time they were removed to a lazaret for an additional period of forty days. Vessels were, therefore, frequently detained in quarantine for two months or more. The quarantine service of this date was not improperly called a "commerce destroyer." Lazarets for the reception of persons and goods were constructed at great expense to the state, and were frequently managed in a lavish and ineffective manner.

It does not require a very careful study of the epidemics which in the past so seriously affected Europe to appreciate that the long and unnecessary quarantines imposed did not have the desired effect, and frequently after the liberation from quarantine of a ship's passengers, crew, and cargo, secondary cases occurred on land, which were traced to infection carried from the ship. With this loss of faith in prolonged detention in quarantine came a determined effort on the part of the public, or at least the commercial element of it, to secure a relief from the onerous restrictions imposed upon commerce. As a result, in England particularly, the period of quarantine was gradually reduced, until at the present time there is practically no detention imposed in that country. In the Eastern countries, for instance in Greece and Turkey, we still find restrictions which are as unnecessary and inconsistent as those which existed 200 years ago. The absurdity of this is still more evident when we appreciate the utter disregard the people of the East have for sanitary regulations. As a result these peoples are always in a condition to favor the propagation of infectious diseases and they constitute thereby a menace to the world. The danger from these visitations depends largely upon the sanitary condition of the community where the outbreak

occurs ; no fact is better known or appreciated by those having in charge the public health. Filth, squalor, and famine extend a very cordial reception to the germs of the infectious diseases ; while cleanliness and good sanitary regulations act as serious, and almost insurmountable, barriers to their entrance and propagation. At Eastern seaports, however, where Europeans constitute a large portion of the population and have more or less official influence, the quarantine service is relatively better. I was very much impressed with this during a recent inspection of the sanitary system of Egypt, which is practically in charge of Englishmen. The modern methods here employed and the great improvements which have recently been made in the disinfecting apparatus, and in the construction of laboratories, all show that even in this remote place it is appreciated that a new era in quarantine methods is at hand.

The constant tide of immigration to this country, bringing as it does an extremely undesirable class, has made it necessary to prepare for the reception of these persons in such a manner that they cannot act as a menace to the public health. That this is a very difficult task is evident to any one who will carefully investigate the details of the work. As a natural sequence of the stimulus thus afforded, the different quarantine stations in the United States are better equipped than in any other part of the world. It is here, also, that the needs of the service are better appreciated and the obstruction to commerce less; and although there is some want of harmony in the details of the work, it is rapidly becoming uniform under the influence of the accumulating facts resulting from scientific research.

It may very properly be asked in what essential points will the quarantine methods of the future differ from those of the past, and the answer is in the substitution of thorough and scientific disinfection in place of long and unnecessary detention in quarantine, particularly as it relates to the ship itself. I will explain this as follows : A vessel may arrive at a port with a case of infectious disease on board ; it is frequently the case that the ship, crew, and passengers are detained for a period representing the incubation of the disease in question. Let us for a moment analyze this action. If the ship is thoroughly disinfected, how can it be a menace to the public health and why should it not be released immediately upon the comple-

tion of the disinfection? On the other hand, it is manifestly improper that it should be detained merely to hold the crew and passengers under observation. *First.* Because it violates one of the cardinal principles of marine sanitation, inasmuch as it practically brings together in one body persons who at any moment may develop an infectious disease, whereas persons under observation should be as far as possible divided into small groups. *Second.* Because the outbreak of secondary cases among the passengers or crew held for observation on board would frequently involve the necessity of again disinfecting the ship. It will be easily understood that this may continue indefinitely until the ship is practically a pest-house. This unnecessarily subjects the ship-owner to a loss of his cargo, if it is perishable, and also the loss of the ship's service. A detention of a vessel for this purpose can hardly be justified on the grounds that a quarantine has no accommodation for the care of persons under observation. Fortunately it is exceedingly rare that the vessel's cargo acts as a medium of contagion; cases of infectious disease develop after the vessel has put to sea and there is no communication between the patient and cargo, the latter being covered with sealed hatches. It has also been proven that the ordinary cargo does not offer favorable conditions for the propagation of pathogenic organisms; this is particularly so with sugar. It is fortunate that this is the case, as the proper disinfection of a ship's cargo and hold is almost an interminable task. It is, therefore, evident that the first action taken upon arrival of a ship carrying infectious disease is the removal of the sick to the hospital; and, if necessary, of both the passengers and crew to a place where they can be held for disinfection and observation. The ship should then be thoroughly disinfected and allowed to proceed, as further detention can add nothing to the protection already assured. In this manner we have properly fulfilled our obligations to commerce and the public.

It is generally accepted, I believe, by those who are competent to decide this matter, that steam is the most important disinfectant which we possess, its chief value being due to the uniformity and rapidity of its action and its great power of penetration. At present its application is confined principally to the disinfection of clothing, bedding, and similar textile materials.

For years the value of steam has been appreciated, but further observations were needed to show the degree of temperature and exposure necessary to destroy the organisms of different infectious diseases under given conditions. During the past ten years, valuable information in this direction has been secured as the result of bacteriological investigations. The experiments, however, have mainly shown the effect of steam on the exposed bacilli in the laboratory. Although these experiments are absolutely necessary in forming a standard upon which to work, they do not indicate the degree of temperature needed in treating the materials which are presented at quarantine and other public stations for disinfection. Here it is presumed that the germs are hidden in bundles of clothing, bedding, and packages of different material. Moist heat at a temperature of 150°, Fahr., which experiments have shown will kill the germs of many infectious diseases directly exposed to it, cannot be depended upon to destroy micro-organisms confined in bundles, etc. It is therefore essential that we should know the penetrating power of steam or moist heat. Comparatively low moist temperatures have very little penetrating power. This is shown by placing a self-registering thermometer inside a package which is subjected to a temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr. The thermometer will probably register about 100 degrees, Fahr.—a temperature which is not only not germicidal, but is most favorable to the multiplication of micro-organisms, whereas a moist temperature of but 130 degrees or 135 degrees is often destructive to germ life. It is also essential that we should know the resistance to penetration shown by the different articles submitted to treatment. In order to obtain this information a series of experiments have been made during the past year at the New York quarantine station, the results of which have been very satisfactory. The tests have conclusively shown the degree of temperature and exposure necessary under definite conditions to insure thorough disinfection. These results also aid in removing the uncertainty with which steam disinfection has often been applied, both as to the degree of heat required and the length of exposure necessary. As the result of the experiments above referred to, a number of important modifications of the steam apparatus employed have been made. It is now possible to practically dry the clothing, etc., before removal from the steam chamber, so that

it can be worn immediately upon the termination of disinfection, instead of waiting an indefinite period for drying.

The experiments referred to were made with the apparatus now in use on the disinfecting steamer "James W. Wadsworth," which constitutes a thoroughly representative type of the perfected steam disinfecting chamber of the present day. The tests were made by soaking small linen discs in bouillon containing the germs of the Bubonic Plague, diphtheria, and anthrax. The spores of the bacilli of anthrax are particularly hard to kill, and are looked upon as a severe test in any experiment. The germs referred to were made particularly virulent by the inoculation of white mice and guinea pigs, this portion of the work being done at the Bacteriological Laboratory of the Health Officer's Department at Swinburne Island. The infected linen discs were placed inside of bundles of clothing, bedding, carpets, paper, etc., these packages being arranged in a shape similar to those usually presented for disinfection. It was found early in the experimental work that paper offered a decided resistance to the penetration of steam—much more than any other material. It was therefore constantly used in the tests. The infected discs were inclosed in packages of paper of different weight and tightly folded; in fact, the amount of paper used exceeded the weight of any wrapping that might be used for packages in transit. Canvas bags containing clothing in the manner used by sailors, heavy mattresses, carpets, and rugs, blankets, sheets, etc., etc., tightly rolled, containing infected discs inclosed, were also tested, the weight of each package being carefully taken in order that the results could be corroborated by second and third tests of exactly the same character, this being done to guard against errors. At the expiration of the test, the discs were at once removed and placed in glass tubes containing bouillon to revive and facilitate the growth of the germs if they were still alive. The discs remained in this condition for a week, or until it could be definitely settled as to the growth of the micro-organisms. Although the results, which are voluminous, cannot be given in detail in this article, it may be said that a summing up of the work showed positively and conclusively that steam at a temperature of 230 degrees. Fahr., with an exposure of 15 minutes will destroy all germs which may be exposed or contained in bundles of clothing, bedding, etc., presented for disin-

fection. Self-registering thermometers were in some cases placed inside the packages with the infected discs in order to ascertain the degree of temperature which reached the interior of the package, and it was of great interest and value to know that in all cases a temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr., at least was reached in the largest and heaviest packages of newspapers; whereas in the ordinary package of clothing, bedding, etc., it varied from 175 to 230 degrees, Fahr.; the latter being the temperature of the steam chamber.

These results fully corroborate the laboratory experiments, which have shown that a moist temperature of 150 degrees, Fahr., will usually kill the germs of most infectious disease when directly in contact with them.

It must be understood that the range for practical disinfection with steam is somewhat limited. Materials containing leather, rubber, wood, etc., are permanently injured or destroyed by steam. However, the materials which most frequently carry contagion, such as clothing and bedding, are promptly and effectively acted upon without injury. It is particularly unfortunate that a disinfectant so powerful and reliable as steam should be limited in its practical application, and the urgent need of a reliable agent, which can be used where steam is impracticable, has been fully appreciated. There has been no need of a stimulus to discover a disinfectant which will answer this requirement. It would seem that our hopes in this direction are about to be realized, or, I may say, to a great extent have already been realized.

In 1868, Professor Hoffman, a German investigator, discovered the disinfecting properties of formaldehyde gas, generated by the oxidation of wood or methyl alcohol. But not until the past three or four years, during which time the experimental work with disinfectants has been most active, has this agent received a thorough investigation. The past year has been prolific in valuable experimental investigations with this gas conducted in the best laboratories of this country and abroad.

In conjunction with the experiments made with steam already described, important tests have been made with formaldehyde gas at the New York Quarantine station. Packages similar to those used in the steam experiments have been exposed under various conditions to this gas. These have been made in con-

junction with work done in the laboratory, and although the experimental work is not yet completed, the results are very satisfactory and fully justify us in the conclusion that formaldehyde gas is an agent of pronounced germicidal powers. It also has the rare quality of not injuring the fabrics with which it comes in contact, not in any way affecting the delicate colors found in silks, wall paper, etc. Its penetrating power, however, is not great, but sufficiently so to surely disinfect clothing and bedding, which is unrolled with the surfaces exposed.

Experiments which are now being made with sulphur dioxide or sulphurous acid gas and other disinfectants may yet disclose valuable qualities which are now unknown to us.

During the past year the disinfecting steamer "James W. Wadsworth" has been completed and placed in commission at the New York Quarantine Station; with this it has been possible to make use, in a practical way, of the knowledge gained by the experimental work with disinfectants. The "Wadsworth" is really a portable disinfecting outfit, having the apparatus for disinfection by all the methods now approved. The vessel is always under steam both night and day, and is ready for use at an hour's notice; with it disinfection can be performed at any point in the harbor or connecting waters at any time. The importance of this can only be fully appreciated by those who are directly interested. Before the completion of this outfit it was necessary to remove to the disinfecting station on Hoffman Island in the lower harbor all goods which required disinfection. The time required for transportation involved considerable delay to the ship, particularly in disagreeable or foggy weather. Night disinfection was practically out of the question. Now the weekly mail from Bombay, India, is frequently treated during the night and delivered to the post-office in New York ready for the morning delivery.

Vessels which are usually held for disinfection at the New York Quarantine carry merchandise and no passengers. They come from ports which are known to be infected—generally with yellow fever. These vessels often remain in the infected port some time, and the crew are allowed to visit the shore. Their places of rendezvous on land are generally those in which contagious disease thrives. While the crew may not themselves become infected, it is possible for them to act as a medium of contagion,

or rather carry on board infected clothing, etc. Therefore, as a matter of precaution, at certain times of the year, these vessels are subjected to a thorough disinfection at this port, even if all on board are well. Thus no element of doubt remains as to the possible presence of contagion on board, and the vessel proceeds to the city in a clean and wholesome condition. The frequency with which disinfection is now performed renders it imperative that every effort should be made to interfere as little as possible with commerce. The construction of the "James W. Wadsworth" has, I believe, reduced this period of detention to a minimum. A general description of its use may be of interest. Upon the arrival of a vessel which is required to be held for disinfection, the "Wadsworth" steams alongside and is fastened to the ship. The crew, under the supervision of a quarantine officer, place their clothing and bedding in bundles, which are transferred to the disinfecting boat. Through an opening in the after part of the deck they are dropped into the cradle of the disinfecting chamber, which has been pulled out for their reception. In this cradle are also placed the ship's hangings and all other materials which are to be disinfected by steam. The crew are then transferred to the deck of the "Wadsworth" and pass down the companionway in the stern and enter the disrobing-room. Here they remove their clothing, which is also put in bundles, and upon which are pinned metallic checks containing numbers. Duplicates of these numbers on rubber cords, are hung around the necks of the owners. These bundles are placed with the others in the steam chamber. The men pass forward to the bathrooms, and after bathing they again pass forward into the dressing-room, where, upon the presentation of their checks, they receive their clothing and their effects which have passed through the steam apparatus. After dressing they ascend to the deck of the "Wadsworth" and return to their ship; the bedding, etc., is also returned immediately after treatment. Materials such as furs, silk goods, leather, etc., which are injured by steam are placed in separate packages and dropped through an opening in the forward part of the deck into the steel chamber constructed for disinfection with formaldehyde gas. After the removal of the crew, clothing, bedding, etc., from the ship, employees of the "Wadsworth" are sent aboard for the purpose of scrubbing, cleaning, and disinfecting the forecastle

and other apartments marked for treatment. A hot soda solution is first used. This is carried from tanks on the disinfecting boat by hose. The application of this solution with the aid of brushes removes the grease and filth; following this cleaning, the woodwork is sprayed with a solution of corrosive sublimate, or the apartments are fumigated with sulphurous acid gas. Upon the completion of the treatment described, and the return of the men to the ship, the disinfection is completed and the vessel allowed to proceed. Particular attention is always paid on these ships to the forecastle, which is usually filthy and almost always the seat of infection, when it exists on board. It is a source of considerable satisfaction to witness the demonstration of pleasure, upon the part of the crew, upon entering the apartments assigned to them on the "Wadsworth." These rooms are supplied with a metallic lining, enamelled white, which covers the walls, ceiling, and floors, and which is kept scrupulously clean; with the pleasing interior, plenty of clean towels, a shower bath having an agreeable temperature, they evidently feel that there is nothing more in this line to be desired. The ships in question carry a crew of from ten to forty or fifty, and the entire treatment occupies about five hours. This, however, does not include the disinfection of the cargo or hold of the vessel, which only in rare instances is presumably infected. Should a case of contagious disease be found on board, the individual is first removed and the treatment above described follows, after which the crew is either removed to Hoffman Island for observation, leaving the agent to select other men to take the vessel to the city, or the ship remains at quarantine with the crew on board. This is admissible, as the number is small and can be consistently cared for on board. The general rules, as above described, are modified in certain instances, but the principle of the work is adhered to in all cases.

On the arrival of a large passenger ship having on board one or more cases of infectious disease, the cases are first transferred to the hospital at Swinburne Island, the passengers and their luggage removed to Hoffman Island for disinfection alone, or disinfection and observation—depending on the disease and the amount of exposure. The ship and crew are then treated in the manner already described.

Simply an outline of the procedure has been given. A description of the details of the work and the great care neces-

sary during the inspection and disinfection would exceed the limits of this article.

In conclusion, I may say that with the exercise of proper care and the use of the modern appliances already described, it is reasonable to assume that the detention of a ship beyond the period necessary for thorough disinfection will soon be a thing of the past. Quarantine detention will then affect only passengers and crew, who are held for observation, or to complete a period of incubation. I repeat what I have already said, that the treatment of a presumably infected ship and passengers together is as a rule impracticable, inconsistent, and not sustained by experience, and that an infected ship and its passengers should, if possible, part company immediately upon the arrival in port, that each may be treated as the occasion demands. The fact that a port of entry does not contain accommodations for persons held for observation is unfortunate for all.

It would seem that with the practical application of the scientific knowledge of germ life we now possess, and with the absolute certainty of the destruction of these micro-organisms by proper disinfection, the quarantine work of the future will receive the respect and hearty co-operation of the public.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

THEOSOPHY AND ETHICS.

BY E. T. HARGROVE, PRESIDENT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES IN AMERICA, EUROPE, AND AUSTRALASIA.

FEW systems of thought have been more widely misunderstood and misrepresented than that known as Theosophy. Only within the last few years have people begun to realize that the Theosophical Society and the philosophy so many of its members adhere to must be taken into serious account as important factors in the moulding of modern thought. The newspapers, though now we number many warm supporters among them, and receive intelligent consideration from nearly all, were formerly of the belief that Theosophists exclusively concerned themselves with weird phenomena, and reporters felt it at once their privilege and pleasure to make extravagant "copy" out of theosophical commonplace. John Stuart Mill well said that "all reforms have to pass through three stages, viz., ridicule, argument, and adoption." Theosophy has won its way well into the second stage, with the growing certainty of attaining the third at no distant future.

It was thought to be something new, to be but another invention of this peculiarly inventive age. Further acquaintance showed that theosophy, a word meaning Divine Wisdom, was older than history, and that its nineteenth century exponents laid particular stress upon its immense antiquity, asserting that they were merely repeating that which the sages of every race and age had invariably taught. They further made it clear that instead of pursuing the uncanny and extraordinary, they were studying the nature of man and the universe, taking the sacred books and philosophical treatises of the world as their text-books, and, by way of propaganda, were trying to remind the humanity of to-day of long forgotten truths which harmonized with all true religion, science, and philosophy.

Ignorant people in every century have hastily concluded that they and their contemporaries were hugely superior to their forbears. There are many persons in this generation who consider Rider Haggard, whom they have read, the superior of Shakespeare, whom they have not read; Professor Huxley a greater light than Plato; Henry Ward Beecher a more brilliant representative of religion than old Martin Luther, or Ananda, the beloved disciple of Gautama, or Shankaracarya, of whom they have probably never heard at all. The tendency of every historical epoch has been to glorify itself at the expense of its predecessors, and recent advances in the physical sciences have done much to accentuate this very human habit. Fortunately, there are always exceptions to such rules, and a few thinking people, among them the Theosophists, have ventured to ask if it be not possible that man himself has been overlooked in this present universal analysis of all visible things; if it be not reasonable to suppose that the ancients—who professed to study themselves rather than the phenomena around them—may have gathered information of vital importance, concerning their own states of consciousness at any rate, which would be both instructive and helpful if placed at the disposal of mankind to-day?

Man soon wearies of new fads and fancies. The worship of matter has already ceased to be fashionable. It is only unchanging truth that holds man's interest to the end. He may turn from it, may devote his mind and heart to transitory sensations, but sooner or later and often unknowingly, he returns to his everlasting search for truth and wisdom. The only conceivable object of life is to learn how to live, and those who reject this theory of life and seek pleasure or knowledge even, without regard to results, are learning their lessons just the same. There are some children who will never believe that fire burns until they have scorched their fingers.

Many are beginning to realize that the science of right living is worthy of the deepest attention, and, as a result, the orthodox systems of ethics are being discarded as unsatisfactory. These systems may be roughly classified under two categories: first, the dogmatic system, common to all religions, which asserts that certain moral laws should be obeyed because they are the laws of God, revealed in some sacred book; and second, the utilitarian system,

which consists in formulating various rules of conduct which should be followed if man desires to do his duty by his fellows and by future generations.

The dogmatic system is evidently faulty, as its effectiveness depends upon the faith of the individual in some particular Book of Revelations and his anticipation of either reward or punishment in the future, or upon his religious devotion to the unseen law-giver. Further, in every instance, such books are contradictory, as in the case of the Christian Bible, which in one place maintains the Mosaic doctrine of an "eye for an eye"—the doctrine of revenge—and in another, while "endorsing the law and the prophets," breathes a spirit of divine love and forgiveness. This autocratic and arbitrary system is repugnant to free reason and consistent self-respect. Thinking people will not blindly accept the *ipse dixit* of book or teacher. They want to know the rational basis of any particular declaration or injunction, they wish to understand the operation and effect of the ethical and moral systems inculcated; and only if their reason and intuition agree in endorsing these will they give unqualified assent to both precept and practice.

It is on that account that the utilitarian system has also proved itself unsatisfactory. Based upon a study of physical nature and of history, certain generalizations are made in regard to actions deemed most likely to help forward the evolution of the race. It is virtually said: "If you desire to assist your fellows, and as fathers and mothers help instead of hinder the progress of future generations, you should do so and so, and should abstain from acts of such and such a nature." But this requires the sacrifice of immediate pleasures for the sake of a remote posterity, and as most people are selfish they are apt to reply that unborn races may be interesting in theory, but are sufficiently impalpable in fact to be conveniently ignored, and in any case will have opportunity to look out for themselves. They do not see how they personally are to be benefited by conforming to these ethical injunctions, and, until they do, prefer to continue as at present. Others, again, ask what is to be the end of it all. They have heard that this earth must sooner or later cease to exist, perhaps by a process of solar cremation, perhaps as the result of complete glacialization, involving in both cases the extinction of man. For the fol-

lowers of the utilitarian system do not as a rule consider man as much more than a wonderful piece of mechanism ; they do not generally believe in the immortality of the soul, and if they do, have only the haziest possible conception of that soul's future. It is not to be wondered at that people refuse to be satisfied with such make-shifts and demand some philosophy of life, which, while in perfect harmony with all that is true in modern scientific teachings, will not antagonize their religious sentiment and intuition.

This philosophy of life and scheme of the universe are contained in Theosophy. In order to understand it there is no absolute necessity to accept the well-known theosophical doctrines of Reincarnation and the law of Compensation, though they are quite logical and certainly throw additional light on all the problems that await our solution, on the problem of universal justice above all others. I shall endeavor to show that apart from these most ancient teachings, Theosophy provides a basis for ethics which is impregnable. Certain fundamental propositions must be granted, and will readily be granted by the vast majority of thinking people. These fundamental propositions are :

(1.) The universality of law, and the essential unity of nature.

This implies that nature is one harmonious whole, including the physical, etheric, mental, moral, spiritual, and any other existing worlds. It denies the necessity of dividing the universe arbitrarily into two water-tight compartments, one to be known as the natural world, the other as the supernatural, pointing out that no one has as yet succeeded in discovering the limits of nature. It condemns as illogical the relegation of all mysteries to the compartment labelled supernatural. It finds law everywhere and asserts that an actual law of nature must operate uniformly and consistently, not spasmodically and arbitrarily.

(2.) The power of thought to affect and mould matter.

The statement of this proposition purposely excludes any consideration of the origin of thought. It leaves ample margin for the indisputable influence of matter upon thought, though this influence is commonly retarding or negative in character. It needs no faith for its acceptance, as it is a matter of common knowledge that the thought of the mother may act with dynamic

effect upon the unborn child in direct proportion to the thought's intensity. In addition to this, hypnotism has finally demonstrated the power of mind over matter. Montegazza states that he was able to induce local reddening of the skin by simply thinking intently of the spot. Delboeuf says that he can influence the secretion of saliva by his will or ideas. Focachon is recorded to have hypnotized a subject, and after placing a postage stamp on the shoulder and covering it with a bandage, suggested this was a blister. "The subject was watched carefully and after twenty hours the skin was found thickened and dead, of a yellowish-white color, the region puffy and surrounded by an intensely red zone." The blister was photographed. Charcot and others have been too frequently quoted to the same effect to require recital here. Explain it as you will, postulate the existence of some intermediary such as the ether or "astral light" between mind and gross matter—the facts remain and continue to be recorded. The simplest proof of any, and one easily verified by experience, is this: A patient with excruciating toothache, if his attention be suddenly and strongly attracted to some other subject—such as the burning of the house in which he is at the time—will instantly forget his pain and will not feel it again until his attention relaxes from this dominant impression. And who does not know that a man's thought will mould his face, ennobling it or making his features sinister and forbidding? In the face of an old man one can read the record of his life.

As subsidiary to this second proposition it should be granted that all actions performed by man originate in his mind. This is clearly the case in deliberate acts, and is as clearly true of so-called automatic actions, once Lamarck's biological axiom is taken into account that function precedes organism and that of necessity desire precedes function. In other words, actions which have now become automatic arose in the first place from desire and may be said to have been originally deliberate.

Applying this subsidiary proposition to ethics, it will be seen that every evil act originates in an evil thought; that the same is true of good acts, and it therefore follows that while right and wrong actions are matters of vital importance, it will be sufficient to study and master the science of right thought in order to insure the performance of right and wise actions. This, in itself,

is an entire reversion of the modern method, which concerns itself largely with visible results, but which cares little for the concealed thought and motive. Even the ten commandments deal almost entirely with actions; but, not content with what might be called the materialism of these ordinances, the nineteenth century has erected unto itself another and greater commandment than any of them—"Thou shalt not be found out!" So long as that unwritten law is obeyed, the rest are of small account. The drawback is that the experts in wickedness are less likely to be found out than the tyros! But anything more hopelessly immoral than such a conception of "what is proper" cannot be conceived. It results inevitably, however, from that jealous consideration of appearances and the comparative carelessness as to the well-spring of action which exists in the mind of every man and woman. The inductive method has been followed for so long that causes are almost totally disregarded and effects reign supreme.

Theosophists, at any rate, believe in the Biblical teaching that to think a sin is to commit it, *de facto*, if not *de jure*. They concern themselves primarily with the laws of thought. They avail themselves of all that is best in the two other systems which have been briefly reviewed above. Instead, however, of taking one revealed book as their criterion of truth, they take the sacred literature of the world, and recognizing that their authors were in a very real sense "professors" of ethics, they treat them as they would treat authorities on chemistry, if they were studying that science. They collate the various conclusions arrived at, compare and classify them, and then proceed to verify for themselves the general result in this way obtained. In studying chemistry it would be manifestly absurd to confine one's self to a single text-book; in studying ethics it is evidently wiser to take and compare the conclusions of Krishna, Confucius, Lao-tsze, Buddha, Zoroaster, Plato, Moses, Jesus, Paul, Mohammed, and others, than to limit one's observation to a single representative, who at best taught people of a certain type of mind, for which he must have made constant allowance, in this way deliberately confining his instruction to the special needs and understanding of his hearers. Jesus, for instance, taught the Hebrews, who at that time were not a metaphysical race by any means, nor one capable of subtle distinctions in the domain of

thought. Gautama Buddha, on the other hand, attempted to reform and purify Hinduism, and had to deal with some of the subtlest metaphysicians the world has ever seen. He also spoke to the common people, and all know with what success; but the common people of India are born philosophers, even to this day of their comparative degradation. Necessarily Jesus and Gautama differed in their expression of the truth, but close attention to their respective doctrines shows that truth to them was the same.

Following this preliminary study of conclusions arrived at by great sages will come verification by means of history. The experience of generations of men will probably confirm these conclusions, but as this process has been frequently exploited, and its value is generally overestimated, there is no need to dwell upon it at any length. It does not bring conviction to the average mind.

Finally will come the supreme test, that of regulated commonsense. Rules of conduct will be studied in the light of universal laws. Keeping in mind the first proposition, it will be seen readily that any law which we know as holding true in physical nature can also be applied to the world of thought. That Newton's law—action and reaction are equal and opposite—governs the activity of the mind, can hardly be disputed. Everyone knows that following an intense stimulation of any function of the mind, reaction follows of an opposite nature. This is particularly observable of the emotions and with emotional people. A philosopher should be able to lead his own reactions, instead of being led by them; and many people do this without understanding the laws they unconsciously obey. They stop some activity of the mind or emotional nature before it wearies them, and change the current of their thought without difficulty. Others permit themselves to be carried away by some sensation and then by reaction are led, independently of their own wills, into feelings of an opposite or contrasted character.

This illustration helps to demonstrate the fact that thought, to be understood, must be studied as a force. If this be done, many of the ethical teachings of the world's saviors will be scientifically appreciated, though generally classed at the present time as unpractical. People are apt to forget that while a text-book on science becomes *passé* in five or six years, the laws of ethics are

immutable, for they are an unchanging quantity, true—if true in the first place—now and forever. Bishop Magee's famous article discarding many of Christ's precepts as inapplicable to this age conclusively proved that religion as now taught, and considered apart from philosophy, cannot defend its position, and will never be able to do so until religion, science, and philosophy unite once more as so many inseparable aspects of the one truth.

How many modern exponents of religion would dare defend the reasonableness of the doctrine taught by Christ, Buddha, and all the greatest sages, that "hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love"? How many of them would venture to apply this to social and political relationships, to international affairs? They would not be listened to, because they could not justify the faith in them by argument or reason. Yet here we have a direct statement: that hatred, a state of consciousness and therefore a force, can never be stopped by a force of the same nature, but only by love, its opposite. Simple and direct enough, and if true, to be taken into serious account; for if a man can be shown that he defeats his own ends by maintaining any given attitude of mind, he will probably try to change his course and adapt himself to the exigencies of the situation. He knows, for example, that if he wishes to arrest the course of a billiard ball moving from right to left of a table, he cannot do so by driving another ball after it in the same direction; he must meet it with some contrary force, whether by another ball, or by hand or cue, travelling from left to right in a direction opposite to that taken by the ball he wishes to stop. By means of this very ordinary illustration—itself an example of a law governing the whole universe—he is able to realize that hatred's opposite, the force called love, the regenerator, alone can nullify hate, the destroyer. Studying hatred from another point of view, he will be forced to the conclusion that an individual entertaining this sentiment tends to destroy himself. By observing the effect of hatred and anger upon his own organism he will gain sufficient evidence of its disruptive and disorganizing effect. It disturbs, perverts, unbalances both the physical and the intellectual faculties and must certainly affect still more profoundly the ether interpenetrating the whole of his body and brain. It injures himself more than anyone else.

In the same way all unworthy sentiments such as jealousy,

vanity, and the rest, can be shown to be destructive and certain to defeat their own object. Jealousy, as a state of consciousness as a mode of energy, is evidently contractive and separative. Its effect on the physical organism is "withering"; its immediate result is to separate us from our fellows on account of the contraction taking place in our own minds; while love, as an expansive and radiating force, attracts everyone, evokes the love of others in response to our own, particularly if our love be unselfish. This qualification may give rise to a question in regard to the difference between selfish and unselfish love, and as to the greater attractive power of the latter. Selfish love may be compared to a force that goes out in order to bring back something it desires; it demands recognition, reward; it is not content to give, but strives to take. Unselfish love, on the other hand, finds its greatest happiness in bestowing itself freely upon its object, regardless of any return that may or may not be made; it gives, it does not take, though it may receive. It is purely expansive in its action, while selfish love expands but to contract, and is as destructive in the end as jealousy or hatred. The one attracts, the other repels if it does not enslave.

It would be easy to multiply verifications on these lines of almost forgotten ethical doctrines. The teachers of the past were profound observers of cosmic nature as well as of the wonderfully complex workings of the human heart and mind. They taught what they knew, not what they guessed. They spoke from their own experience, not from books. Hence their doctrines, when properly recorded and faithfully transcribed, will bear the most careful analysis and will be found to be statements of law, not the mere moral platitudes which many suppose that they are. As laws of nature, they should be obeyed, for such laws cannot be violated with impunity, and by disregarding them we injure not only ourselves but our nearest and dearest, as well as humanity as a whole. If laws of physical health are ignored we know what the result will be: disease, not confined to ourselves but contagious and likely to affect thousands. Mankind is one, and injury to any of its members must result in injury to all, either directly or indirectly. Laws of moral and mental health, once recognized, require the same unquestioning obedience, for the forces operating in that sphere are more instantaneous in their action and "a weed grows a yard in the night." By means

of the all-penetrating ether, thought is communicated from mind to mind with lightning-like rapidity, affecting all minds responsive to itself for good or ill according to its own character.

In this way the Theosophist is able to meet everyone on his own ground; showing the selfish man that wrong thought will destroy him and defeat his own aims; appealing to the unselfish man on the broader and nobler basis of compassion for his fellowmen, pointing out to him that a thought of anger will find a resting place in any mind where similar thoughts exist—for like attracts like—and that this additional impulse may be sufficient to drive some poor wretch into a crime against which he may have for long struggled bravely. The universal brotherhood of humanity is a truth of terrific proportions; for it involves responsibility for every act we perform, for every thought we generate. The universality of law involves the universal application of the law of cause and effect, and it follows that in the mind as well as in the domain of physics, "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." As inevitably, whatever a man now reaps he must have sown in the past, no matter where or when. Man stands forth as the child of his own past, the moulder of his own future. He is the master of his destiny. Perhaps his greatest crime is lack of faith in himself, but this lack of faith arises from ignorance, and if that be removed man will awake from his long sleep, will claim his birthright, and will take his true position in the universe as a conscious co-operator with nature.

E. T. HARGROVE.

THE EXPORT BOUNTY PROPOSITION.

BY ALEX. R. SMITH, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE ASSOCIATION.

THE last generation has been one of marvellous progress in the United States in every great industry save two, viz.: Agriculture and shipping. The former has enormously increased in volume, although but little in value, while in the foreign trade the latter is on the verge of extinction. The condition of each is a reproach to the nation, a standing indictment of its statesmen, a demonstration of either their incapacity or their neglect. With excitable haste the Congress has been called together in extraordinary session to readjust protective schedules for our manufacturers, when the root of the evil lies in the depressed condition—long sustained—of agriculture and shipping.

And yet the announcement is made that the Congress will adjourn as soon as the tariff has been made more protective, so that the business of the country may be resumed, while two ulcers—one gnawing at the very vitals of the nation—are neither treated nor removed!

For the relief and protection of agriculture, Senator Frank J. Cannon, of Utah, has become the sponsor and advocate in the Senate of what is known as "the export bounty proposition." He has offered an amendment to the pending tariff bill providing for the payment of an export bounty on agricultural staples, in order, as he asserts, to equalize the benefits of protection in the United States. Based upon last year's exports of agricultural staples, he calculates upon a cash annual payment from the national treasury of about $48,000,000, in order to increase the value of the staples thus protected to the amount of about $225,000,000, in the home market. He has publicly asserted that fifteen Senators have agreed to demand a vote upon his amendment before

the Tariff bill is disposed of.* The purpose of this is, doubtless, to provide the advocates of the export bounty proposition with campaign material for wide distribution and discussion, to arouse public interest and the support of the people.

A brief summary of the facts and conditions which these advocates will be able to present from our census returns alone, will show how strong their premise will be, whatever the value of their conclusions : From 1870 to 1890 the area of land under cultivation increased from 188,921,099 to 357,616,755 acres, and the number of persons employed thereon from 5,133,000 to 8,215,000, while their products increased in value from $2,447,538,658 to $2,460,107,454; the wages of farm labor fell from $25.92 to $18.60 without board, and from $16.55 to $12.54 with board, during which same period the wages of factory operatives increased from $302 to $485 a year. The value of the farms, inclusive of land, fences, buildings, implements, machinery and live stock, increased in round numbers from ten to sixteen billions of dollars during those two decades. That is to say, while the area under cultivation doubled and employed 60 per cent. more labor, the value of the products increased but one half of one per cent., although the increased value of the farms has necessitated close to 60 per cent. increase in interest and taxes. To grasp the full import of this array of statistics is to appreciate, in a measure, the direful and even more desperate condition, to-day, of American agriculturalists.

A few extracts from Senator Cannon's speech in support of his amendment, taken from the *Congressional Record* of May 25, 1897, will show the indorsements and present status of the proposition :

"We have the highest testimonials in behalf of this proposition. Some of the purest and best statesmen the United States has had, have been its advocates. Hamilton and Albert Gallatin gave their voice to it. Hamilton went so far as to say that every dollar of duty collected for the protection of manufactures should be given back to agriculture through the medium of an export bounty, because it was inevitably taken from agriculture. Webster and Clay inferentially indorsed the same proposition, and the people of the United States are giving it their approval now.

"I am in receipt of communications from State and Pomona granges, shipping organizations, boards of trade, and clergymen, all advocating that

* On June 10, Senator Cannon's amendment was voted upon. Ten votes were cast for and fifty-nine against it. Senator Perkins offered to support it if Senator Cannon would accept an amendment limiting the payment of the bounty to exports of agricultural staples carried in American vessels, which Senator Cannon declined.

this principle shall be inaugurated at this time in behalf of equitable protection to the people of the United States."

In a newspaper interview published the next day, he is credited with saying that "100,000 people have united in memorials which are now on file in the Senate" in behalf of the proposition.

The original and leading advocate of this proposition is Mr. David Lubin, of California, who is not only a proprietor in one of the largest commercial establishments on the Pacific Coast, but is also the owner of several hundred acres of California wheat land. For several years he has been devoting all of his time, and his own means entirely, to the discussion of his proposition and the distribution of literature explanatory of it.

The export bounty proposition may be thus defined : It has seemingly become the fixed policy of the government of the United States to protect those of its citizens whose labor, in the home market, is brought into competition with the imported products of foreign labor, which is accomplished through the tariff. The agricultural staples, of which a portion is exported, Mr. Lubin shows, cannot be protected by a tariff on imports, but, being sold in the world's open markets, command only the world's price. He also shows that American producers receive but one price for these staples, whether exported or consumed at home, and that is the foreign price, less the cost of delivery in the foreign market where the price is fixed. That is to say, if cotton were selling in Manchester for nine cents a pound, and it cost two cents a pound to move it from the plantation on which it was produced to Manchester, then, whether the cotton was consumed in the village adjoining the plantation, or in Manchester, the producer would receive but seven cents a pound for his product. So, too, with wheat. If it commanded a dollar a bushel in Liverpool, and it cost twenty-five cents a bushel to convey it from California to Liverpool, whether the wheat were consumed in Liverpool or in California, the producer would receive but seventy-five cents a bushel for it.

Mr. Lubin contends, as do his supporters, that the producers of Egyptian cotton, or Argentine or Russian wheat, receive at the point of production the world's price for their products, less the cost of transportation to the world's markets, precisely the same as our own farmers do, and hence the American producers

of these staples are in unprotected competition with the cheapest and most degraded labor on the cheapest and most fertile lands in the world. The same machine tools and implements which were at one time almost the exclusive possessions of Americans are now in the hands of this low-priced labor, thus depriving American agriculturists of whatever advantage their exclusive use formerly gave them in competition with the rest of the world.

These facts and conditions, says Mr. Lubin, are the real causes for the depressed prices of agricultural staples which has so long existed. This, he asserts, explains why the purchasing power of our agriculturists has become abridged, and the consequent decreased demand for and diminished production of our manufactures, with all of the consequent distress and misery which the lack of employment and the lack of income have of late years inflicted upon the country, which will continue to exist so long as the great agricultural portion of our population receives for its product no more than the cost—and in some cases not that—of production.

In these circumstances, the advocates of this proposition assert but one of two things can restore prosperity to the nation: 1. Either the producers of our agricultural staples must be permitted to buy in the cheapest market, in which the price of their products is fixed ; or, 2. The price of their products must be enhanced in the home market equally with the enhanced price which a duty on competing imports enables our manufacturers to obtain for their products in the home market.

The advocates of this proposition say that to the extent the protective policy now reduces the cost of manufactures, because of the competition between home producers, to the same extent they will very cheerfully submit to the reduced cost of agricultural staples that home competition may effect through protection by the export bounty. They say that the competition to which agricultural producers have been subjected of recent years because of the enormous agricultural development all over the world, and which is intensifying and perpetuating a condition that has already become intolerable to them, can only mean their survival through legislative aid. If this is denied them and they are driven from their farms into the other crowded avenues of employment, this will but accentuate the distress which such a change will involve both to themselves and to those with whom

they will thus come into competition. They point to the rapid absorption of sugar production, by which the Germans, through the operation of their export bounty, are displacing their foreign competitors in the sugar markets of the world. They too, they say, must be fortified with an export bounty, or displaced by their foreign rivals who now possess the advantages of cheap land, cheap labor, machine tools and implements of the latest improved pattern, accessibility to the cheapest transportation and unlimited capacity for enlargement, to the ultimate exclusion of American agricultural products from foreign markets, possibly involving, before such an accomplishment has been consummated, industrial changes that may test the strength of our social and political institutions. But all of this can be avoided, they believe, and with enduring benefit to the whole nation, if, in their competition with the rest of the world, they become possessed of such an advantage as their export bounty proposition would give them, and in the just equalization of the benefits of protection.

The export bounty advocates have no fear, they say, of the exporters absorbing the bounty. The price of their products is at all times a matter of public knowledge, and the amount of the bounty would become a fixed and constant factor that could not be absorbed by anyone but the producer. Nor do they have any fear of the exporter using the bounty as a means by which to undersell others in the foreign markets. The world's price would not be affected by the American bounty, which would only be felt in the United States. Therefore the export bounty would be of no advantage to foreign consumers so far as effecting a reduction in price, beyond that effected by the aggregate world's increased production. The agricultural producer, then, they assert, would be placed upon the same plane in the home market, by protection, as the home manufacturer is.

The public discussion of this proposition, which has been extended, and by no means confined to this country, has disclosed a peculiar and unexpected character of indorsement and opposition. Free-traders, as a rule, who study the subject declare that, if protection is right, then the export bounty is also right; but they declare that protection is all wrong, and that free trade is desirable. Those who oppose the proposition are protectionists. The manner in which the proposition is defined arouses their resentment, and they will not agree that the protective system is

inequitable and unjust. Their objections may be thus summarized: 1. That it would so stimulate home production as to depress the price of these staples until, even with the bounty added, it would be less than now. 2. That the government does not possess income sufficient to make such an annual outlay as this proposition would necessitate. 3. That diversification of production is the solution, the scientific accomplishment of which would prevent the production of a surplus and give agricultural staples protection by tariff. 4. That the proposition means the protection of these products in foreign markets. 5. The advocates of free silver coinage declare that the prices of these staples are fixed in gold standard countries where they are consumed, and the gold payments for which act as an enormous bounty to the producers of competing agricultural staples in silver standard countries, which the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 would put an end to. 6. Even the grangers themselves do not heartily support the proposition; that is to say, in a national organization which represents a million or more of our farmers, this proposition has annually been hotly debated, strongly advocated, and in the end lukewarm and expressionless or guarded resolutions forced upon the friends of the proposition. On the other hand, a large number of State and local granges have heartly indorsed it, as have boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and other associations, notably a gathering of shipbuilders in Philadelphia, in August, 1895.

The advocates of the export bounty proposition meet the opposing arguments in about the following answers: 1. The world's prices of agricultural staples are based upon the world's available surplus, and any increased production in the United States would depreciate the price which the foreign competitors of our producers received equally with the depreciation in the price to our people, while the latter would always be fortified with an advantage over their competitors to the amount of the bounty. Moreover, it is obvious that if the bounty did reduce the cost of these staples to such an extent as to make prices lower than at present, with the bounty added, the American consumers of such staples would be to no loss or disadvantage that they do not experience now. 2. The tariff of 1883 produced a surplus more than sufficient to provide for such an annual expenditure as the adoption of this proposition would involve, and there

would be no difficulty in obtaining the money if the proposition were generally approved. 3. Diversification has the effect of lowering the prices of all products now protected of which there is not a surplus. If diversification should succeed in preventing the production of a surplus, then there would be a falling off of about 70 per cent. of our exports, and, the balance being insufficient to pay for our imports, would drain the country of its gold, or involve it in a rapidly accumulating indebtedness, which would mean final bankruptcy. 4. The advocates of this proposition deny that it would afford any protection to our agricultural staples in foreign markets, and assert that it would have no effect whatever except in the home market. 5. If the contention of the free-silverites is correct, the adoption of their remedy would merely place our agricultural producers on an equality with their foreign competitors, when it is protection against that equality which they seek, involving, as that equality would, a levelling of American social conditions in agricultural pursuits to the plane of their competitors. 6. The discussions in the National Grange meetings have been more political than economic. Diversification has been tried, as suggested, they assert, with the result that it so affected the opponents of the proposition as to make them ready for its adoption.

The cardinal basis of the demand for an export bounty on agricultural staples has always been its equity—that it would equalize protection, and that in justice protection should be extended to all our citizens whose labor comes in competition with foreign labor, so long as any portion of our labor is protected against such competition. When it was pointed out to Mr. Lubin, and afterward to the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, that American ships in the foreign trade were in unprotected competition with foreign ships, the fact was conceded, and they agreed that in order that protection should be equitable, it must also cover our shipping in the foreign trade. In the bill (House No. 2626) introduced in the Fifty-fourth Congress as drafted by Mr. Lubin, protection was given to our shipping in the foreign trade by increasing the amount of the bounty ten per cent. when the exports were shipped in American vessels; and the great bulk of the petitions sent to Congress to which Senator Cannon referred in his speech were in behalf of protection to both agricultural staples and our shipping in the foreign

trade. But these advocates of equitable protection have abandoned our shipping in the foreign trade, and it forms no part of their present demands nor of Senator Cannon's amendment. Their reason for this abandonment is the unsubstantiated claim that their shipping supporters have deserted them. But they assert, too, that they are working for the good of the Republic, not for the farmers as a class. This is especially true of the claim of the clergymen who have become pulpit advocates of this proposition—its equity is their defence for such advocacy, the righteousness of the proposition that all benefits must be shared equally—when they know, or ought to know, that, having admitted the injustice of leaving our shipping unprotected, they are now advocating a proposition that, until shipping is also protected, is inequitable and unjust. But, whether the farmers support them or not, these people advocate the export bounty proposition, they say, because of its equity. Basing their claim upon equity, neither the support nor the opposition of the farmers should influence them. If shipping, in equity, should be protected the attitude of the people affected ought to be unworthy of the consideration of these advocates. Having taken their stand upon the postulate of equity, they must accept the logic of it, uninfluenced by any considerations of support or opposition.

From 1688 until the beginning of the present century, Great Britain gave a bounty to exporters of grain, conditioned on its shipment in British vessels, the master and three-fourths of the mariners of which were required to be British subjects. Thus, for more than a hundred years, the producers of agricultural staples and the owners of vessels carrying the exports thereof, were simultaneously protected under the English export bounty act. It is worthy of mention that, at the same time the British bounty act was in force, the discriminating duty policy, also protective of British shipowners in the foreign trade, was in force—the modification of which policy is being advocated by Senator S. B. Elkins, of West Virginia, and the friends of American shipping who believe in protection. It is only since the introduction of the Elkins discriminating duty bill for the protection of shipping in the foreign trade that the advocates of the export bounty proposition have ceased to include in their demands for equitable protection, equal protection for our ship-

ping. Should it ever occur that the export bounty proposition became acceptable to the American people, it is quite likely that a stipulation will be embodied in the bill providing for the payment of the bounty only when such exports are made in American vessels, just as the British act always provided for the employment of British ships for the carriage of exports of grain on which the bounty was paid.

If our producers of agricultural staples—that is to say, of wheat, and corn, and cotton, and tobacco—and our manufacturers and our shipowners should ever be equitably protected under one general bill, then protection would be enjoyed by all of our citizens whose labor is subject to foreign competition, and protection is neither asked nor required by any other of our industrial classes. If ultimately, say in a revenue tariff bill, there should be some such provision as the Cannon agricultural amendment, and another such as the Elkins bill in behalf of shipping in the foreign trade, then there would be no longer any reason to fear the quadrennial spectre of either tariff agitation or tariff change—but protection would have become permanent and have ceased to be either partisan or sectional. It would, in short, become as fixed an American economic principle as it was for centuries in Great Britain, until the days of Richard Cobden and John Bright, or as free trade long has been in Great Britain, whether the Liberals or the Conservatives are in control.

If the export bounty proposition shall satisfy the agriculturalists, and the discriminating duty policy shall satisfy the shipowners, and the manufacturers are satisfied with the protection they receive, such concessions, after all, would be a very small price to pay for the cessation of partisan tariff agitation and the permanency of an American economic policy.

If we shall but remember that we are one nation and one people, with infinitely diverse interests, and endeavor by patriotic concession and conciliation, instead of hide-bound partisanship, to adjust our legislation so that it shall deal fairly by all, we shall possibly arrive at something akin to unanimity in legislating where even the most stupendous and intricate economic problems are involved.

ALEX. R. SMITH.

SPEAKER REED AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE leading article in the June number of this REVIEW was contributed by the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, now for the third time Speaker of the House of Representatives, an office which he has held longer than any other of his countrymen, with the exception of Nathaniel Macon, Henry Clay, Andrew Stevenson, and Samuel J. Randall. The article aimed to give an explanation of "How the House Does Business," and from many points of view the author's purpose was admirably fulfilled. Certainly no one is better qualified than is the Speaker to expound the subject, but as there are several questions touching which he chose to be silent, his paper could hardly be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It may be well to enumerate those questions for the sake of persons who might be tempted at first sight to assume Mr. Reed's exposition to be exhaustive.

It is undisputed by the Speaker that not only the members of what for the moment is the minority in the House of Representatives, but also the members of the majority, are more thoroughly gagged and shackled than are the members of any other parliamentary body in the world. What is the reason for such a state of things? The reason put forward by the Speaker is that so huge is the volume of business brought before the house that only by the existing method of muzzling and effacing individuals can any business at all be done. That this asserted reason is less well-founded than it might be will at once appear when we point out that far greater liberty of speech is enjoyed by the members of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the British House of Commons, although those are both larger bodies than is our

House of Representatives, and although an incomparably greater volume of important and urgent business comes before each of those assemblies. The British House of Commons contains 670 members; the French Chamber of Deputies, 581; the House of Representatives, 357. From the numerical view-point the popular branch of our Federal legislature corresponds most closely to the German Reichstag, which has 397 members, but which has more work to do, since, in addition to its legislative functions with regard to federal affairs, it has to make laws for the Federal District, or Reichsland, of Alsace-Lorraine, which has no legislature of its own, but which contains more wealth and population than all of our Territories combined. As regards the volume of urgent and important business devolving on the French Chamber of Deputies and the British House of Commons, this must needs be far greater than that transacted by our House of Representatives, for the obvious reason that both France and the United Kingdom, instead of being confederations of semi-independent and mainly self-governing States, are intensely centralized and absolutely unified commonwealths. If we should suppose that our House of Representatives, in addition to the Federal business, which now properly comes before it, had to perform all the work now done by our forty-five State legislatures, we should get but an approximative idea of the vast scope of the law-making duties devolving upon the French Chamber of Deputies and the British House of Commons. We say that the idea would be only approximative, because, first, the Chamber of Deputies not only has to do for France all that our House of Representatives and forty-five State Legislatures do for the United States, but also to legislate for Algeria, for French West Africa, for French Farther India, and for the French possessions in the West Indies, in the Indian Ocean, and in the Pacific. Secondly, the British House of Commons not only has to do for the whole United Kingdom all that the House of Representatives and forty-five State Legislatures do for the United States, but it also has to legislate for all the so-called Crown colonies of Great Britain, and for the stupendous Anglo-Indian Empire, which contains nearly a fifth of the population of the globe. Does it not seem, then, unreasonable to talk of the overgrown and unmanageable business of the House of Representatives, when this business is compared with the overwhelming responsibilities of the parlia-

mentary bodies just mentioned? Yet, although in London and in Paris there is fifty times more excuse than there is in Washington for the suppression of debate and of the rights of individual utterance, not for a moment would the members of the House of Commons, or of the Chamber of Deputies endure the process of strangulation and of virtual nullification to which the members of the House of Representatives have for some years subjected themselves. The members of either of the two first-named bodies would feel, and rightly feel, that by acquiescing in such extinguishment they were committing political suicide, that by their own act they were ceasing to be a deliberative assembly, and were representing their constituents only in name and not in fact.

It is worth noting that in the French Chamber of Deputies, and the same thing is true of the Italian Chamber, which also legislates for a centralized and unified monarchy, instead of for a confederation, the committees to which bills are referred, and from which they receive the form in which they are eventually returned to the Assembly, are not, as a rule, appointed by the Speaker, but are elected by the members themselves. The facts relating to this matter are not as well known in this country as they ought to be, and it is fortunate that of late information on the subject has been made accessible by Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell's book on *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*. In this useful work it is pointed out that the French Chamber of Deputies is divided into eleven sections called *bureaux*. These *bureaux* are of equal size, and every member of the Chamber belongs to one, and only one, of them, the division being made afresh every month *by lot*. The *bureaux* meet separately, and have three functions, the most important of which is the election of committees. Each of the *bureaux* chooses one of its own members, and the persons so elected constitute the committees. In the case of the more important committees it is sometimes deemed desirable to have a larger number of members, in which event the *bureaux* choose two or even three members apiece, the Chamber specifying by its rules or special vote the number of members to be elected. Thus, the committee on the budget, which is the most important one of all, consists of three members chosen by each of the *bureaux* and contains, therefore, thirty-three members. This committee on the budget, and the one appointed to audit the accounts of the government, remain un-

changed for a year; a few of the others serve for a month, and then are chosen afresh. With these exceptions every measure is in theory referred to a special committee elected by the *bureaux* for the purpose. The practical working of this system is that the several parties and factions in the Chamber are represented on committees proportionately to their numerical strength. Thus constituted, the committees evince an amount of independence not easily conciliable with the principle of ministerial accountability to the legislature. That, of course, is not an objection which would have any weight for us, seeing that the members of the President's Cabinet are not responsible to the House of Representatives.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies is likewise divided by lot into nine sections, called *Ufficci*, which elect most of the committees, but the committee on the budget, which is the most important of all, is chosen directly by the Chamber, acting as an electoral committee of the whole. Committees on petitions are also elected directly by the Chamber; only the committees on elections and on rules are appointed by the presiding officer of the House. It is to be kept in view that in Italy, as in France, a whole committee is not chosen from any one party, but minorities are proportionately represented. In Rome, as in Paris, this committee system is criticised on the ground of its tendency to obstruct rather than facilitate the purposes of Ministers. We repeat that where Ministers are not accountable to the legislature the criticism would have no weight. We shall add that in Italy, since 1888, the Chamber of Deputies can, if it desire, order a general debate on a bill before it is referred to a committee, in which case, should the main principle of the measure be approved by the Chamber, the discussion in the committee is limited to a consideration of details. The smothering of bills in committee is impossible in the Italian Chamber, for it is provided that in case a committee does not report within thirty days the government or any member of the Chamber may move that a day be fixed for the second reading of the bill.

It may be well to say a word also about the procedure of the Reichstag in the matter of committees, the German Empire being, like the United States, a confederation, and the popular branch of its federal legislature dealing only with federal busi-

ness. Mr. Lowell has shown us that the internal organization of the Reichstag conforms to the pattern generally followed in Continental chambers. At the beginning of each session the members are divided by lot into seven *abtheilungen*, or sections, which correspond to the *bureaux* of the French Chamber of Deputies, but differ in the respect that they last during a whole session, instead of being renewed at short intervals. The principal duty of the sections is to choose committees, each section electing one or more committeemen, according to the importance of the committee. As in France and Italy, however, the choice by the sections is really dictated by the party leaders, who agree in advance upon the number of seats on the committee to which each party shall be entitled. In the Reichstag, bills are not always referred to a committee, the majority of the members sometimes preferring to order an immediate discussion of important measures without the intervention of any committee at all. Let us note here that there was a time, although the fact seems to be well-nigh forgotten, when our House of Representatives, like the present French, Italian and German Chambers, chose its committees for itself. We are in a position to say that a careful investigation of the practice of the House in this regard, since the government established by the Constitution became operative, has been undertaken by a competent student of American history, and that the outcome of his researches will be presently published.

Now let us glance very briefly at the freedom of utterance enjoyed by individual members of European parliamentary assemblies, notwithstanding the fact that, transacting business, as most of them do, for intensely unified countries, they have far more work to perform than does a body dealing only with the collective interests of a confederation, like our House of Representatives. On the procedure of the British House of Commons we need not dwell, because it is familiar to the majority of American legislatures. We simply recall the fact in passing that a member of the British House of Commons has incomparably more liberty of expressing the views and wishes of his constituents than is at present possessed by a member of the popular branch of our federal assembly. Turning to the state of things in the French, Italian, and German chambers, we again find ourselves indebted to Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell for copious light upon the subject. What is

known on the continent as the system of interpellations seems to have been originally suggested by the practice still followed in the British House of Commons of asking the Ministers questions which may relate to any conceivable subject. At St. Stephen's, however, the answer is not followed by a general debate, or by a vote, except in the unusual case where a motion to adjourn is made for the purpose of bringing the matter under discussion. In France, not only are questions addressed to the Ministers by members who really want information, but another kind of interrogatory has been developed which is used, not to get information, but to call the Cabinet to account and force the Chamber to pass judgment upon the conduct of the Executive. This is the interpellation; in form it is similar to the ordinary question, but the procedure in the two cases is different. In France a question can be addressed to a Minister only with his consent, whereas the interpellation is a matter of right, which any deputy may exercise. Another important difference consists in this, that the author of an ordinary question can alone reply to the Minister, no further discussion being permitted, and no motion being in order; the interpellation, on the other hand, is followed both by a general debate and by motions. The large part that interpellations play in French politics is shown by the fact that they arouse more popular interest than do even the speeches on great measures. We may mention further that under the Third Republic no fewer than ten ministries have fallen on account of adverse orders of the day moved after an interpellation or in the course of the ensuing debate. The development, indeed, of interpellations has coincided very closely with that of parliamentary government, and the French regard the privilege as one of the main bulwarks of political liberty. The practice was first regularly established after the accession of Louis Philippe, and it was freely used during the Republic of 1848. After the *Coup d'Etat* of December 2, 1851, it was abolished, but, toward the end of his reign Napoleon III., as a part of his concessions to the demand for parliamentary institutions, gradually restored the right of interpellation. Finally, under the present republic, the right has been used more frequently than ever before. Italy also sanctions the practice of interpellations, that is of questions addressed to the ministers, and followed by a debate and vote on an order of the day expressing the opinion of the Chamber of Deputies. There, how-

ever, although a motion can be made immediately after the Minister has answered the interpellation, the debate and vote, instead of taking place at once, while the Chamber is in a state of excitement, is postponed to a future day. Nevertheless, interpellations are more numerous and occupy even more time in Italy than in France, although, as we have said, the Italian Chamber of Deputies has more work to do, and does it, than devolves on the House of Representatives. With regard to the popular branch of the German federal parliament, we may observe that the rules of the Reichstag provide for interpellations. Ostensibly, these are addressed to the Bundesrath, but in fact they are communicated to the Chancellor, who either answers them himself, or allows one of his subordinates to do so. A debate may ensue, if demanded by fifty members, but it is not followed by an order of the day, expressing the opinion of the House. Indeed, in Germany, interpellations have no such importance as they possess in France and Italy, because the system of ministerial accountability to the legislature does not exist. They give, however, the individual member great power of initiative.

We have thus far confined ourselves mainly to the first question left unanswered by Mr. Reed, why, namely, the gag and handcuff are at present more needed in the House of Representatives than in other parliamentary assemblies which comprise a greater number of members and have an incalculably larger amount of work to accomplish? The second question is this: if the sole justification for stifling debate in the House of Representatives, and for reducing the bulk of the members to sheer nullities, the mere simulacra and shadows of legislators, be the alleged necessity of getting through the business of the House, how does it happen that the House under such a system does, as a matter of fact, accomplish considerably less work than does the Senate, where no gag law prevails? About the fact there is no doubt whatever. Some of the statistics bearing on this point were, by an interesting coincidence, set forth by a correspondent of the REVIEW in the June number. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, upon which Speaker Reed dwells at some length, the Senate passed 1,682 bills and joint resolutions; the House of Representatives but 1,200. In the Fifty-third Congress the figures were 1,086 and 951 respectively; in the Fifty-second there were 1,350 bills and joint resolutions to the credit of the Senate, as

against 990 for the House. We are told that a similar result could be shown in almost any Congress since the members of the House of Representatives have allowed themselves to be manacled and muzzled. We say "have allowed themselves," for of course the Speaker is in no wise responsible for the existing system. It is submitted that by the figures just cited the single plea put forward by Mr. Reed to excuse the obliteration of individuals in the House is rendered inadmissible.

There is a third question upon which we wish that a man so superlatively qualified to illuminate the subject, as is the Speaker, had thrown some light. How does he account for the deplorable loss of prestige on the part of the chamber wherein he presides, as compared with the contemporaneous Senate? How does he explain the scant attention paid by the public press to the proceedings of the House of Representatives, when at the same time the debates in the Senate are reported with care? How does he decipher what to many modern eyes seems the inscrutable, historical phenomenon that Henry Clay in 1811, although he had been twice returned to the Federal Senate, and could have remained there all his life, was glad to throw up his seat in that body in order to enter the House of Representatives? Does the Speaker believe that there now exists a Senator who could be tempted to follow Clay's example? If not, why not? How has it happened that the House of Representatives has declined from the place of eminence which it occupied when James Madison, Henry Clay, John Randolph, John Quincy Adams, and Thaddeus Stevens possessed and exercised freedom of utterance, and the right of truly representing their constituents upon its floors?

M. W. HAZELTINE.

THE MENACE OF LEGISLATION.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

A NUMBER of years since one of the foremost of American writers upon the political and economic history of the country called attention to the growing sentiment of fear with which business men regarded the convening of Congress in legislative session. This was equally apparent whether the legislative machinery was to be in Republican or Democratic hands, or whether the question dealt with was one of tariff revision or currency reform. In the time which has intervened since this fact was first noted, it cannot be said that the business world has become any more reconciled to the recurring sessions of legislative bodies or that it has felt a greater degree of assurance in observing the trend of public legislation. If the exact statistics could be obtained, and the truth stated, the results would undoubtedly show a greater intensity of feeling on the subject now than at the earlier date. It is safe to say that the feeling has not been lessened by the development of a character of law-making in almost every State of the Union, far more disturbing and harmful in its effects than the accomplished or attempted efforts at the national capital. This sentiment of fear and distrust finds expression in the columns of the press and in the private speech of the people and is of sufficient seriousness to warrant a public discussion of the reason for it. There must be something radically wrong, when, admittedly, any considerable body of the conservative people of the country entertain such views and withhold respect from legislatures and from enacted legislation. The final result must be a greatly weakened government and a thoroughly disorganized state of social order.

The origin of this condition of affairs is not difficult of ascer-

tainment, nor is it of sudden growth. It is to be found in the manifest tendency, each year made more perceptible, of the law-making forces, national, State, and municipal, to subject all the undertakings of the private citizen to legislative inquiry and their management to statutory control. Even if such a course was inevitable during the extraordinary exigencies of the war period it is without excuse to-day. The aid of the law is invoked on every hand. The legislature of the nation reaches the affairs of the whole country, that of the State confines itself to State lines. Both proceed upon the theory that every business principle and business enterprise must be regulated by legislative act. The outcome of this wide and extreme exercise of power is a complete thralldom of business and a paralysis of enterprise and stoppage of investment. Nothing could seem more self-contradictory than the statement that the business prosperity of the whole country is delayed and the people impoverished through law, and yet there is absolute truth in the assertion. It cannot be expected that capital will be invested when the suggestion is continually put forth that the basis upon which it is to be expended is liable to change before return is made upon it. The business world knows how essential to business success is stability, and if this is wanting nothing but loss can follow. It awaits some token that the conditions are stable, and that it shall be free from repeated unnecessary legislative interference, before it again calls into activity the means at hand to revive lagging industries and quicken the arteries of trade and commerce.

How completely all this is a reversal of the principles of government invoked at the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the founding of the States is shown by the most casual inquiry. It was then believed that a Republican government should be one of few laws and limited powers. Neither in the enforcement of the one nor in the exercise of the other should there be any attempt to encroach unnecessarily upon the rights of person and of property guaranteed to the citizens. The rights of property were regarded as sacredly as the rights of person, and held to be equally free from invasion. The citizen was, under all circumstances, expected to maintain his individuality. His individual efforts were to work out, without either legislative check on the one hand, or legislative aid on the other, his social and political

status, and his energy and economy to gain for him whatever degree of material prosperity was possible. The right of governmental interference, even to the extent of sumptuary legislation, was as stoutly denied as would have been a legislative attempt to dictate the citizen's religious belief and form of worship. In the view of the strongest advocate of a paternal government, at that time and for seventy years thereafter, the operations of enacted law were to be confined entirely to matters of public moment, in no wise giving unequal advantage to any one class of citizens over another. Equality under the law had not then become, through the uncalled-for exercise of legislative powers, a mere legal fiction, but was a substantial fact. The government took no man's property unjustly through an abuse of legislation, nor had it favored citizens upon whom it bestowed the privileges which it denied to itself. When legislation had secured the protection of the individual in those things which were absolutely essential to his happiness and which were beyond his own gaining, its work was fully accomplished. The making of the government by statute a partner in the citizen's private business successes and failures was a thing unknown. There was no attempt to create either law-made wealth or law-made money. If tax enactments were to find a place upon the statute book, it was that the treasury might have the means wherewith to meet the expenses of a government economically administered. The measure of the rate of taxation to be enacted from the citizen was the measure of the government's legitimate needs and not of the selfish requirements of private interests. If monetary legislation was demanded the object of the law to be enacted was simply to ratify the decrees of the commercial world and not to defy or nullify them. The improvements undertaken at governmental expense were undeniably for the general good and not in aid of mere local interests. The employer and employee, the capitalist and laborer, all worked out their own difficulties, and it cannot be successfully denied that the relations created between these classes by their own acts were as harmonious and profitable as at present, when on every statute book are to be found innumerable labor acts.

Nothing was more evident during the period when such political ideas obtained than the soundness of the views of every public man upon public questions, saving always upon that of

slavery; and even on that question the view favorable to slavery was in defence of that which was deemed a property right. The opinions of the private citizen and of the publicist were equally well founded. The government was not deemed the creator of value in the country's currency, nor was it looked upon as the legitimate source of the individual's wealth. Bryanism, embracing as it does all the heresies and dangers of Socialism and Communism, could not have been a possible growth at any time within the first three-quarters century of the republic. The most ardent Jacobin at the founding of the Democratic party, filled with the ideas of the French Revolutionist, would have rejected such a combination of evils and false theories of government as it embodies, as foreign to the underlying foundations of the republic and wholly undemocratic. No Federalist would have tolerated so great an extension of paternalism or believed it to be compatible with the welfare of the country. And yet, no thoughtful student of affairs can fail to appreciate how much of the strength and following which it exhibited a year ago is due to the belief, created in a great mass of the people through a perversion of legislative power, that legislation is the true corrective for all the forms of misery from which the nation suffers. We have swung from the extreme of individualism to the extreme of paternalism, to the detriment of all classes of the people and of all sections of the country. Out of the ill-considered and unnecessary legislative acts, designed to grant the citizen relief in matters which are beyond the duty of the government, have been born more than one issue of a destructive character. It has been an easy thing for the charlatan and demagogue to point to acts of paternalism done in behalf of one interest, and to ask if such acts should not reach to all. There is no consistent answer to the argument that if bounties and benefits are granted through law to one they should be given to all. The only manner in which the question as to the bestowal of such benefits can be met successfully is by denying that it rests within the power of law and equity to bestow them upon any. With the barrier once broken down, there is no escape from the justice of the demand of the Socialist, Populist, and free silver advocate. The demand of each is consistent only with a paternal view of government, and with the exercise of paternal rights. It has no lodgment in any governmental system where the most important factor in

attaining success is individual effort. It cannot rest in a system which is declared to be based upon an established government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

As against the legislation favored by a true interpretation of the duties of the law-making powers, we have had in recent years statutory enactments without limit, and of every kind and character. They have been designed to create wealth, banish complaints, increase the wage of labor, abolish points of dispute between employer and employee, regulate trade and commerce, banking and currency, make the waste places fruitful, render odious combined capital and curtail the powers of corporations. The most insignificant subjects have not been too trivial to be legislated upon, while the most important have received constant attention. And with what results? The wealth created by such means has been so quickly obtained, and so unevenly distributed, as in turn to be made the object of legislative attack and solicitude. On every side complaints and protests against existing adverse conditions are to be heard. The wage of the laborer is still subject to other laws than statutory ones, and instead of increasing in amount with added legislation, continues to fall. Each year there are yet witnessed disputes between employer and employee, and the country is far from being free of strikes and lockouts. The harmonious relations which should exist between capital and labor are still wanting, despite the labor laws and arbitration boards existent in every State. The channels of trade and commerce, dominated by legislative decrees, still fail to give evidence of an increasing and continuing prosperity. The promise of that prosperity has more than once been made only to fail of fruition. In any proper view of the case it must continue to fall short of public expectations, so long as it rests dependent in the greatest measure upon the acts of any legislative body. The record is yet wanting in the history of our material prosperity where there has been as the result of law any greatly extended period of substantial progress. The reverse is more often witnessed. Such prosperity has in the end invariably culminated in panics, long continued business depression, and bankruptcy.

Turning to questions of banking and currency it is found that the people are still protesting against a banking system so inadequate as to fail to meet the needs of trade and commerce, and a currency system so ill-devised that it makes impossible a

proper transacting of the daily volume of the country's business. All this remains, though the legislative body of the country has more than once enacted statutes designed to improve both. Anti-trust legislation and anti-corporation acts have yielded no results, except to cause a suspicion, upon the part of the general public, that possibly back of more than one legislative attack upon corporate capital in the alleged interests of the people, are demagogy and blackmail. Legislation upon labor problems and corporate rights clearly unconstitutional in its provisions has not infrequently found place in the acts of many legislative bodies solely to meet a temporary political emergency; and when such legislation has been made the subject of judicial investigation and annulled by judicial decision, the courts have been assailed as in league with the rich, as against the well-being of the poor. Much of the feeling embodied in political platforms and uttered on the stump, directed against the judiciary of the land, has found its inception in paternal legislation. Whenever the courts, and it is to be said to their credit they have seldom failed to meet the duty confronting them, have declared against such legislation as traversing legitimate legislative functions, those responsible for unconstitutional enactments have been quick to accuse them of a want of fidelity to their trust and of a failure to appreciate the abuses which such legislation, it is claimed, would correct.

The seriousness of the situation wrought by over-legislation is many sided. It has made statutory enactment, notwithstanding prohibitory provisions in the constitution of a majority of the States against special legislation, distinctively special legislation. If in many instances it appears to be general in its object and scope, it is so in appearance only. The thing to be accomplished is wholly individual, and for individual benefit. The legislative bodies of the country and the legislators themselves have suffered in reputation and standing from their zeal in this direction. The general public cannot believe that everyone engaged in business, whether that business is of large or small proportions, is an enemy to the people and a despoiler of the country. Fortunately, a point has not yet been reached when the accumulation of capital and the earning of a substantial income is looked upon by the majority of the people as a crime against society. It is also doubtful whether all virtue and disinterested patriotism rest in those

who constitute the enacting powers. If, as has been argued, a notable decline has come about in the moral tone and statesmanlike ability of the men who are elected to legislative places, not the least reason for it rests in the loss of respect for the legislative office itself—a thing made possible only through rendering it by such a course ineffectual as an agency for public good. But these results are of small consequence as compared with the immeasurably greater evil of that threatened deadening of individual effort in the business world through the force of paternalistic legislation. The evidences accumulate with each successive session of every legislative body of a lack of the citizen's reliance on self, and in that self-abnegation he is given encouragement by too willing legislators. In the end, however, he must fall back in the struggle for existence upon his own energy, ability, integrity, prudence, and judgment. The danger springs from the discontent bred when at last it is found that the government is powerless to aid and the legislation relied upon, instead of benefiting, has proven to be a hindrance through its attempting to regulate things beyond its province. If the country is to be free from the forces that threaten its political and financial integrity, the first and greatest reform to be entered upon should be the eliminating of unnecessary and unwise legislation. It should be undertaken in order that legislation may no longer menace all lines of business, but be restricted to those matters which are proper objects of legislative control. And concurrently with such reform, the citizen must know and act upon the lesson drawn by Blanqui from the hazardous attempts of the French revolutionist: "That the finest laws are not sufficient to secure to each citizen a prosperous condition if he does not co-operate with them by his labor and his morality. All the wealth and felicity which the philanthropy of legislation could decree was decreed; and the people learned that public wealth followed other laws than those of force and tyranny. It forced governments and individuals to see the elements of future greatness elsewhere than in legislative programmes."

James H. Eckels.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

POOLING RAILROAD EARNINGS.

THE pooling of railroad earnings under the control of the government has been discussed for some years in our newspapers, reviews, and in Congress.

In the far West and South the proposition to legalize pools is generally bitterly opposed by the people, on the ground that pooling would enable the transportation companies to "fatten upon the substance of the toiling masses," apparently ignorant of the fact that hundreds of thousands of our citizens find employment on our railroads, and that three-quarters of the earnings of our transportation system are disbursed in compensation of railroad employees.

Never to my knowledge has this subject been presented in its most important aspect. Usually, the articles treating of this matter either are in advocacy of the proposition solely in the interests of the railroad corporations or in hot abuse of them. The essential point of the question is apparently not understood, or if it is understood it is utterly ignored.

Those most intimately concerned in the pooling of railroad earnings are the people, especially the farmer, the miner, and the artisan, and not the transportation lines.

There has been much said about "railroad wars" as factors causing or preventing business prosperity in the United States. War or peace among our railroads actually has cut relatively a trifling figure in our general business relations compared with other overshadowing trade conditions. Railroad wars are unmitigated evils to the people, irrespective of what may be the results to the railroads. It is time, however, we understood that needless and wasteful as are these wars, there are other conditions more disastrous to our commercial and industrial interests.

The opposition to railroad pooling is, perhaps, as strong in the South as in any portion of our country. The facts to demonstrate the mistake we make in opposing pools may, therefore, be taken with advantage from well-known commercial and industrial conditions in the South.

Six or seven years ago the Southern planter marketed his cotton for ten cents per pound. To-day he must sell for about seven and one-half cents. This fall in price of cotton was not caused in any way by the railroads. We have had no railroad wars throughout the cotton regions to affect favorably or otherwise the staple product of the South and Southwest. What, then, has caused this terrible crash in cotton values? Competition. But not competition within our borders. During our Civil War the British started cotton culture in India with destructive results to our nation. During the past quar-

ter of a century cotton production has been fostered in India, Southern Russia, and in Egypt so extensively that the output from these countries has been crowded into Europe in such quantities as almost to bankrupt the people of our Southern States.

The Great Richmond Terminal Company, controlling and operating the vast railroad system of the South, was, apparently, on the top wave of prosperity five or six years ago. The people of the South were well-to-do and contented. The railroad company shared the prosperity of the people. The crash came to the planters and other business interests of the South, and the railroad property was crushed in the common ruin.

The re-organization of the Richmond Terminal system was necessary for the safety of the business interests of the South. Able and wealthy gentlemen attempted to perform that task, but failed owing to the conflict of interests and other complications. With the lapse of time, Mr. Morgan and his associates had the courage to venture their credit and money in the rehabilitation of that property and accomplished the work in a manner recognized as eminently successful. But in the re-organization of that great system a new policy was inaugurated. Heretofore, railroad re-organizations saw maimed, ead, and worthless members fastened to the trunk. These were always worse than useless and a burden to the commercial body. Mr. Morgan cut to the bone; severed the worthless limbs and left the railroad in healthy condition. The result of this action was that millions of dollars of seeming securities, actually worthless, were wiped out, leaving the re-organized property in shape to be operated for the best interests of the entire South. This wise and heroic action established a precedent followed in all subsequent re-organizations of the unfortunate systems of railroads pressed into bankruptcy by the relentless shrinkage of values throughout the world, due to commercial war.

Thus it is shown that the capitalists owning the property now constituting the Southern Railway lost millions of dollars owing to the crushing of the cotton interests. The losses of the people of the South, however, were even more tremendous. The fall in price of cotton in six years from ten cents to seven and one-half cents per pound entails to-day a loss to the South of at least $100,000,000 annually as measured with income of six years ago. At five per cent. that means the annihilation of at least $2,000,000,000 of national wealth in cotton alone. The railroad companies, instead of being in the remotest way responsible for this appalling loss, are common sufferers with the people.

During the past fifteen years the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has annually expended millions of dollars in straightening the alignment and in reducing grades on that railroad. The entire road from Philadelphia to Harrisburg practically has been rebuilt, and these improvements unquestionably will steadily be prosecuted if funds are available for that purpose. Like improvements have been carried forward on the Lake Shore Railway from Buffalo to Chicago, until to-day that company has the greatest mileage of continuously low grade railroad in the world, enabling that company to refund its mortgage debt in a new consolidated bond at three and one half per cent., the lowest rate of interest on any railroad on earth. Who receives the benefit of these enormous annual expenditures on the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Lake Shore Railway? Not the stockholders of these railroads. During the period of fifteen years past, the dividends paid the stockholders of these companies have alike fallen; the former from eight to

five per cent. and the latter from eight to six per cent. Every dollar of advantage accruing from the enormous disbursements of these companies for betterments during fifteen years has been received by the people of the United States in the shape of reduced freight and passenger charge.

The German government owns and operates ninety per cent of all railroads in that Empire. The state owns and operates all railroads in Russia and Siberia. The government has built, owns, and operates nearly all the railroads in India. Here is colossal pooling of railroad interests. Those empires use their railroad systems as mighty engines of warfare. They reduce charges to actual cost or less on portions of their lines, if necessary, to destroy commercial competitors, adding extra charges elsewhere to recoup losses.

The salvation of the people of the United States absolutely requires the pooling of the wealth and power of our railroads under State supervision, that they may be used as a resistless machine to attack, shatter, and destroy the commerce of any or all nations on earth, if our national life can be preserved by that means.

No corporations have been so steadily devoted to the common interests of the people as some of the great railroad systems of the country. No associations of citizens of America have administered individual and national interests with greater integrity and more signal success. The shrinkage of world values is so tremendous that to-day the national interests demand national aid to our vast railroad system if improvements such as have been already described are to be continued. Such improvements alone will enable us to wage commercial war sucessfully against the world.

The aid necessary to conserve the interests of the laboring masses is pooling railroad earnings. Thus it will be possible for our railways to save millions of dollars now annually wasted on competitive agencies, enabling them to create a fund with which to cut down grades and make other necessary improvements on their roadway—in the South restoring prosperity to the cotton planters and in the North reviving the courage of the food producers to continue the struggle against their old and their new competitors in the food market of the world.

The most superficial consideration of this momentous question must convince thinking men of the truth of these statements.

J. A LATCHA.

HOW THE RED CROSS SOCIETY WORKS.

THE signing of the treaty of the Red Cross, by the United States in 1882, was, as is well known, brought about by Clara Barton, who had been made familiar with Red Cross methods upon the battlefields of the Franco-Prussian war. It was an international treaty, signed by the leading governments of Europe, an association for the alleviation of sufferings from war, and to prevent barbarity upon the battlefield. It was Miss Barton's idea, however, that the feature of the American Association of the Red Cross should be a system of national relief, an organization ready to give help *at once* in time of great calamities. "No country is more liable than our own," we read in Miss Barton's address to the President and Congress of the United States, "to great overmastering calamities, various, widespread

and terrible. . . . What have we to meet these emergencies, save the good heart of our people and their impulsive generous gifts?"

She pleaded for an extension of the original design of the Red Cross in the organization of local societies throughout the country, the same to be held firm by the international constitution of the head society; such societies to stand ready to give aid, in sudden emergencies, and that without having first to collect funds. Moreover, surplus funds were to be carefully looked after; each calamity, in brief, to be the benefactor of its successor; a system which has had admirable illustration, within the last two decades. The surplus funds collected for the sufferers from yellow fever in Florida, for instance, were ready for the flood at Johnstown, and a part of what was left over from Johnstown could be sent by telegraph, *at once*, to Oil City, as soon as the news of that frightful conflagration was received: "Two hundred dead; the river one mass of flame." In such crises, one dollar in hand is worth ten that must be collected.

One of the first of the local societies organized by Miss Barton was that of Monroe County, of the State of New York—usually called the Rochester Red Cross, and often spoken of by Miss Barton as "the grand old banner society of Monroe"—so thoroughly was the county organized, and so prompt and generous its help when called upon. A brief record of that county organization of the Red Cross is here presented—the only county of any State that has been thoroughly organized for ready relief. The society has been notably successful in every way, and is still vigorous and ready to give upon a moment's notice to any calamity having just claim upon it. It is made not infrequently the custodian of funds collected outside of its jurisdiction—suggesting that its name might properly be changed to that of the Western New York, or the Genesee Valley Red Cross Society.

This account is not given to trumpet its work, but to show how effectively and simply it has been done; and the gain that such an organization would be to States, counties and cities generally. If Monroe County of the State of New York is not the only county that has been thoroughly organized for this work, its officials have been misinformed. Similar societies were organized at the outset; but they did not perfect the idea of Miss Barton, and the most of them have ceased to exist. The Monroe County Association still retains the name under which it was organized by her, and the constitution which was approved by her.

Following the reorganization of the parent society, a few years ago when branch-societies as first organized were done away with, the Monroe County Society became, in a sense, an independent relief association, but that without severing its relations with the parent society, and sending its contributions in time of sudden emergency to Miss Barton as before.

Since the organization of the Monroe County Red Cross Society in 1882, it has expended, in money alone, for the relief of sufferers from calamities beyond local relief, nearly fifteen thousand dollars. What has been given in clothing, provisions, etc., doubles that amount.

When the news came of the disastrous floods of the Mississippi in 1882, the society had been organized but a few months. The Michigan fires, the floods in the Ohio valley, and famine among Indian tribes, had so opened the hearts and purses of the people, however, that there was a considerable balance in the treasury, and liberal aid could be telegraphed at once to the Mississippi sufferers, and that without delay in making collections; an ex-

perienced agent was also sent on to report what was most needed. "Seeds, came back by wire, "seed corn, garden seeds—none in the country." Chicago was appealed to for the seed-corn, and it was promptly given, for Chicago never forgets how the long trains laden with supplies were once speeding to her from all over the land. The head of a great Rochester seed-house—Hiram Sibley—gave at once ten thousand dollars worth of seeds, and transportation through, *and that without stopping;* also, the proper person to attend to the re-shipping of the seeds at Memphis, where they were to be distributed to five States.

The waste, that seems inevitable and unavoidable at such times, the misappropriation of funds, to call it by no harsher name, disappears under a system which accounts for every dollar, and which must see that each calamity leaves enough in the treasury for the next call upon it. Money is not raised by memberships in the Monroe County Society, nor by stated collections; that method has been tried and discarded; its first fund was largely collected in that way. Now, whenever a demand upon public sympathy, like a flood at Johnstown, a cyclone in the West, pestilence in the South, causes a tide of benefaction to outpour, that tide flows surely and steadily into the channel of the Red Cross to be expended by Miss Barton. The news of a calamity calls the M. C. R. C. S. together at once, and it is ascertained without delay whether the disaster is beyond local relief; the treasurer usually telegraphing from the meeting for information, and wiring, not infrequently in advance, the amount of the appropriation that will be made if called for. Occasionally the answer comes back, as from Milwaukee, after the great fire of four years ago, and from St. Louis recently, that outside help is not required. There is always something in the response revealing more than business-men usually put into telegrams, a hearty appreciation of the helpful sympathy extended. . . "Draw on us at once for five thousand dollars, if you need it," was telegraphed to Miss Barton from the M. C. R. C. S. when it was known that she had started for Johnstown. Upon her arrival she responded: "Will draw on you for eight thousand at once." "All right, will honor your draft."

Some four thousand dollars more were given to Johnstown by the M. C. R. C. S.—the furnishing of twelve barracks complete; twelve families of four persons to a barrack. Physicians and nurses were also sent—no more, nor as much as many other cities were doing, but to how many was a surplus fund returned? How many gave their large collections to the custodianship of an organization that in helping Johnstown was providing also for the next calamity? Johnstown, as before stated, through this system of forecast could give five hundred of the Monroe County surplus fund to Oil City, and five hundred to Grand Haven, Mich., after its great fire. Is not this a different story from that following the relief of calamity generally? They tell us of the fine and costly road built in the suburbs of a city to which the whole country gave generously in a time of its frightful affliction from pestilence, a road that was paid for in money left over and appropriated by local agencies—only one case of many like it since the disbanding of Relief Commissions at the close of the war, and the disappearance of large sums never yet accounted for.

The catalogue of calamities beyond local relief, to which aid has been promptly sent by this single local society, need not be given here. It reaches from the Michigan fires of 1881, down to the Armenian atrocities of to-day. Possibly a list of what has been considered in committee and dismissed as

having no just claim upon the society would be interesting. That list is a long one, for the watchdog of the treasury of the M. C. R. C. S. is never to be coaxed by sentimentalism into unjustifiable appropriations. It looked for awhile, at a conference of the society not long since, as if one thousand dollars would be sent to Japan in recognition of what she had achieved in civilized methods of warfare, and of her claim besides upon our National Red Cross Association in time of war. The story of the Red Cross in the hospitals of the Japanese will never be forgotten. But the money was not sent, nothing more than an expression of sincere fraternity; for, according to a strict interpretation of the constitution of the society, no more might be permitted.

What will be the next great calamity beyond local relief? Would it not be well if a considerable part of the community, say our leading cities, stood ready to meet it when it comes—to telegraph at once to Miss Barton, or the Governor of the State, or the Mayor of the city, or to some one in authority (if not to a sister-organization): "Can send you five hundred dollars at once. Do you need it?"

Would not that be an improvement upon what usually follows in the excitement attendant upon the news of a sudden and great calamity? What better scheme for preventing waste, and the misappropriation of funds?

Is it not most expedient that every community should organize and maintain a local organization, like that described, in order that sudden appeals for aid from the National Association may be answered without delay? Each community would be in a sense an independent relief association, yet supporting the parent society, holding in readiness necessary funds and materials, and distributing its relief "either through the agents of the State or National Society, or through responsible agents of its own."

JANE MARSH PARKER.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE GIRLS' PRIVATE SCHOOL.

"THEY say there is a young lady in New Haven," wrote Jonathan Edwards one hundred and fifty years ago, "who is beloved of that Great Being who made and rules the world and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being comes to her and fills her with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for anything except to meditate on Him. She has a strange sweetness in her mind and singular purity in her affections; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct, ... is of a wonderful calmness and universal benevolence, and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure."

"Homesick? Not much! I came to college, and I stay in college, to get rid of the restraint of home and to have my own way. Now, when I go home for my vacation, I am a distinguished visitor and every one looks up to me and defers to me."

Thus did a young girl, a few months ago, sum up her ideas of life's aims and responsibilities.

This nineteenth century girl and the eighteenth century maiden are extreme types, it is true, but are types, nevertheless—the one, of what our country has produced in the past; the other, of what it is producing now. The eighteenth century maiden was the product of rigid discipline, hardships, self-denial, much introspection, and a stern devotion to duty. Into

what kind of woman did she develop? At seventeen she married a young minister, became the mother of ten children, all of whom were honored and useful in the colonies; she performed her household and parish duties with great wisdom and discretion; and not only this, but she continued her development of mind and soul, and made her home a genial and attractive center for the best culture of the time.

No one wishes to bring back those Puritan times. The "good old days" undoubtedly gain from distance much of their enchantment; but they had certain characteristics, they produced certain fine, hardy types of character, that make every true New Englander hold his head higher because of his ancestry. Are the characteristics of the present time—are the types of character it is producing—such that the twentieth century shall have like cause to be proud of its heritage from the nineteenth?

A recent writer says: "The spirit of individual independence is the spirit to which the progress of civilization is due; but, if not controlled by reason, it becomes the parent of anarchy, destructive of free institutions and of social order. In America we have been living under conditions which have admitted no checks upon this spirit of independence; and the result is seen in every class, in the enfeebled sense of the virtue of obedience and the necessity of discipline, in the unrestraint of expression, and the readiness to question and to resent the exercise of authority."

No thoughtful observer can deny this charge or the seriousness of it. The words of the nineteenth century girl bear forcible testimony to its justice; the nursery, the kitchen, the college, the workshop, confirm its truth. To shut our eyes to such a tendency, not to seek its cause and its check, is practically to say, "After us the deluge!"

The cause is found in the lack of discipline in the family. It may be the reaction from the sternness of the Puritan home; it may be the desire not to interfere with the development of the child's personality; it may be that weakness of nature which spares itself the present pain of discipline regardless of the future welfare of the child; it may be American laziness that lets a thing go rather than "make a fuss about it"—whatever it is, it is not "parental tenderness and love" that thus sows the seeds of lawlessness by the failure to insist upon obedience in the home.

To fail to teach a child obedience is to leave him a prey to his own untutored impulse, to make him scorn the guidance of his father's and mother's experience and rush blindly into follies and mistakes that may entail life-long regret. It is to throw him out to the rough handling of life to be taught lessons of self-control and self-poise that should have been learned in the loving atmosphere of the home. It is to make it hard for him to reverence anything in earth or heaven, for he has not learned to reverence his parents. It is to make it a bitter struggle for him to bow meekly to the sweet will of God.

The growth of a spirit of license is invariably followed by a decline in the sense of duty. The man whose aim is to do as he pleases, does not generally please to do as he ought. How much persistent doing of duty for duty's sake do we now see? Some—a great deal no doubt; there are always in every age a remnant left who take counsel of their conscience; but do they constitute an increasing majority? Why is it that in all departments of work, from the kitchen to Congress, it is so next to impossible to find faithful service? Is it not because our people have ceased to ask themselves what they ought to do, and ask only what they wish to do? The

least work with the smallest effort and the largest pay and most liberty—that seems to be the ideal. Not, "Where can I be most useful?" but "Where can I have the best time?" Not, "Where can I do most?" but "Where can I do least and make most?" These seem to be the questions asked by workers of every grade. It is not thus that we shall hand down to our children a heritage of character and achievement for which they will give thanks.

Twin brother of this decline in the sense of duty is the desire to avoid everything that is hard. The child gives up the difficult lesson and waits for the teacher "to explain it," because it is hard to use his own brains; the woman shuts up her house and takes her family to a hotel, because it is hard to bother about housekeeping; the citizen lets the demagogues keep his city filthy, morally and physically, because it is hard to fight political corruption; the love-crossed maiden and the disappointed business man commit suicide, because it is hard to endure life with a heavy heart. Ask the leaders in any good cause how many of their helpers can be depended upon for sustained and persistent effort when work becomes difficult and applause grows faint. How many hold to a high purpose in the presence of inevitable drudgery? "I make it the principle of my life," said a husband and father not long ago, "never to do anything myself that I can get some one else to do for me," and in these words he sums up the spirit of all the idlers and many of the workers of the age.

The man who shirks his duty and avoids what is hard is the man who devotes as much of his life as possible to "having a good time." Consequently, if these tendencies are characteristic of our age, we should expect to see developing along with them an excessive indulgence in pleasure. Is it not true that we do? How restless our people are! How constantly on the alert for some new form of enjoyment! Children must have their parties; schoolboys and girls their full-dress dances; college students a round of spreads and receptions and theatrical entertainments; men and women a whirl of sports and travel, of banqueting, pageants, and revel.

Now what are the results of these tendencies—this growth of a spirit of license, decline of a sense of duty, avoidance of what is hard, and excessive devotion to pleasure?

We see these results in the lawlessness of our political bosses, our lynching mobs, our legislative assemblies. We see them in the slipshod work that confronts us wherever we turn; pre-eminently in the department of domestic service, where it is rapidly breaking up the home and thus loosening family ties and striking at the very foundation of society. We see them in the increasing number of divorces. Men and women will be held by no bond, not even the bond of marriage; they must marry how and when they please, and they must unmarry with equal facility. And we see them, finally, in the weakening of moral fibre, the lack of hardihood, the lowering of the standard of public and private morality, and in the restlessness and ennui and heartlessness that characterize our leisure class. Recall Charles Dudley Warner's "Little Journey in the World" and his "Golden House," if you wish a picture of how men and women sell their souls for social position, and how insufferably bored and brutally hardened they are by the pleasures it brings.

If ever we need a hardy, self-controlled, upright race of men and women, a race with clear moral vision and broad, warm sympathies, we need it now. Life is growing increasingly difficult and complex. Economic and social problems are pressing for solution, and they will not always be put

off. New duties—perhaps new social conditions—must result from the changed relations between labor and capital. Who must wrestle with these problems? Who perform these duties? The people who hold the power—the people of wealth. It is this class from which the girls' private school largely draws its pupils. It is the sisters and wives and mothers of this class for whose education it is responsible. What shall be the attitude of the private school towards these destructive tendencies that characterize our age? It can do only one of two things; it can either work with them or it can work against them. Many of the girls who come to it are the living embodiment of these tendencies. They have never obeyed except when they felt like it; they have done nothing except what they wished; they have had every hardship put out of their way; they have sipped of the cup of social dissipation just enough to make them long to drink it dry. The private school can, if it chooses, continue the education the home has so successfully begun. It can be lax in its discipline, and have only rules which it knows that its girls will wish to obey. It can let its pupils learn their lessons or not, as they choose, never insisting upon a thorough mastery of a subject, sliding over all difficulties, visiting no penalties upon needless absence, and wilful or careless neglect of duty. It can allow unlimited indulgence in candy and soda water, baskets from home and feasts in the bedroom. It can provide and encourage social amusements and make pleasure the business, and study the interruption of school life. And if it does this, it will probably be very popular, and make much money, and be called "a great success."

Or the private school can try to turn the current. It can insist upon obedience to its regulations, whether those regulations are approved by the pupils or not, trying always, of course, to bring its girls into such sympathy with its aims and spirit that they shall learn to be a law unto themselves. It can require promptness and regularity in the performance of duty, and so keep its girls from degenerating into mere creatures of caprice. It can demand thorough work in everything undertaken, concentrated study, clear thinking, definite expression; realizing that a slipshod performance of school work, means later a slipshod performance of life's work; that a giving up of a hard arithmetic example means, in the future, a giving up before a hard duty; that muddled thinking in lessons means muddled ideas of right and wrong in conduct; that inaccuracy of recitation in the class-room means untruthfulness in word and deed in life.

It can help its girls to self-control, first, as has been said, by making them obedient and industrious; second, by impressing upon them that every slight physical discomfort is not sufficient cause for discontinuing work, and that tears over trifles are a sign either of disease, or of unwomanly childishness; and finally, by teaching them to subordinate the lower to the higher.

It can begin to do this last in a very simple, prosaic way, by curbing the gratification of their appetite for unwholesome food, by limiting their supply of candy, and by stopping all eating between meals. This may seem to be a very unimportant thing, a petty restriction, unworthy of mention in a grave discussion of educational methods. But is it so unimportant? Think how many of the people whom you know lead a life almost exclusively of the senses, a life whose chief concern is eating, drinking, and dressing; think how annoyed you yourself are if your dinner is not to your taste; and then decide whether the school owes no duty to its pupils in this matter of the

restraint of appetite. "I think candy is the prerogative of all children. Why, I think it's a crime to take it away from them!" said a mother to a wise kindergarten teacher. "I think," was the reply, "that a healthy body and a strong moral will-power are the prerogatives of each child, and that it is a crime to take them away from him."

The school can also help its girls to this subjugation of the lower, by holding them back from every pleasure that unfits them for the performance of duty, and by making social amusements only a relaxation from work—a re-creation for renewed effort.

But the private school can do more than restrain. By insisting upon honest intellectual work and good reading, by opening the eyes and the heart to nature's beauty, it can arouse such a thirst for knowledge, such a love of the best in literature and art, such a serene delight in woods and fields and mountains and sea, that those other pleasures that do not please shall lose their charm, and a marvellous new world of pure and satisfactory joy be opened to the view. The school can also give a higher and better gift even than this. It can teach its girls the sacredness of duty, the joy of self-sacrifice, the happiness of unselfish friendship, the love of the Lord. It can send them out into life fresh, buoyant, with unfailing springs of joy within, eager for work, loving-hearted, willing-handed. With what reception will they meet? It lies with the parents to answer.

It lies with the parents, too, to make possible this work of the private school. They must heartily second, not thwart, the efforts of the teacher. If the home draws one way and the school another, the poor girl is likely to be dragged in two, with disastrous results to character and happiness.

And the teacher—what does the work demand of her? Absolute consecration—a consecration that shall continually inspire to new acquisitions of mind and character; that shall ennoble drudgery; that shall hesitate at nothing that can help her girls; that shall be brave enough to speak the unpleasant truth, to impose the disagreeable restriction, if the good of one soul committed to her demands it. It calls for a consecration that shall make the teacher willing to be disliked and misrepresented, to sow in tears with but little prospect of reaping in joy, to give with no thought of receiving in return.

There is a kind of wasp that for hundreds of years has built its cells of mud, and in the bottom of each has laid a tiny egg. Before closing these cells it catches a spider, and injects into it a fluid that makes it remain torpid through the winter. With the warmth of the spring the young wasp hatches, grows, consumes the spider, and thus gaining strength to break the mud walls comes forth into the world a fully developed insect. Yet no mud wasp has ever seen its young.

Let the private school learn its lesson. Let it give the girl enough food to enable her to find her wings; and let it not grieve if she never knows to whose provident care she owes her strength. For love of her and for the deed's sake let it do the deed.

CHARLOTTE W. PORTER.

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ARE OUR SCHOOL HISTORIES ANGLOPHOBE?

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

THE man who said that he would allow others to make the laws of a nation if he might be allowed to make the ballads ought to have bargained for the making of the school histories as well.

Mr. Chauncey Depew, who generally knows what he is talking about, predicts that there will some day be a war between the United States and Great Britain, and among the sources of the ill-feeling of Americans towards Great Britain, of which that war is to be the result, he gives a prominent place to the school histories. Mr. Samuel Plimsoll agrees with Mr. Depew in thinking that much ill-feeling towards England has been engendered by these books, and is anxious to counteract their influence. The Governor-General of Canada, in a recent speech, also accused the American school histories of being enemies to international good will. So does the writer of a lively little work on *The Land of the Dollar*. This writer quotes in proof of his assertion a passage from one of the histories which is unquestionably venomous. He, however, picked up the book in a second-hand store; he does not give its date, nor does it appear that he enquired whether it was in actual or extensive circulation. He tells us that he bought an armful of the books, but he quotes from only one.

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My own impression had been that the acrimony of the American school histories in speaking of Great Britain and their unfairness in treating questions between Great Britain and the United States were, as well as the anti-British violence of Fourth-of-July orations, rather things of the past. I, however, requested a leading publisher of New York, an Englishman, and representative of an English firm, to send me the school histories which were most in use. He sent me three, those of Higginson (1875), Anderson (1874), and Quackenbos (1857). These I have examined, and I must confess that I do not find in any one of them aught of which an Englishman could seriously complain. They are patriotic, of course; and in the quarrel between Great Britain and America take the American side; but they certainly are not venomous, nor should I say that they were wilfully or even materially unfair. Here are specimens of their tone in dealing with the American Revolution:

"There were some reasons why it seemed just that the Americans should be taxed. The debt of the British government was very great, and part of this debt had been incurred in defending the American colonies from the French and Indians. So it seemed fair that these colonies should help to pay it; and probably they would not have objected if they had been represented in the British government, so they could at least have had a voice in deciding what their taxes should be. But this was not allowed; and so, when the famous 'Stamp Act' was passed, in 1765, the popular indignation was very great.

"There was nothing very bad about the law called the 'Stamp Act' in itself, and Englishmen would not have complained of it at home. This famous act required only that all deeds and receipts, and other legal ocumets, should be written or printed on stamped paper, and that this paper should be sold by the tax collectors, the money going to the government. It was such a law as has always existed in England: and, indeed, taxes have since been imposed in a similar way in America. The colonists objected to it only because it involved a principle. No matter how trifling the tax might be they objected to it. They said the British government had no right to put this or any other tax upon them when they were not represented in the government. 'No taxation without representation' was a phrase constantly heard in the colonies in those days; and the excitement about the Stamp Act was the real beginning of the Revolutionary War."—Higginson, pp. 161–2.

About the Tories Higginson's history says:

"Then we must remember that there were other men, and often good men, too, who felt very sad about all this, and who thought it was very wrong to resist King George, and that it would ruin the colonies even to attempt such a thing; and who tried, with tears in their eyes, to persuade the patriots to listen to reason. These were generally the rich and prosperous men, and those who held offices under the British government; in

short, the people who had most to lose by war in any case. These men were called Tories in those days, and grew more and more unpopular." Pp. 176-77.

Anderson in the section on the causes of the Revolutionary War says:

"The expenses which Great Britain had incurred in the French and Indian War greatly increased her national debt. The English ministry, asserting that this had been done in defending their American possessions, proposed to lessen the burden by taxing the colonies. In connection with the proposition thus made it was affirmed that the right to tax the colonies was inherent in Parliament.

"On the other hand, it was maintained that the colonies had been founded at their own expense, and that, while they had already contributed their full proportion in defending themselves, the advantages resulting from their preservation were shared by England in common with themselves. The colonists also maintained that they could be justly taxed only by a legislature in which they were represented. Inasmuch, then, as they were not allowed to send representatives to the British Parliament, that body had no right to tax them.

"Besides, the policy of Great Britain towards her colonies had been for years unjust and illiberal, and calculated to incite a rebellious spirit. The Navigation Act, previously described, and the issuing of 'Writs of Assistance,' in 1761, were measures which were loudly complained of. The 'writs' were general search-warrants empowering custom-house officers to break open ships, stores, and private dwellings, in search of merchandise on which it was suspected no duty had been paid." Pp. 65-66.

Quackenbos is perhaps rather more bitter. He says:

"The people of America were descendants of men who had fled from oppression, and braved the hardships of the wilderness for the blessings of civil and religious liberty. They had endured incredible sufferings, and through their own unaided industry had at last prospered and grown strong. When poor and feeble they had been neglected by the mother country; as soon as they became worth governing Britain sent them governors; and now that they were growing rich, she sought to increase her revenue by taxing them. A pretext was not wanting. Heavy expenses had been incurred by the home government for the protection of the colonies in the French and Indian War; and these, it was claimed, should be reimbursed. The commanders sent over had been generally incompetent, and much of their success was due to the colonial troops and officers who served under them. Yet the Americans would not have objected to contributing their share had they been allowed a voice in laying the tax or recting how it should be appropriated. Having no representatives in Parliament, however, they claimed that Parliament had no right to tax them. The ministers of George II. had not only asserted the right, but exercised it by laying duties on various imported articles. The question was freely discussed throughout America, and everywhere a unanimous voice rose from the people that taxation without representation was unjust and intolerable. The law imposing obnoxious duties was declared unconstitutional and oppressive. In New England it was constantly evaded by secretly conveying the taxable articles ashore and concealing them from the collectors. To

put a stop to this practice, on the accession of George III. in 1760, edicts were issued commanding all sheriffs and constables to aid the collectors when called upon in breaking open and searching cellars, houses, or vessels that were suspected of containing concealed goods." Pp. 188-9.

On reference to a friend thoroughly cognizant of the subject, I was told that Higginson, Anderson, and Quackenbos were favorable specimens, and that there were other school histories in which more of anti-British feeling would be found. My friend has been so good as to send me a series of extracts. Even in these I really find nothing that I should say was intended to stimulate hatred of Great Britain, and I find generally a desire at all events to be fair. Mrs. Lee's history (1895) says of the Boston massacre :

"Boston showed so resolute a spirit to resist the revenue laws that, in 1770, a collision took place between the citizens and British soldiers quartered there to enforce the laws, in which two Bostonians were killed and others mortally wounded. The news of this 'Boston massacre,' as it was called, spread all over the country, and everywhere stirred up strong feelings of resistance to British tyranny. But, in fact, the soldiers only fired into the mob to preserve their own lives, and were not very much to blame." . . .

Russell (1837) discusses the question of resistance to tyranny calmly enough, saying that:

"Before the principle is called into action, it should be determined whether the good which is expected from resistance will counterbalance the evils of insurrection when order is destroyed and liberty degenerates into licentiousness; and it should not be forgotten that the evils of insurrection are certain and imminent while the good which is expected from resistance is probable and remote."

Swinton (1871), explaining the real cause of the Revolution, says :

"The attachment of the American Colonies to the 'mother country' was never stronger than at the close of the French War. The colonists were proud of being descended from British ancestors, and gloried in sharing the rights of subjects of England. The trials and triumphs of the French wars made colonists and Englishmen feel more than ever like brothers. It is true the colonists had some grievances. The English 'navigation laws' and 'trade monopoly' bore heavily on the industry, commerce, and manufactures of the Colonies. These grievances made *some* dissatisfaction, but not a great deal. In all other respects America might well be satisfied to be under the government of England. This being the case, the important question arises: How was it that the Colonies began a revolt which resulted in their *independence?* The usual answer is, that the attempt of England to *impose taxes* upon the American Colonies without their consent was the cause of the Revolutionary War. This is *true* in part only. The imposition of taxes was the *occasion* of the revolt of the

colonies; but its *cause* was that the whole history of the American Colonies *meant* independence. Providence so designed it."

Grimshaw (1822) is hostile, yet he pays an emphatic tribute to the character of Carleton.

One of the most exceptionable is Guernsey's, but it was published in 1849. As a rule, though not invariably, it will be found, so far as the specimens before me are concerned, the acrimony and the space allotted to the incidents of the Revolutionary War diminished with the increase in the distance of the date of publication from that event.*

It could hardly be expected that in giving an account of the quarrel between the British government and the colonies, American writers would be less severe in condemning the acts of the British government or less favorable to their own cause than were Chatham, Fox, Burke and Barré.

A large, and what appears a disproportionate, space is given, perhaps even in the later histories, to the Revolutionary War, and the details of that war, some of which, of course, are exasperating, since the royal armies unquestionably committed excesses, are narrated with disagreeable minuteness. But it is not necessary to ascribe this to deliberate malice. The Revolutionary War does, in fact, fill rather a large space in the comparatively brief annals of the United States. Its chief actors are the national heroes and the national types of patriotic virtue. Its incidents, or those of the war of 1812, are about the only matter by which an ungifted American writer can hope to enliven his work and appeal to the imagination of young readers. It is not in American school histories alone that a disproportionate space is occupied by the annals of war. Thirst of martial glory is nowhere extinct, and nothing is so picturesque as a battle. It is not easy to present in a form interesting to a child a series of political events and characters, the issues between Jefferson and Hamilton, the struggle between Adams and Jackson, or even the political contest with slavery. Nor can an ordinary writer lend picturesqueness to the progress of social improvement, of commerce, or of invention.

*The following table has been furnished me: Grimshaw, 1822, devotes one-third of his space to the Revolution; Russell, 1837, one-third; Goodrich, edition used, published about 1881, one-fifth; Guernsey, 1849, one-third; Lossing, 1860, one-third; Holmes, 1870, one-fifth; Swinton, 1871, one-sixth; Barnes, 1871, 1885, etc., one-seventh; Stephens, 1875, one-seventh; Johnson, 1885, one-ninth; Montgomery, 1890, one-eighth; Shinn, 1895, one-seventh; Lee, 1895, one-seventh; Cooper, Estill, and Lemmon, 1895, one-eighth.

It unluckily happens that Great Britain is the only foreign nation with which the Americans have waged wars whereof they have much reason to be proud, for few would deem victory over such enemies as the Mexicans very glorious, even if that war had not been waged in the special interest of slavery. All the American trophies before 1861 were trophies of success over the British. The North has now another set of trophies. But the enemy in this case was not foreign, at least was not regarded as foreign, though the war was in its real character international. The writers of school histories, if they intend their work for the whole Union, though they may themselves be free from bias, will have now a perplexing task, and it is not surprising to hear that in the South there is a demand for histories written from the Southern point of view. To write from an impartial point of view would be difficult enough even for a foreigner, if he had any strong feeling about slavery, but for a native either of North or South almost impossible. The impossible, however, is sometimes done.

Sensible Englishmen and Americans must now be pretty well agreed about the rights of the quarrel between the British government and the American colonies. The political connection between the mother country and a colony capable of self-government, like the American colonies of Great Britain, was fraught with misunderstanding. The colony had better, like the Hellenic colony, have taken the sacred fire from the altar-hearth of the mother country and made its own way in the world, retaining a sentimental and honorary connection with its parent. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the American colonies needed the protection of the mother country against France, though we can hardly tell what exertions, had they been left to themselves, they might have made for their own defence, or how far reliance on Imperial help interfered with their self-help and masked from them the necessity of union. But as soon as an end was put to the need of protection by the conquest of French Canada, the natural tendency to separation prevailed, with all the more certainty as there were in the colonies political elements, Puritan and Presbyterian, antagonistic to the British institutions of monarchy, aristocracy, and church establishment. Nobody can imagine it possible that the colonies, with all their present millions of people, should forever have remained

dependencies and in allegiance to an old-world government and a parliament on the other side of the Atlantic. Once recognizing as inevitable the dissolution of the bond, we may all treat with historical dispassionateness the particular instrumentalities by which it was brought about, and calmly apportion the due measures of blame or praise to all concerned, considering that they were, as nearly as free agents could be, the ministers of Fate.

There can hardly be a greater literary offence than the infusion, through a school history, of false notions, unworthy prejudices and base passions into the hearts of youth. In the Report of the Commissioners of Education for 1894-95 there is a series of specimens of the methods of teaching American history in British school books. An Englishman reading these extracts is glad to find that they are laudably free from prejudice or passion; that they state the facts fairly; that they do not shrink from laying blame, when it is due, on the British government, or even on the British people; and award just praise to opponents. One of them says:

"The chief causes of this long and disastrous conflict are to be sought in the high notions of prerogative held by George III., his infatuated and stubborn self-will, and in the equally absurd self-conceit of his English subjects."

The same book says:

"The descendants of the old soldiers of the Parliament began to repeat the grand lesson of the long struggle of their English forefathers against the crown, and 'Taxation without representation is tyranny' became the watchword of the brave patriots who were to fight in America for the self-same rights that the Englishmen of old had wrung from the tyrant John, the haughty Edward, and the reluctant Charles I."

Washington deprecated the indulgence of inveterate antipathies to particular nations or passionate attachments to others, which, as he said, made a nation a slave to its antipathies and attachments. Aristotle two thousand years before had expressed the same sentiment in a general way, saying that it was slavish to be always acting with another person in one's eye. . It makes that other person the arbiter of your feelings and actions, whether the case be one of unreasoning devotion or of passionate enmity. Moreover, with irrational and inveterate hatred a mixture of envy may generally be traced.

"I am not wanting in love of the New, but I own that I am wanting in hatred of the Old." So said a citizen of one of the

American colonies of Spain the other day, when he was asked to curse his ancient mother country. Great Britain was a far better mother country than Spain, and every one who has a glimmer of historic sense must know that the Old had to be before the New could come into being.

To say that the school histories ought not to be patriotic would be wrong. But patriotism may be awakened without unduly dilating on the details of the revolutionary war. It may be kept alive by setting forth the magnitude and importance of the victory gained, the new departure of humanity, political and social, the hopes of the New World, and the part in the fulfilment of those hopes which the American child when it comes to manhood will be called upon to play.

On the whole, however, I am confirmed in my belief that the influence of the American books in stimulating international ill-will has been overstated. It is too likely that if Great Britain persists in maintaining herself as a political and military power upon this continent Mr. Chauncey Depew's prediction will be fulfilled. But I cannot think that the catastrophe will be due to so great an extent as he and others suppose to the vicious influence of American school histories.

The special fault which, if I may venture to say it, I should be inclined to find with these books, is want of literary art. The writers may have thought that literary art would be wasted upon histories for children. At all events they have not bestowed it. The language is generally flat, and the story is not well told. It is partly, perhaps, by lack of descriptive power that the writers are driven to give so much space to war. If they were artists they might find a way of lending interest to the events in the achievements of peace. To tell a story well, so that it may impress the imagination and fix itself in the memory of the reader, the writer must have distinctly conceived it as a whole in his own mind. This is what masters of narrative have evidently done. Freshness, simplicity, and vividness of language—without turgidity or grandiloquence—are also indispensable in a narrative intended for the young. If any American would compose a school history combining these literary qualities with truthfulness, impartiality, and freedom from low passions, he might render no small service to the nation.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE RIGHT OF CONTRACT.

BY F. B. THURBER.

THE tendency of legislative and judicial bodies in this country just now to condemn sweepingly contracts which in any manner restrict or regulate trade makes it interesting and timely to inquire into the causes and reasons for this tendency, and to consider whether regulation of trade is "restraint of trade" in a legal sense.

Commerce is nothing but a body of contracts. Every purchase and sale, from a peanut up to a gold mine, and every transaction in the movement of merchandise, involves a contract either verbal, written, or implied between buyer and seller or between shipper and carrier.

No right is more sacred, and none has been more carefully guarded in our fundamental law. The Constitution of the United States, article 1, section 10, says: "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts." And yet the Congress of the United States prohibited pooling agreements between railroads and passed the so-called Sherman anti-trust law which declares *every* contract in restraint of trade illegal, and the Supreme Court of the United States in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case took the extreme view (by the narrow majority of five to four judges) that even a necessary agreement between carriers for establishing and maintaining reasonable rates of freight was a contract in restraint of trade.

The Legislature of the great commercial State of New York, at its last session, enacted a law which provides:

"No stock corporation shall combine with any other corporation or person for the creation of a monopoly or the unlawful restraint of trade or the prevention of competition in any necessary of life. No foreign stock corporation formed by the consolidation of two or more corporations *or by the*

combination of the business of two or more persons, firms, or corporations for the purpose of restricting or preventing competition in the supply or price of any article or commodity of common use, *or for the purpose of establishing, regulating, or controlling the supply or price thereof* shall be authorized to do business in this State."

This law was the outcome of an investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the New York Senate, which was remarkable for the bias shown against incorporated capital and the disregard of economic facts developed by the evidence. The report, among other things, denied the right of a manufacturing corporation to choose agents for the sale of its goods and fix the prices and terms upon which they should be sold.

From time immemorial it has been a common custom in trade for manufacturers to select agents to sell their goods and to fix the price and terms on which they shall be sold; also for agents to agree that in consideration of these and a certain commission or rebate they will only sell the goods of one manufacturer.

Yet a New York grand jury found an indictment against the directors of the American Tobacco Company for doing the same thing, and in the trial of the case the judge charged the jury to the effect that this was a crime.

Another phase of it is illustrated in the attempt to use the legal machinery of the State of New York to prevent a reasonable regulation of anthracite coal production to the wants of consumption—a necessary business regulation which marks the dividing line between liberty and license, between reason and unreason. The result of unregulated production is shown in the bituminous coal fields where over-production has resulted in bankruptcy to carriers, operators, and miners, with strikes, lockouts, dislocation of industry, benefit to no one, injury to everybody.

In seeking the causes of this remarkable state of the public mind the student of the question inevitably reverts to the rivalries of political parties, who in seeking partisan advantage have appealed to the prejudices of the masses; and the competition of journalism for public favor has closely followed in the same channel. During the last session of the Legislature of New York two popular journals each employed experts to prove to the Legislature that the charges of gas companies in the city of New York were exorbitant, and the leading political organizations of the State vied with each other in denouncing the modern ag-

gregations of capital known as trusts. If the economic results of these aggregations of capital had led to the oppression of the public, this would have been justifiable; but let us see what these results have been.

While there have always been aggregations of capital to a greater or less extent, they have become more frequent and prominent since the age of steam, electricity, and machinery, because these forces could not well be utilized without aggregations of capital, which could only be obtained through the co-operation of a large number of persons. Hence the great development of corporate life during the last half century.

The first prominent development of the trust organization in this country was in the consolidation of numerous lines of railroad into trunk lines, and there was a fear in the public mind that these combinations and consolidations would result in exorbitant rates for transportation and to the detriment of the public interest. What the result has been is shown by the following extract from a report adopted by the National Board of Trade at its annual convention in 1896:

"The average charge for sending a ton of freight one mile on thirteen of the most important railroads in the United States during 1865 was 3.08 cents; in 1870, 1.80 cents; in 1875, 1.36 cents; in 1880, 1.01 cents; in 1885, 0.83 cent; in 1890, 0.77 cent; in 1893, 0.76 cent; in 1894, 0.746 cent, and in 1895, 0.720 cent. These railroads performed one-third of the entire transportation of 1893, and from the figures given it appears that 0.72 cent would pay for as much transportation over their lines in 1895 as could have been obtained for 3.08 cents thirty years earlier. This reduction, amounting to three-quarters of the average rate of 1865 was exceeded by that in price of but few even of those articles in the manufacture of which new inventions have worked the most radical changes. The entire transportation performed by the railroads of the United States during the twelve years ending June 30, 1894, was equivalent to moving 136,799,677,822 passengers and 807,935,382,838 tons of freight one mile. Had rates averaged as high as those of 1882 been collected on this traffic, the railroads would have earned $2,629,043,459 more than they actually received.

The next most prominent aggregation of capital in the commercial world is known as the Standard Oil Company, and the effect upon the price of oil is illustrated by the following statistics, compiled by the United States government, showing the wholesale export price for refined petroleum for the period extending from 1871 to 1896:

This table shows the prices of refined illuminating oils, per gallon, exported from the United States from 1871 to 1896.

The prices represent the market value of the article at the time of exportation.

1871	25.7 cents.	1880	8.6 cents.	1889	7.8 cents.
1872	24.9 "	1881	10.3 "	1890	7.4 "
1873	23.5 "	1882	9.1 "	1891	7.0 "
1874	17.3 "	1883	8.8 "	1892	5.9 "
1875	14.1 "	1884	9.2 "	1893	4.9 "
1876	14.0 "	1885	8.7 "	1894	4.2 "
1877	21.1 "	1886	8.7 "	1895	4.9 "
1878	14.4 "	1887	7.8 "	1896	6.8 "
1879	10.8 "	1888	7.9 "		

This great decline in the price of oil is attributable partly to the increase in production, but more largely to improvements in manufacture and transportation which were only attainable through the aggregation of capital in this industry.

Among the more prominent of the recent so-called trusts is the American Sugar Refining Company, which is a corporation formed under the laws of the State of New Jersey for the purpose of consolidating the sugar refining interests of the country, and it now does about 75 per cent. of the sugar refining business in the United States. The effect of this is shown by the following table, giving the price of both raw and refined sugar, with the differing margins during the nine years prior to the consolidation and nine years since :

	Average Price. Centrifugals (Raw).	Granulated (Refined).	Difference.
1879	7.423 cents per lb.	8.785 cents per lb.	1.362
1880	8.206 " "	9.602 " "	1.396
1881	8.251 " "	9.667 " "	1.416
1882	7.797 " "	9.234 " "	1.437
1883	7.423 " "	8.506 " "	1.083
1884	5.857 " "	6.780 " "	0.923
1885	5.729 " "	6.441 " "	.712
1886	5.336 " "	6.107 " "	.781
1887	5.245 " "	6.013 " "	.768
Average nine years	6.807	7.905	1.098

The Trust was formed in 1887 :

1888	5.749 cents per lb.	7.007 cents per lb.	1.258
1889	6.433 " "	7.640 " "	1.207
1890	5.451 " "	6.171 " "	0.720
1891	3.863 " "	4.691 " "	0.828
1892	3.311 " "	4.346 " "	1.035
1893	3.689 " "	4.842 " "	1.153
1894	3.235 " "	4.119 " "	.884
1895	3.258 " "	4.140 " "	.882
1896	3.631 " "	4.539 " "	.908
Average nine years	4.291	5.272	.981

Here we see not only a large reduction in prices, but a positive reduction in the average refining margin.

This reduction in price has been effected partly by increased production and largely through buying the raw material cheaper than when a large number of separate refiners were competing for the product. Large economies were also effected by closing inferior plants and enlarging and extending superior ones. The American Sugar Refining Co. has bought its raw material cheap, but it has given the public the benefit of such purchases, merely retaining as its profit about one-third of a cent per pound, which, considering the nature of the business, is a reasonable one.

These illustrations are but types of many in the evolution of industries which is the result of the great forces before mentioned—forces which have revolutionized the entire economic situation. That there have been instances of hardship and injustice attending this revolution cannot be doubted, but it is equally certain that the total results have been beneficial to the public at large and to the interests of the laboring classes especially, who constitute the majority. At some stages of this evolution this remark was, perhaps, not true. The action of these forces was so rapid that men were thrown out of employment faster than wants were created and industries widened. Labor, however, soon followed the example which capital had set of organization, and during the last decade the organization of labor has progressed faster than that of capital, and has forced a division of a larger share of the profits of industry for labor than at any previous period of history. In other words, the profits of capital have been steadily decreasing, while those of labor, and especially organized labor, have steadily increased. At no previous period would a dollar buy so much of the necessaries and comforts of life as at present. While this is admitted by intelligent laboring men, many of them contend that opportunities for earning a dollar have constantly diminished, and they are now seeking, by the advocacy of shorter hours for labor, to make employment for a large number of persons, and this is a worthy and beneficent aim. It is better to have a larger number of persons employed for eight hours than a smaller number of persons ten or twelve hours.

Unrest of labor in a free country is not a dangerous phenomenon, but rather a safety valve. It must not be forgotten, however, that education of the masses has created new wants, and that these wants have grown faster than the means of gratifying them. The problem should be viewed from both sides, and only what is

reasonable should obtain. Whenever unlimited power exists it is usually accompanied by tyranny, whether of labor or capital. There are labor trusts as well as capital trusts, and in all the annals of combination there are no greater illustrations of tyranny than the attitude of some of the labor organizations toward laborers. This, however, was the inevitable outcome of organization and of the great evolution which is now going on throughout the world, under the operation of the great forces that now control the world, steam, electricity, and machinery. Under the operation of these forces the world has been growing richer. All the resources of nature are being developed. Capital has increased faster than the opportunities for its profitable employment, as is evidenced by the steadily decreasing returns of capital, or in other words, rate of interest. Formerly it seemed that combinations of capital would abrogate competition, but experience has shown that instead of abrogating competition it has elevated that force to a higher plane. If a combination of capital in any line temporarily exacts a liberal profit, capital immediately flows into that channel, another combination is formed and competition ensues on a scale and operates with an intensity far beyond anything that is possible on a smaller scale, resulting in the breaking down of the combination and the decline of profits to a minimum. A recent example of this is seen in the competition of two rival cigarette companies, where one even went so far as to invoke the criminal machinery of the courts to compel a division of the field of trade which the other occupied. The only trusts which have succeeded for any length of time have been those which have been conducted on a far-sighted basis of moderate margins of profit, relying upon a large turn over, and the economies resulting from the command of large capital intelligently administered. The truth of this is illustrated by innumerable failures in trust organizations to control prices, recent illustrations of which are the Strawboard Trust, the Starch Trust, the Wire Nail Trust and the Steel Trust. There are trusts so-called in nearly every branch of business and there is good and bad in all, but the good so far predominates that such aggregations of capital should be encouraged, accompanied by safeguards against abuses. The only additional safeguards needed are in behalf of stockholders and investors, whose interests are often sacrificed through lack of publicity. So far as

the interest of consumers is concerned, it is amply protected now; first, by competition, and second, by the common law, which, if invoked, will nullify any contract in real restraint of trade, and under existing statutes any unreasonable combination is subject to indictment for conspiracy.

The popular hostility to trusts is due principally to lack of knowledge of their economic effects, and these are gradually becoming better known. There were just enough abuses attending their development to give an excuse for sensational journalistic and political denunciation, and this has caused undue prejudice. A great politico-economic question like this should be considered dispassionately, and all sides of it carefully investigated before conclusions are reached.

The confusion in the judicial mind regarding the aggregations of capital necessary in modern commerce is illustrated by the following extract from the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States in the trans-Missouri traffic agreement case, which first asserts that all trusts are against the public interest, and then admits the benefit of change and improvement:

"It is true the results of trusts, or combinations of that nature, may be different in different kinds of corporations, and yet they all have an essential similarity, and have been induced by motives of individual or corporate aggrandizement as against the public interest. In business or trading combinations, they may even temporarily, or perhaps permanently, reduce the price of the article traded in or manufactured, by reducing the expense inseparable from the running of many different companies for the same purpose. Trade or commerce under these circumstances may nevertheless be badly and unfortunately restrained by driving out of business the small dealers and worthy men whose lives have been spent therein, and who might be unable to readjust themselves to their altered surroundings. Mere reduction in the price of the commodity dealt in might be dearly paid for by the ruin of such a class and the absorption of control over one commodity by an all-powerful combination of capital. In any great and extended change in the manner or method of doing business it seems to be an inevitable necessity that distress, and, perhaps, ruin shall be its accompaniment in regard to some of those who were engaged in the old methods. A change from stage coaches and canal boats to railroads threw at once a large number of men out of employment; changes from hand labor to that of machinery, and from operating machinery by hand to the application of steam for such purpose, leave behind them for the time a number of men who must seek other avenues of livelihood. These are misfortunes which seem to be the necessary accompaniment of all great industrial changes. It takes time to effect a readjustment of industrial life so that those who are thrown out of their old employment, by reason of such changes as we have spoken of, may find opportunities for labor in other

departments than those to which they have been accustomed. It is a misfortune, but yet in such cases it seems to be the inevitable accompaniment of change and improvement."

And this is still further emphasized by the minority opinion of the Court, which says :

"If there is one thing which more than another public policy requires it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting, and their contracts, when entered into freely and voluntarily, shall be held sacred and shall be enforced by courts of justice."

"The remedy intended to be accomplished by the act of Congress was to shield against the danger of contract or combination by the few against the interest of the many and to the detriment of freedom. The construction now given, I think, strikes down the interest of the many to the advantage and benefit of the few. It has been held in a case involving a combination among workmen, that such combinations are embraced in the act of Congress in question, and this view was not doubted by this Court. (*In re* Debs, 64 Fed. Rep., 724, 745–755; 158 U. S. 564.) The interpretation of the statute, therefore, which holds that reasonable agreements are within its purview, makes it embrace every peaceable organization or combination of the laborer to benefit his condition either by obtaining an increase of wages or diminution of the hours of labor. Combinations among labor for this purpose were treated as illegal under the construction of the law which included reasonable contracts within the doctrine of the invalidity of contracts or combinations in restraint of trade, and they were only held not to be embraced within that doctrine either by statutory exemption therefrom or by the progress which made reason the controlling factor on the subject. It follows that the construction which reads the rule of reason out of the statute embraces within its inhibition every contract or combination by which workingmen seek to peaceably better their condition. It is, therefore, as I see it, absolutely true to say that the construction now adopted which works out such results not only frustrates the plain purpose intended to be accomplished by Congress, but also makes the statute tend to an end never contemplated, and against the accomplishment of which its provisions were enacted."

To the average lay mind it looks as if the opinion of the minority was right and that our American courts and legislatures have been leaning over backwards in their efforts to walk straight. In Europe the rule seems to be different, as is evidenced by the celebrated Mogul Steamship case decided by the highest court in England, a clear statement of which is given in a recent pamphlet by Wm. L. Royal, Esq., of the Virginia Bar:

"Several lines of steamships traded to China all the year. The trade was unprofitable except in what is called 'tea season,' when it was very profitable. The losses of the year were made up and a profit gained by the freights on tea in 'tea season.' Another line of steamers traded to Australia all the year until 'tea season' came on, when its steamers were diverted to Hankow to get a part of the profitable tea trade. The lines which traded to

China all the year entered, thereupon, into an agreement, called there a 'conference,' which was in all essentials one of our 'trusts' or 'pools' or 'monopolies' or 'boycotts' or 'contracts in restraint of trade,' or whatever else of the same sort can be suggested. They agreed together to divide out freights amongst themselves, and they published a notice to all merchants in China that if they would ship everything all the year by one of the conference lines, they would be allowed a rebate upon all freights at the end of the year of five per cent., and whenever one of the steamers of the Australian line came to Hankow the conference had a steamer there to underbid it on freights; so that whatever the Australian got caused it a loss. Thereupon the Australian line applied to the English courts for protection, upon the ground that this combination of many against one was contrary to the principles of our law. It is plain that the case brought up for discussion all the questions relating to pools and trusts now agitating the American mind, and these questions received a treatment in England worthy of their magnitude and scope.

"The case was tried first by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Lord Justice Fry. It was then tried by Lord Coleridge alone, and upon appeal from his decision, by Lords Justices Bowen and Fry, and Esher, Master of the Rolls, and upon appeal from them to the House of Lords, it was heard before the Lord Chancellor, Halsbury, Lord Watson, Lord Macnaghten, Lord Bramwell, Lord Morris, Lord Field, and Lord Hannen. Each decision was in favor of the conference, and every one of these twelve eminent judges, except Esher, M. R., held that the agreement was a perfectly good and valid one, according to the principles of our common law.

The guiding principle in the case was held to be the one stated. If the parties contemplated their own improvement only, it was immaterial that they contemplated injury to the Australian, or that injury to him would be the result of their acts; but if they were actuated by malice towards the Australian, then the agreement would have been a vicious one, condemned by the principles of our law. This was held to be the test in all such cases."

The idea is very admirably brought out in the opinion that was delivered in the House of Lords by Lord Field, who said:

"It follows, therefore, from this authority, and is undoubted law, not only that it is not every act causing damage to another in his trade, nor even every intentional act of such damage, which is actionable, but also that acts done by a trader in the lawful way of his business, although by the necessary results of effective competition interfering injuriously with the trade of another, are not the subject of any action.

"Of course it is otherwise, as pointed out by Lord Holt, if the acts complained of, although done in the way and under the guise of competition or other lawful right, are in themselves violent or purely malicious, or have for their ultimate object injury to another from ill-will to him, and not the pursuit of lawful rights."

Lord Hannen said, in delivering his opinion in the same case:

"I arrive at the conclusion, therefore, that the objects sought and the means used by the defendants did not exceed the limits of allowable trade

competition, and I know of no restrictions imposed by law on competition by one trader with another with the sole object of benefiting himself.

"I consider that a different case would have arisen if the evidence had shown that the object of the defendants was a malicious one, namely, to injure the plaintiffs whether they, the defendants, should be benefited or not."

Lord Watson said, in delivering his opinion in the case :

"If the respondents' combination had been formed, not with a single view to the extension of their business and the increase of its profits, but with the main or ulterior design of effecting an unlawful object, a very different question would have arisen for the consideration of your Lordships."

Lord Justice Fry said, in delivering his opinion in the same case :

"These are, so far as I am aware, all the relevant authorities, and none of them appears to me to support the proposition that mere competition of one set of men against another man, carried on for the purpose of gain, and not of actual malice, is actionable, even though intended to drive the rival in trade away from his place of business and though that intention be carried into effect."

The Mogul steamship case finds a parallel in a recent case described in the Berlin *Tageblatt,* as follows :

"The highest court of the German empire, sitting at Leipsic, has rendered an important decision, which we summarize below, concerning combines or trusts. The decision will be of great interest to the other nations, and particularly to the United States, where trusts have come to exercise such a prominent part in commercial and industrial affairs. The court mentioned has declared emphatically that trusts and similar combines are entirely legal. The grounds upon which this decision were based were as follows: When in certain industrial pursuits the prices of products are sinking so low as to make business impossible or as to endanger the successful carrying on thereof, the crisis which necessarily follows is not only disastrous to the individual concern but also to internal affairs generally. For this reason it is in the interest of the entire state that inadequate low prices shall not prevail too long in any industrial branch. Realizing this principle, the legislative bodies have repeatedly, and only recently, undertaken to bring about an increase in the prices of certain products by the establishment of protective duties. For this reason it cannot be deemed certainly, or generally speaking, obnoxious to the interests of the community when the manufacturers of certain articles form what is called a trust with the object in view of preventing ruinous competition, and for the purpose of mitigating the downward tendency in the prices of their particular manufactures. On the contrary, such combinations can be looked upon, not only as warranted by the instinct of self-preservation, but as a measure for the interest of the whole community as well. Especially is this true in cases where prices are so low that the manufacturers of the articles are on the verge of financial disaster. For this reason the building of syndicates or trusts has been designated by a number of authorities as a means which, when properly managed, would prove extremely expedient to prevent detrimental and unwarranted over-production."

The editor of *U. S. Consular Reports* for August, in discussing industrial centralization in Europe, says:

"Our period is distinguished by its tendency to centralization, not only in the state, but likewise in industry and commerce. Large firms are competing with small shops to such an extent that the latter are disappearing one after another. The factory has displaced the workshops. Everything is being done on a large scale; everything is becoming colossal.

"That is not all. We see now even the great factories, not finding themselves sufficiently strong alone and fearing their reciprocal competition, renouncing their own autonomy and combining among themselves; and this tendency is everywhere manifest. The French *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin calls attention to this centralization in Germany; the French consul at Glasgow mentions the same phenomenon at Glasgow.

"These facts are significant. They certainly indicate one of the tendencies—perhaps, it might be said, one of the necessities—of our epoch. It is certain that production is passing through a serious crisis. Competition has occasioned a considerable decline in prices, and in order to retain markets, certain industries have been obliged to work under unprofitable conditions. To avoid final ruin, they have agreed either to limit the production to maintain prices or to conclude complete consolidation. Hence the cartels, the syndicates for production, the associations.

"We neither approve nor blame this new procedure; we simply record it, remarking that sometimes certain laws are developed, whatever may be their consequences."

The conclusion is inevitable to any dispassionate thinker, that we are in danger in this country of going too far in condemning aggregations of capital and hampering their rights of contract in their application to modern commerce; that in this age of steam, electricity, and machinery, such aggregations are a necessity; that they result in the greatest good to the greatest number, and that while all that is unreasonable should be restrained, there is a difference between reasonable regulation and unreasonable restraint of trade, and the right of freedom of contract for labor and for capital should be fostered and not destroyed.

F. B. THURBER.

EGYPTIAN PRISONS.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

Among the many and great advantages conferred upon Egypt by the British protectorate, one of the chief is the greater security afforded to life and property by a better administration of justice. Down to 1884 the Egyptian police was ineffective, the law often a dead letter, the prisons a disgrace to humanity and civilization. Before that date the country was covered with *Zaptiehs,* or small district prisons, in which illegal imprisonment and every form of cruelty were constantly practised. It was quite easy for anyone in authority to consign a poor devil to custody. One of the first of the many salutary reforms introduced by the then newly established prison department, under the energetic Dr. Crookshank, was an exact registration of individuals received at the prison gate and the enforcement of the strict rule that no one should be admitted without an order of committal duly signed by a recognized judicial authority. Now, of course, any such outrage as illegal imprisonment is out of the question. Another form of oppression in the old days was the unconscionable delay in bringing the accused to trial. Hundreds were thus detained six or nine months, sometimes one or two years. At that time, too, there was no separation of classes ; the innocent were crowded in with the guilty, children with grown men ; only the females, as might be expected in a Mahometan country, were kept apart, but their numbers even then and since have always been exceedingly few.

The first step taken by Crookshank Pacha was to concentrate his prisoners in a certain number of selected prisons, such as they were, but the best that could be found. In these, twenty-one in number, strenuous efforts were made to introduce order;

cleanliness was insisted upon, disinfectants largely used, while medical men were appointed at each place who attended daily to give medicines and move the sick into hospital. The health of the prisoners was so much improved that one per cent. of sick was the daily average, and this has been maintained, so that in the cholera epidemic last year only a few convicts died.

A good prison system could only be introduced in improved prisons, and the first created was the great convict establishment at Tourah, a village about eight miles above Cairo on the banks of the Nile, and at the foot of the great limestone quarries that have supplied the city with its building material from the earliest days. In 1885 the old military hospital at Tourah was handed over to be converted into a public works prison; a few of the wards were converted into cells and a draft of 250 convicts brought to occupy them from the arsenal at Alexandria. These proved skilful workmen, as the *fellaheen*, whether captive or free, invariably are ; and with the help of a few paid stone masons they restored the half-ruined upper story of the ancient building and converted it into a satisfactory prison for 150 more. The whole 400 continued their labors and to such good purpose, demolishing, removing, cleaning, constructing new roads and approaches, that in May, 1886, an entirely new prison for 500 convicts was completed and occupied. Many forms of industry were carried on with excellent financial results, as will be seen from the following details.

All the lime for buildings was burnt in two lime kilns constructed on purpose ; all the furniture and woodwork, the tables, beds, doors, were made by convict carpenters ; all the ironwork, the bolts and bars for safe custody, the very leg irons, their own inalienable livery under the old Egyptian prison code, were turned out by convict blacksmiths ; baskets have been manufactured in hundreds for carrying earth and stone. Nowadays the industrial labor at Tourah is of many useful kinds. New prison clothing, new boots (although these usually indispensable articles are only issued to a favored few prisoners in Egypt), the baking of bread and biscuit for home consumption or to be sent to out stations, plate laying and engine fitting, stone dressing for prison buildings, both at Tourah and elsewhere; all these are constantly in progress at Tourah. The money made in the prison provides funds for many things necessary for further development, such as tram lines, locomotives, improved tools, and machinery of all kinds.

A visit to Tourah (and I have made several) is both interesting and instructive, showing how much can be done by an energetic and resourceful administration with very imperfect means. Money is always scarce with the Egyptian government, and it is immensely to Dr. Crookshank's credit that when he cannot get supplies from the Treasury he manufactures them somehow for himself. On the one hand, severe and strict economy is practised to the extent even of utilizing the petroleum tins for water cans and all sorts of odd purposes ; on the other, a substantial profit is gained upon the stone quarried, whether for building or macadamization. The prison is as far as possible self-contained and self-supporting. It grows its own vegetables, especially the Egyptian lentils that form a staple of the diet, and its gardens are irrigated by water raised from the Nile by the *shadoof*, so familiar an object on the banks of the river, that primitive water wheel, the same to-day as in the time of Joseph and the patriarchs. It is punishment to work the *shadoof*, extra labor, but the same as forms the daily task of the free Arab cultivator. But the chief employment of the Tourah convicts is in the quarries, a couple of miles from the prison, to which the gangs proceed every morning at daylight and where they remain every day of the week but Fridays, their Sabbath, till four in the afternoon. There is no time wasted in marching to and fro. The dinner, or midday meal, is carried out to the quarries by the cooks, and after it is eaten the convicts are allowed an hour's rest in such shade as can be found in the nearly blinding heat of the dazzling white quarries. As this midday siesta is the common hour for trains passing on to the neighboring health resort of Helouan, casual observers might think that rest and refreshment formed a great part of the Egyptian convict's daily life. But that would be a grievous mistake, as I can testify after visiting the quarries at the hour of labor.

Ceaseless activity is then the rule ; all around, the picks resound upon the unyielding stone ; some are busy with the levers raising huge blocks, stimulated by the sing-song, monotonous chant, without which Arabs, like sailors, cannot work with any effect. The burthen of the song varies, but it is generally an appeal for divine or heavenly assistance—"Allahiteek!" "May God give it," the phrase used by the initiated to silence the otherwise too importunate beggar, or "Halimenu!" "Hali

Elisa!" ending in an abrupt "Hah!" or "Hop!" at the moment of supreme effort. I was a little ashamed to be the cause of increasing the labors of a few; for the director of the prison, Effendi Osman Sidkey, took us up to the works in state, seated on a "trolley" which half a dozen convicts in clattering chains pushed along the train line. It was a stiff, ascending gradient, and I was glad to get permission to reward our "motive power" with a few cigarettes.

Tobacco is not forbidden in the prisons of Egypt. It is issued to convicts in the works prisons in small rations as a reward, according to the Governor's judgment. The unconvicted and civil prisoners undergoing merely detention are at liberty to purchase it. I was the witness, the cause indeed of a curious and unwonted scene in the small prison at Assiout when I visited it last year. The sale of tobacco was in progress in the prison yard, where the whole body of prisoners, a hundred and more, were at exercise. An official stood behind a small table, on which lay the little screws of tobacco for disposal, each for a few "milliems," the smallest of Egyptian coins, the fractional part of a farthing. The eagerness with which the poor prisoners eyed the precious weed excited my generosity and I bought up the whole table load, then and there, for a couple of shillings. The prisoners crowding around saw the deal and understood. Hardly had I put down the ten piastres when the whole body "rushed" the table, overset it, threw the screws of tobacco upon the ground and all hands pounced down on the scattered weed in one great struggling, scrambling, combatant medley. The tobacco was quite wasted, of course, and I have no idea who got the two-shilling piece. The *melée* was so unmanageable that it was necessary to call out the guard to drive the prisoners back into their wards. I was aghast at my indiscretion, and when I confessed it to Crookshank Pacha, on my return to Cairo, I admitted that I ought to have known better.

In this prison of Assiout, which is of comparatively recent construction, and like all I have seen in Egypt, dazzling with whitewash and scrupuously clean, there is no work done, and this is a great flaw in the management. But industrial labor is difficult to find for all hands; the prison population is constantly increasing year after year, and I shall have more to say on this directly. In some places, notably at Gizeh, near Cairo, there

are good workshops where cotton weaving is carried out by hand looms, woollen carpets are made, towelling and cloths, with uniforms, boots, shoes, and red leather slippers, all the trades, in short, of the general population, and this without fear of that outcry against prison competition that complicates prison administration in other countries. But at Assiout there is nothing to be done but the inner service of the prison, and the bulk of the inmates lounge the whole day lazily in the yards, to be locked up at sundown until the next sunrise. They are quartered in long, narrow, and barn-like buildings, each holding from fifty to sixty. Down the centre of the room runs a raised platform, two feet high on either side, where the mats and bedding are laid at night, and on these platforms the prisoners parade for inspection, a singular spectacle of many types and varying degrees of rascality. Outside at the door the red slippers are piled high, for according to usual custom prisoners are barefooted indoors. If they do not work neither do they get rations, except bread in the case of the quite destitute. The rest are fed by their relations, who also supply clothing, such as it is, the blue *galabieh*, or long outside shift of white or blue, the drawers and shirt, most of which are in rags. It must be a dreary existence in Assiout and other prisons of the class, for the sentences are sometimes long drawn, extending from one to three years and more, to "life," or "everlasting," as my interpreter quaintly informed me.

The daily unremitting toil of Tourah must be preferable to all but the incurably idle. Yet the terror of "Tourah" is now universal up and down Egypt. It is the great "bogey" of the daily life among the lower classes, the threat held over the fractious child or misconducted donkey-boy who claims an exorbitant "bakhshish." To accuse any decent fellah of having been in Tourah is the worst sort of insult, and at once indignantly denied. When my own connection with the English prisons became known, I was generally called the Basha of the English Tourah, and my official position gained me very marked respect among a class spoilt by many thousands of annual tourists, the greedy guides and donkey-boys, the shameless vendors of sham curiosities, the importunate beggars that infest hotel entrances, swarm in villages, and make hideous the landing stages up the Nile. An old hand will best silence the persistent cry for alms, the wail of *miski* (poverty stricken), of "Halas! finish father,

finish mother" (the ornate expression for an orphan), by talking of the "Caracol," the police station, and a promise of "Tourah" to follow.

Life in Tourah must be hard. The monotonous routine from daylight to sundown, the long nights, from early evening to next morning, thirteen or fourteen hours, caged up with forty or fifty others tainted with every vice and crime, must be a heavy burthen upon all but the absolutely debased. All the evils of "association," of herding criminals together without supervision, left to their own wicked devices, are present in the highest degree in Egyptian prisons. Now at last, however, a move is being made to provide separate cells for a certain number, and a new prison of 1,200 cells is now being built by convict labor at Tourah immediately opposite the new hospitals, and at some distance from the old prison. Much mischievous conspiracy of the worst kind will be prevented by keeping individuals apart during the idle hours of the night. It is then that disturbances are concocted and those concerted escapes of large numbers which have occurred more than once at Tourah, but have been generally abortive, ending only in bloodshed; for the black Soudanese, who form the convict guards, are expert marksmen and surely account for a large part of the fugitives.

There must be something very tempting to the untutored mind (and many of these Tourah convicts are half-wild creatures, Bedouin of the desert, true Ishmaelites, with their hands against every man, or the lowest scum of the cities), in the seeming freedom of their condition during so many hours of the day. At Tourah liberty seems within easy reach. Not a mile from the quarries are great over-hanging cliffs honey-combed with caves, deep, cavernous recesses affording secure hiding-places, and it is for these that the rush is made. Last autumn, in August, there was a serious attempt of this kind and success was achieved by some of the runaways. The hour chosen was that of the break off from labor, when the gangs, brought together in small bodies surrounded by their guards, converge on a central point, very much as may be seen on any working day at Portland or Dartmoor, and thence march home in one compact multitude to the distant prison. It is a curiously picturesque scene. The convicts, mostly fine stalwart men, their ragged dirty white robes flying to the wind, and their chains rattling, swing past two and

two, an almost endless procession. Down below, the mighty river flowing between its belts of palm and narrow fringe of green, shines like burnished silver under the westering sun; beyond stretches the wide desert to the foot of the Pyramids, those of Sakhara at one end of the landscape, of Cheops at the other, colossal monuments of enforced labor very similar to that now surviving at Tourah.

This was the moment chosen for a general stampede. About sixty or seventy agreed to cut and run simultaneously, all towards the shelter of the hills. A few were told off to try conclusions with the armed guards, to wrest away the rifles, and thus secure both immunity from fire and the power to use the weapon in self-defence. The attempt appears to have been fairly successful at first. A few rifles were seized, and the fugitives, turning on their pursuers, made some pretty practice, during which a few of the more fortunate got away.

But now authority asserted itself. Many were shot down; the rest, overtaken, immediately surrendered. The absence of "grit," so characteristic of the race, showed itself at once, and these poor wretches, who had been bold enough to make the first rush under a hail of bullets, now squatted down on their hams, and with uplifted hands implored mercy, or declared it was all a mistake.

"Malesh! it does not matter" was their cry, then. But they no doubt found that it mattered a great deal when a few days later Nemesis overtook them in the shape of corporal punishment; for the lash, a cat of six tails, is used in the Egyptian prisons as a last resort in the maintenance of discipline and good order. It is only inflicted, however, under proper safeguards and by direct sentence of a high official. There is no "kourbash" nowadays in the prisons; no warder or guard is permitted to raise his hand against a prisoner. Tyranny and ill usage are strictly forbidden.

Escapes have happened at other places. Nowadays, when military operations are in progress on the frontier, an immense amount of good work is done by large detachments of convicts at stations high up the river. There are rough-and-ready "Tourahs" at Assouan, Wady Halfa, Korosko, Suakim, El Teb, points of considerable importance in the service of the campaign, where supplies are constantly being landed, stored, or sent forward to the front. The Egyptian prison authorities have very wisely and intelligently utilized the labor at their disposal

to assist in unloading boats and in reshipping stores and railway plant. Already this summer the numbers at the front have been increased by the dispatch of another 300 convicts from Tourah to Wady Halfa, where they have been engaged in laying the new line in the direction of Abu Hamed, the line on which the next move ahead practically depends. The Nile above Merawi flows through the most difficult country in its whole course, the very "worst water," and no navigation in that length is possible by steamers, little or none by small boats except at high Nile, and then only by haulage. It will be necessary, therefore, to complete the railway to Abu Hamed, so that gunboats may be sent there in sections over the line, to be put together above the cataracts and then utilized in the final advance, for the river is more or less open to Berber and above to Khartoum. This line does not grow very rapidly, but at this time of writing (July) some ninety miles are laid, and if Abu Hamed can be secured, so that the work may proceed both ways, it may be finished by the end of the year.

Convicts do much good work sometimes of a superior kind. Now and again a trained handicraftsman is found who is willing to put forward his best skill, and there is always a smart man or two who will act as leader and foreman to the rest, very much as is found with convicts all over the world. One man in particular at Wady Halfa is well known as a most industrious and intelligent worker, who naturally took the foremost place and controlled and directed the efforts of his fellows. He so gained the good-will of our officers that, not knowing his antecedents, many of them strongly recommended him for release as a reward for his usefulness. But the prison authorities were unable to accede to this seemingly very justifiable request. The best of prisoners (again following experience elsewhere) was the worst of criminals. He had committed no fewer than eight murders, not, I presume, with proved malice aforethought, or he would hardly have escaped the gallows. The death penalty is not, however, inflicted very frequently in Egypt. In one case worth mentioning as illustrating the almost comical side of Egyptian justice, a man sentenced to death was held to serve a short term of imprisonment for some minor offence before he was considered ripe for execution. The short sentence completed, he was incontinently hanged.

Last winter, when at Assouan, hundreds of convicts were engaged all day long under the windows of my hotel. Their rattling chains were the first sound I heard on early awakening; their unmelodious sing-song, as described above, was in my ears the whole day long. I could see them, mix with them, talk with them, if I chose, as they clustered around the great crane that raised the heaviest weights, locomotive, tender, boilers, from the boats moored below, or passed along in single file, backwards and forwards, between the beach and the railway station or storehouses thereby. All were in picturesque rags, all but the military prisoners, dressed in a startling uniform of bright orange; all wore the inevitable leg-irons riveted on their spare, shrunken, brown ankles. It was the custom once, as in the old French *bagnes*, to chain the convicts in couples, a long-term man newly arrived with one whose sentence had nearly expired.

This practice has now been discontinued, and each unfortunate bears his burthen alone. I noticed great ingenuity among them in preventing the basils or anclets from chafing the skin. The most effective method, employed no doubt by the most affluent, was a leather pad inserted within the iron ring; others without resources, not owning a single "milliem" in the world, used any old filthy rags or scraps of sacking they could beg or steal. Pads of this kind have been worn from time immemorial by all prisoners and captives; no doubt the galley slaves chained to the oar in classical days invented them, and they were known till quite lately in the French *bagnes* of Rochefort and Toulon by the name of *patarrasses*, which old hands manufactured and sold to the new comers. Another old fashioned device I observed among the Egyptian convicts—a short hook hanging from a waistband, which caught up one link of the irons, a simple necessity where the chain is of such length that it drags inconveniently along the ground.

The general use of fetters is not nowadays approved by civilized nations; although they are, I believe, still worn in the labor camps of the Southern States of America, and in Italy and Spain. But in Egypt they appear to be nearly indispensable for safe custody. Last year the removal of the leg irons from a number of convicts encouraged them to effect their escape. Sixteen of them at Assouan were astute enough to sham illness. It was during the cholera epidemic and they knew enough of the symptoms to

counterfeit some of them cleverly. The medical officer in charge was soft hearted and thought it cruel that his patients should die in their chains, so he had them struck off. Within a few hours the unshackled convicts gave him leg bail and escaped from the hospital into the desert and so down the river. These very men, I believe, formed the nucleus of the band of *harami*, the robbers and brigands who terrorized the lower province for some months and were only disposed of at last by stern reprisals. The story of the burning of the brigands at Belianah has become public property, and was made the occasion of one of those virulent attacks upon British rule that often find voice under the unrestrained license of the Egyptian press. These outlaws were pursued and run into at last by the police in a house where they had barricaded themselves. It was impossible to break in, and the assailants therefore set fire to the thatched roof. The robbers used this as their private arsenal, and the fire soon ignited their cartridges with a terrific explosion, in which most of the defenders lost their lives. This practice of concealing explosives in the roof is not uncommon. When the Shayk of Derowi was arrested on a charge of conveying contraband into the Soudan, he contrived to send back a message to his wife to make away with all damaging evidence. She thought the safest way to dispose of the gunpowder stored in the house was by fire, and she also disposed, very effectually, of herself.

I was much struck at Tourah with the admirable prison hospital, which would compare favorably with any in the English prisons. It is of quite recent erection; the building is two storied, with lofty, well-ventilated wards, beds, and bedding, all in the most approved style; a well-stocked dispensary, and a fully qualified medical man in daily attendance. I went the round of the patients, who, unless too ill to rise, sit up on their beds rather like poultry roosting, and found that Arab flesh is heir to much the same ills as that of the rest of us. The complaints had mostly a familiar sound—eczema, tuberculosis (the scourge of the black prisoners from the south), ophthalmia, dysentery, and so forth. "Stone" is a malady very prevalent, and showing itself in the most aggravated form, due no doubt to the constant drinking of lime-affected water. I saw the result of some recent operations, stones of almost colossal size extracted by the prison surgeons, whose skill is evidently remarkable.

Too much praise can hardly be accorded the Egyptian prison administration for its prompt and effective treatment of the cholera epidemic when it appeared in Egypt last year. Although the mortality was serious in the general population, the percentago of deaths was relatively small in the prisons. Out of a total of 7,954 prison inmates (this number does not include the convicts at the seat of war or on the Red Sea), there were only 116 cases and 70 deaths. In six of the prisons the disease did not appear; in others, although situated in the heart of infected towns and prisoners were being constantly received from infected districts, the cases were few. In Tourah, with a total population of 1,350, there were but 22; at Assiout, a new building with good sanitation, only 2; the average was largest at Keneh, Mansourah, and Assouan. Not a single female prisoner was attacked, an immunity attributed by Dr. Crookshank to the fact that the females in custody receive regular prison diet, while the males, except at Tourah and Ghizeh, are fed, often indifferently, by their friends outside. These excellent results were undoubtedly due to the strict isolation of the inmates of any prison in which the cholera had appeared. Whenever a case showed, the introduction of food or clothing from outside was strictly forbidden, and friends were not admitted when cholera existed in the neighborhood. Much was due, also, to the unselfish devotion of the Egyption medical staff, who were unremitting in their care, and of whom two died of the disease at their posts.

Prison systems according to the best authorities have never yet had any appreciable effect on the volume of crime in a country. That of Egypt is now excellent, but the prison population constantly increases. Prisoners are better fed, better looked after, more severely worked, and the system is seemingly more deterrent, yet year after year there are more convictions. In 1884 the total of convicts in custody was 3,578; in the following year it had increased by 1,000; ten years later the numbers had risen to 6,831, in 1894 the total was 7,336; it is now, I am told, nearly 11,000. Of course these figures have another aspect and may be said to prove greater activity in the police, with a larger measure of protection to the peaceful, law-abiding public, than obtained under the old irregular and incomplete administration of justice. It is satisfactory to hear that the Egyptian authorities have now adopted the method found most effective elsewhere in diminish-

ing crime, that of cutting off the supply at the fountain head. A strong effort is being made to tackle the young offender. Juvenile depravity is very marked among the Arab *fellaheen.* A case may be quoted of a child named Hassan Salem, who began thieving at ten, and who by the time he was fourteen had been ten times convicted, nearly always for stealing money or clothes. There were 150 at least of these precocious criminals dispersed through the prisons, exposed to all the contaminations of prison life, willing pupils of more experienced criminals. Now, a reformatory prison for juveniles has been opened at Alexandria, where a severe discipline is tempered by useful exercises and instruction in trades.

No account of the Egyptian prisons of to-day would be complete without some reference to Dr. Crookshank, who has been at the head of the department for some fourteen years and who has just received well-merited advancement as one of the Directors or Commissioners of the Dara Sanieh Estate, which controls so many sugar factories, and from which the Khedive receives so large a revenue. Dr. Crookshank Pacha began as a surgeon in the Franco-German war and served both sides; he was then on the headquarters staff of the Turkish army during the Turko-Servian war of 1876-7, and again in the Turko-Russian war of the following year, when he took part in the famous retreat of the Turks across the Balkan under the able generalship of poor Valentine Baker. After an interval, when he was occupied in helping to organize the St. John of Jerusalem Ambulance Society, he accompanied the British Cholera Commission to Egypt in 1883 and was in charge of the Gendarmerie Cholera camp at El-Wadan. He was in the Suakim campaign of 1885, and in 1886 he took a large force of convicts to work the petroleum wells at Djebel Zeit, on the Red Sea littoral. Again, after Sir Francis Grenfell's victory at Toski, he went up with a small medical staff to tend the sick and wounded Dervishes, and the thousands of starving fugitives, mostly women and children, whom he transferred gradually to Assouan and down the river for distribution through the cities of Lower Egypt. He is a man of very broad views, energetic in organization, with rare powers of securing devoted support, and he will be much missed in the prison department.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

CHINESE SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

BY CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

Among the factors which have aided in producing industrial unrest on the Pacific Slope during past decades has been the almost unrestricted pouring in of alien races, particularly the Chinese. The question has assumed grave importance, especially in California, where almost every political contest during the past twenty years has had some bearing upon the so-called colonization of the Chinese in America and their usurpation of the industrial field of the American citizen.

While this aspect of the question has been the disturbing and dominating feature continually before the public, there is another and darker side to this alien movement, one which shows the Chinese in America to be a constant menace to law, order, and morality.

Several months ago the Chinese Consul of San Francisco waited in some state on one of the missions in that city and demanded the release of a fugitive slave, for the "honor of China and the Chinese." The representative of the Emperor was rebuffed, and he retired to advise his countryman who owned the woman by right of purchase to apply an American method known as the writ of *habeas corpus*. This was done, the woman being taken into court and fought over for several weeks, during which the world at large became aware that there existed in America a system of slavery as obnoxious and debased as could be found in any slave-dealing country of to-day. There was nothing remarkable in the action of the Consul, as the peculiar and elastic code of morals possessed by the Chinese permits slavery, recognizing it as an institution to be protected and fostered, especially in America.

The large Chinese settlement in San Francisco has made this

traffic in human beings not merely possible, but a business followed as a means of profitable investment, under the protection and patronage of two Chinese societies, and here, in the heart of an American city, we find one of the best-organized slave marts of modern times, fostered by as motley a band of criminals as could be produced in any portion of the uncivilized world; a band numbering at least three thousand, who derive their support directly or indirectly from the sale and barter of female slaves.

The Chinese population of San Francisco is estimated at 20,000. Of these 5,000 are factory hands; 5,000 claim to be merchants; 4,000 are domestic servants; 3,000 are the criminals referred to, and 3,000 are women and children. Of the 2,500 females it is estimated with more or less accuracy that 1,000 are legitimate wives, the remaining 1,500 being slaves in the fullest sense; girls kidnapped in their homes in the Orient, brought to America by fraud and imposture, passed through the custom-house under false oaths, in fear of death or dire consequences, put up at auction before professional slave merchants, knocked down to the highest bidder, and condemned, in the majority of instances, to a life under duress in the Chinese brothels of an American city.

Such a slave the Chinese Consul referred to demanded. The woman had been sold and believed that she was a slave; but when her master attempted to sell her six-year-old child on the ground that she gave it too much care, and that it interfered with her work, she fled to one of the missions and asked for shelter and protection; there learning for the first time that she was a free woman under the laws of the United States. After a long legal contest she was returned to the charge of the Methodist mission.

A young Chinese girl, from nine to twelve years of age, in San Francisco to-day has a market value of from $150 to $500. A girl from twelve to sixteen, if attractive, is quoted on change among the high-binders, who constitute the brokers in this unique American Exchange, at from $500 to $1,500, while for girls over this age the prices range up to $3,500, which has been paid on the very good ground that such an investment will return a profit of twenty or thirty per cent.

Slavery has existed among the Chinese in California for years, and continues almost unrestricted. As these lines are written

the courts of San Francisco are fighting over the case of a slave named Fong, who claims to have been kidnapped in China, brought to America, and sold to the highest bidder. She finally escaped to one of the missions, that has so far successfully defied her owners, and, as a result, the question of Chinese slavery will undoubtedly be thoroughly ventilated.

The investigation of this and other cases, and examination of the records of the Chinese-American missions, show that slavery of the most horrible and debased nature is being carried on wherever the Chinese have a foothold. From authoritative sources it has been learned that slaves are, as a rule, badly treated, and the court and mission records abound in citations showing gross cruelty. The slaves are of two classes—young girls, used as household drudges, and adults, held for immoral purposes by their owners, who rent or sell them.

This criminal or slave-dealing class constitutes an important element in Chinatown, and has an organized system so elaborately and cunningly devised that so far it has been impossible to stamp out the practice. It seems incredible that slavery should be boldly advocated and carried on with all the elaboration and system that characterize any successful commercial project; yet America is the principal field of the Oriental slave dealer, and San Francisco the headquarters for those engaged in the traffic. Here, on Dupont Street, until within a short time, was an apartment known as the "Queen's Room," in reality a public slave mart, where the victims were brought and exhibited to dealers and would-be purchasers. The two societies already mentioned have systematized the business in such a manner that it is a very simple process to evade the American law. The headquarters are in San Francisco, agents being stationed at Canton, Amoy, and other large Chinese cities. These, in turn, have sub-agents in the suburban districts, whose duty it is to kidnap the victims and forward them to the agent at the shipping ports, who usually consigns them to a travelling or confidential agent, whose duties lie not alone in guarding the human property, but in instructing the women so that they will be able to pass the Custom House authorities. Unfortunately the Chinese law and custom of marriage aids the kidnapper. A wife rarely sees her husband before marriage; the affair being a business arrangement, pure and simple, and the

girl bargained for by the agent of the prospective husband. The agent of the San Francisco dealer, in the fulfilment of his duty, pretends to represent a wealthy man searching for a wife. In this guise he approaches a country girl, to whom he holds out the inducement of a rich husband at Canton. Inexperienced, her imagination excited by the picture of a life of luxury or ease drawn by the agent, she consents to accompany him to meet her husband and leaves her home never to return. Arriving at some port, the agent invents a story to the effect that the husband has been called away to another place, and has left word for her to follow. Still unsuspicious, she is shipped on an American steamer with others in charge of another agent. When far out at sea the victim usually rebels, but is quieted by the agent, who now informs her that she is in the greatest danger ; that if she cannot succeed in passing the American officials at San Francisco she will be thrown into prison and subjected to torture. There is one opportunity to escape, she is told, and that is by pretending that she is a married woman returning to her husband after a visit to China. She is also given a forged certificate and a slip containing the name and address of her supposed husband in San Francisco. This story the victim is forced to learn and adhere to under threats of violence or death, and the terrified girl readily enters into the scheme to deceive the American Custom House officers, who are supposed to enforce a vigorous examination in each case ; but despite this there are hundreds of illegal entries. The Hon. John H. Wise, Collector of the Port of San Francisco, in reply to a letter from the writer, said : "We have nothing to indicate the character of Chinese women who come here for the purpose of landing. Those who have come since I have had charge of this office claim to be either married women or native born. The question of the right of either to land is determined by the proof presented. If there are any prostitutes among them they would be generally found among those who claim to be native born, and we frequently hear of girls so landed being in houses of ill fame. But there is no way to reach them, because they come and land as native born, and while they can submit ample proof of nativity the government is unable to produce evidence to the contrary."

The girls who are examined before the collector for admission are valued at from $150 to $3,500, the latter sum having been

paid in one instance ; consequently every effort is made by the consignee to bring them through the ordeal successfully. This accomplished, the girl, who, perhaps, still expects to meet her promised husband, is taken to a boarding-house, provided with a rich wardrobe and rendered as attractive as possible. She is now (or she used to be, before the place was closed by the police) conducted to the "Queen's Room," which she is told belongs to her husband and where she is to receive his friends. The girl is now really on exhibition for sale, and is critically examined by high-binders, slave-dealers, speculators, brothel keepers, and others interested in the sale. Finally a price is agreed upon and she becomes the property of some man whom she supposes to be her husband. The plot is not discovered by the credulous victim until her master hands her over to the keeper of a brothel. In four-fifths of the cases of slavery this is the method of procedure, which, it is needless to say, is invariably effective, the victim rarely if ever escaping.

A typical instance is that of a girl who was kidnapped in Canton. The Chinese agent received $185 for her, and handed her over to Gue Ka Sheng, a professional slave-dealer. Gue had no certificate, so he invoked the American law and brought the girl ashore on a writ of *habeas corpus,* where, after some controversy in the courts, she was released and spirited up the country by her master's wife, who sold her to a man for $600. Her new owner beat her persistently for "moral insubordination," or for refusing to debase herself, and, finding her rebellious, sold her to a Chinaman who agreed to marry her and pay for her on the instalment plan, which he finally did.

It might be assumed that the tribulations of this slave woman were over, but about the time of the last payment her husband made a journey to China, leaving her in the care of his brothers. The latter, in the course of time finding themselves in need of money, determined to sell their sister-in-law, but the woman made such a vigorous resistance that they were prevented from carrying out their plan. They then began systematically to beat her, so that she would run away and they could claim that she had deserted her husband. Failing in this, they hired a professional high-binder and murderer to kill her. This man fired at her once and, failing, lost his courage. Another hatchet-boy was employed to kill her, but being paid in advance he warned

the woman and fled to China with the money. Another attempt would have been made, but at this juncture she was rescued by the Rev. N. R. Johnston and taken under the protection of the Chinese Mission in San Francisco with one child, the other, fifteen months old, having been sold by her husband's brothers despite her opposition.

The records of the missions abound in similar accounts, a series of horrors which should arouse a protest all over the land. The instance of the girl Woon Tsun illustrates the tenacity of purpose which characterizes the slave-dealer. Since the enactment of the Restriction Act it has been more difficult to introduce slaves, and girls who formerly brought but $150 are now valued at $800. The father of the girl in question had borrowed a certain sum of a slave-dealer named Kum Moh, and, being unable to liquidate the debt, gave his daughter, six years of age, as full payment. The child was discovered in one of the worst dens in the famous Bartlett Alley in San Francisco, from which she was taken by the Presbyterian Mission authorities on an order of arrest, the charge being that she was a minor in a house of ill repute. This child was valued at $1,500, and her owners began a legal contest which well demonstrated the power and influence of the society of slave-dealers. Kum Wah, through an American lawyer of ability, attempted to have the guardianship of the Presbyterian Mission superintendent set aside, and Mah Sing, a keeper of a brothel, appointed in her place. For weeks this case was fought by the Chinese slave-dealers and the Christian women of the Presbyterian Mission, the American lawyer attempting by every means to drive the latter from the court. The Chinese societies engaged in this traffic have a large fund for the prosecution of disputed cases, and aided by American lawyers and the writ of *habeas corpus* they are often successful in regaining possession of these human chattels. To fight these societies several denominations, notably the Presbyterians and Methodists, have established missions in San Francisco, where slaves are taken and every effort made to break up the nefarious practices of the slave-dealer. But the manager of one of the missions recently stated that the law was almost inoperative; that women and girls were still being bought and sold and condemned to a life of shame, and that instead of being an asylum for the oppressed, America, or that portion peopled by the

Chinese, was as black a slave market as any the world had yet seen.

The missions of San Francisco and their managers are, naturally, the object of attack, and the high-binders and slave-dealers make every possible attempt at retaliation. Repeated efforts have been made to kidnap rescued girls, the managers threatened with death and marked by the hatchet-boys for destruction. But their good work goes on, girls and women being rescued by the law, and by force when the law is not applicable to the case.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to present adequately the full horrors of this practice of slavery, yet they should be known, and doubtless the mission authorities will tell the whole story to those interested in philanthropic work.

The life of the slave is a chapter telling of total debasement and ill treatment. The mission managers have found girls who have been burnt with red-hot irons, dragged about by the hair, and had their eyes propped open with sticks. Slaves that are resold are sold by a contract, a document which, while unfit for publication, is a most remarkable paper, showing that the sale of women is looked upon in the same light as that of the lowest animals. At the present time every effort is being made to suppress this traffic, but under the existing law little can be expected. The women are brought in boldly on forged certificates or false oaths of their nativity, smuggled in at the Mexican and Canadian borders, and without some extraordinary effort slavery will continue uninterrupted on American soil.

CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

"THE LESSER MAN."

BY G. G. BUCKLER.

"Woman is the lesser man, and all thy passions matched with mine
Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine."

Of all the opposition which new womanhood has had to encounter, perhaps the most formidable, because the most epigrammatically expressed, has been that of the poet Tennyson. His famous passage in the "Princess" has moved, if not convinced, thousands of readers, and the often-quoted comparison between man and woman in "Locksley Hall" is now taken as a heading, because it may truly be said to go straight to the heart of the woman question. This great subject, which almost since the world began has been calling forth a steady stream of learning, wit, eloquence, or bitterness, has been of recent years so thoroughly canvassed that no new view could even be attempted. It is therefore merely proposed here to state as shortly as possible the various aspects of the controversy, and the practical treatment hitherto given to each.

It may fairly be said that the whole subject of woman's powers groups itself round four questions:

(1.) Is woman mentally and bodily fitted to engage in the higher branches of literature, science, and art?

(2.) Is it for the good of the community that she should engage in these higher branches?

(3.) Has she ever produced, or is she likely to produce, anything first-rate in these higher branches?—a question leading to the fourth and final one,

(4.) What is woman's proper sphere?

These four great problems in their turn resolve themselves, the first into a question of physiology, the second into a question of ethics or rather of sentiment, and the third and fourth into

questions of historic fact on the one side and individual opinion on the other. In order to deal with the whole subject fairly, each point must be taken up in order.

(1.) Has woman adequate sinews and adequate brains? The first part of this enquiry, relating to physical strength, would seem to have been satisfactorily answered by the statistics proving the excellent health of college students and other workers, apart from the fact that few intellectual callings need special force of muscle. The second question has met with more varied and conflicting responses. From the two physical facts, that the female brain is different in shape and inferior in absolute though not in relative weight to the male, and that these divergencies increase with the development of the individual or the race, diametrically opposite inferences have been drawn. The progressive party base on them their assertion that weight of brain is no test, enforcing their argument by pointing to the massive skulls of elephants, or the inequality in this respect of two equally intellectual male brains, and insist that such physical differences are merely accidental. Their opponents, on the other hand, see in these conjoined facts the clearest proof that the proper tendency of evolution is to put man increasingly above woman in the sphere of mind. Even the question of a woman's capacity to learn, no less than that of her fitness to achieve, has met with widely different answers from various competent authorities, and whereas one pronounces her unable to amass knowledge like an adult man, a second bravely asserts that "there is absolutely no difference in the average intellectual capacity of the sexes," while a third goes so far as to wish that young men would learn from young women how to learn.

(2.) Such being the diversity of opinion, it would be an easy solution to give woman the benefit of the doubt and let her test her fitness by actual experiment, were it not for the second and ethical question—the effect on the community. Public sentiment has indeed led the question of higher education for women through many curious phases, and there has hardly been an age when the subject has not been discussed. The cultivated Athenians held up as an ideal before their wives and sisters and daughters to stay at home and keep silence and to be least spoken of among men. Hating clever women, as Euripides frankly

admits, they tolerated female learning and art only among the foreign courtesans. Plato, indeed, dreamed in his ideal Republic of women trained with men in gymnastics and music, and declared that "the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes, and all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also," but the small effect produced by his teaching and that of Aristotle after him can be best estimated when we remember the terrible fate of the learned Hypatia even in late Alexandrian days. The just-minded Romans were notoriously repressive to their womankind, and when we turn to Oriental races we find a prevalent contempt for the sex as rational beings. Christianity, teaching of God born of a human mother, opened a new era of respect and esteem for women, and their position was further improved by the rise in Europe of the Teutonic tribes, who revered them, and of the age of chivalry, which exalted them even to absurd pre-eminence. Of all this the worship of the Virgin Mary was one symptom; the splendor and importance of nunneries was another. In the Middle Ages women in their own homes were kept severely in hand, but among the nuns freedom reigned, and learning was accordingly cultivated to a surprising extent. Their course of study was identical with that of the monks, embracing profane as well as Christian literature, medicine as then understood, and the arts of the copyist and missal-painter. Chaucer's Abbess, with her bad French and excellence only in table manners, is no fair specimen. It was no uncommon thing to find a nun composing verse, or writing learnedly of drugs and simples, and the names of Hrotsvitha and Herrad will always be famous, the first for her Latin plays in imitation of Terence, and the second for her attempted Encyclopedia.

The causes for the decline of feminine culture, at the very period of the Renaissance, when masculine culture took, as it were, a fresh lease of life, were manifold, but it will be enough to mention two. The spread of the feudal system gradually debarred the nunneries from holding land and thus deprived them of much political and social importance, while the laxity of tone at the rising universities kept women from sharing in their privileges with the promising pupils sent thither by the monasteries, and a growing feeling that a study of anatomy was essential closed to them on the same moral or fastidious grounds all avenues of art. As the convents declined as centres of learning, so

necessarily did feminine culture in all its branches, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was only rich women who could study at all. Boys could go to free schools and then to universities, but girls had to study expensively at home under the chaplain or visiting tutors, or at the even more costly private schools, such as the singularly ambitious one kept by Mrs. Makin, formerly governess to the daughter of Charles I. The account given by Pepys of his difficulties in teaching his wife arithmetic speaks for itself, and Queen Elizabeth was considered an infant prodigy because at nine she could read and write.

It must be remembered that Luther's emphatic assertion of marriage as the only true feminine vocation tended to aggravate this state of things in Protestant countries. In Catholic Italy, France, and Spain we find not only women writers and artists, but even female professors of rhetoric, Greek, Latin, natural philosophy, and mathematics, while in France particularly the ladies of the *salons* exercised an incalculable influence on literature, philosophy, and politics. With regard to the woman question in its later developments, it is curious how soon Spain began to retrograde. Even in the 18th century we learn that Spanish girls were not taught their alphabets for fear they might correspond secretly with their sweethearts, and at the present day not only is all feminine study at universities forbidden as in Austria by law, but there is among the women little opportunity and still less desire for any intellectual occupation other than literature or journalism. France and Italy, on the other hand, have been consistently moderate if not progressive. In France the first prize given for eloquence at the newly instituted Academy was awarded to Mlle. de Scudéry, and in our days the admission of women to university study has been most pacifically accomplished, indeed welcomed by the Republican government as an offset to conventual education. In Italy we find Laura Bassi gaining a doctor's degree at Bologna as early as 1752, and a chair in the same university is now held by a woman, while the whole question of higher education for women may be said to have been thoroughly threshed out at Padua in 1723. On that occasion a certain Professor Camposampiero claimed for the weaker sex those opportunities which in his opinion the stronger only monopolized from mean and tyrannical motives ; Professor Volpi deprecated the physical and mental fatigue of study for

women, as tending to check marriage or make insubordinate wives, and as making those who indulged in it "ill, weary, and contrary;" and the President concluded, without deciding, the discussion by reminding the assembly of Plato's aphorism that women were not all alike.

Turning to the history of higher education in England, we find that she has mightily advanced from her position in the days of Pepys, or even 150 years ago, when Dr. Johnson could say that among women "any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured," and could himself, though a champion of progressive views, pronounce feminine painting of portraits impossible, on the ground that it would be "highly indelicate for a female" to gaze into the face of a male sitter. The new era may be said to date from Mary Godwin's "Vindication of the Rights of Women," published in 1791, and followed not many years later by Sydney Smith's liberal and trenchant essays. His arguments may still be cited as the basis of the modern woman's plea, proving as they do that feminine education tends to deepen every mother's influence on her children, to elevate marriage into a higher form of companionship, and to assist public morals by giving the wife an influence independent of mere youth and beauty. The leaven of this new idea was, however, slow in operation, and when higher education for women became an actual fact, the honor must be given not to Old England but to the New.

Of all branches of feminine learning, medicine has probably been the most discussed. In all ages women have compounded drugs, and from mediæval nuns down to Florence Nightingale there has been no lack of female nurses; but regular women doctors are an outcome of recent times. To the well-worn arguments of the overtaxing or unsexing effect on women of medical work, it is only fair to oppose the actual results of experience on the one hand, and on the other, the reminder that the argument of delicacy works both ways, so that in the seventeenth century a "man midwife" was regarded as no less unsexed than a "woman doctor" in the early days of the nineteenth. As far as facts are concerned, it is perhaps unnecessary to state that the first woman doctor, Miss Elizabeth Blackwell, after struggling for many years against straitened circumstances and persistent opposition, at length graduated from the Medical Col-

lege of Geneva, N. Y., in the year 1849. That same year Boston started a special medical college for women, and in 1863 and 1864 Paris and Zurich opened their doors to feminine students of medicine, but it was not till 1865 that the first Englishwoman, Miss Garrett (now Dr. Garrett Anderson), succeeded in forcing the London Society of Apothecaries to grant her a doctor's certificate. After this, opposition was slowly conquered in England, and in 1893 we find there 8 medical schools for women, several important institutions carried on entirely by women, and 6 degree-giving bodies willing to examine and certificate feminine applicants —though even now English women as physicians and surgeons number little more than 100, against 4,555 in the United States. In Russia the history of medical education has been even more curious. In 1862 Mme. Souslowa obtained leave to study medicine in St. Petersburg, and worked undisturbed for two years. Suddenly there was issued an ukase closing all university doors to female students, and alleging that "women did better as such when they knew nothing and understood nothing." Yet when Mme. Souslowa had graduated at Zurich, she was allowed to practise medicine at home, and at this moment there are not only numbers of Russian students at the medical schools in Paris and elsewhere, but actually from 700 to 800 women graduates of foreign universities practising in Russia itself. In Germany, where all universities are professedly closed to women, no woman can practice medicine without special authorization, and the state of affairs is even more retrograde in Austria and Spain. Of all spheres open to women doctors, perhaps the largest is that in India among its secluded ladies, but there the climate, the poor pay, and the prevalent distrust of medical aid present peculiar difficulties, which can probably be best solved by the increasing study of medicine in England and elsewhere by native Indian women.

In other branches of higher education, America again takes the lead. Vassar College was founded in 1865, four years before Girton, the first English institution of the kind. Since then, the doors of the greater proportion of universities, both in the United States and in Europe, have been opened to women, who are taught and examined on various terms, and in most cases can obtain degrees, while in this country as early as 1888, out of 389 degree-giving bodies, 237, including all the State universities,

were distinctly co-educational. From all these places women issue every year armed with degrees or certificates in every branch of learning—science, mathematics, languages, philosophy, theology, law, and so forth—a curious commentary on the doctrine of the 18th century Frenchwomen, that women ought to shrink as modestly from learning as from vice. The after careers of college students have led to much compilation of statistics. In Great Britain, to quote from a table drawn up from 1869 to 1895, of 1,486 such students 268 (or about one-seventh) have married, 680 have become teachers, 50 secretaries, 11 doctors, and 2 nurses, while the rest have all engaged in philanthropic or missionary work, with the exception of 1 journalist, 1 bookbinder, 1 market-gardener, and 1 lawyer in Bombay. In the United States we find it stated in 1895 that over one-half of the women students marry, and two-thirds teach at least for a while after leaving college. Of the 200,000 and more female teachers in this country registered at the last census, 735 were professors of advanced branches of learning in women's colleges or co-educational institutions. Taking the statistics of Vassar College separately, we learn that of the 1,182 graduates about two-thirds are married, about one-third are teaching and one-ninth are pursuing individual research, while among the numbers are 1 bank director, 1 treasurer, 1 business manager, and 1 "major" in the Salvation Army. Outside of the college graduates, there are many thousands of women workers in the United States engaged in no less than 400 distinct professions. Of these, next to medicine and teaching, the law is perhaps the most distinctly intellectual. Curiously enough, we find the question of female admissibility to the bar first debated and decided negatively in Russia in the year 1875. This decree has been reversed in no countries except France to a limited extent, and more widely in the United States. There was a woman lawyer in Wisconsin at least as early as 1879, and recent statistics show that 120 women are now members of the bar and 8 have been admitted to the Supreme Court, and that 24 States allow female pleading. Turning to some of the other avocations, we find registered at the last census 1,235 women preachers and 4,875 public officials of various kinds, whereas it may surprise us to read of only 2,725 authoresses and 888 women in journalism, of whom, by the by, comparatively few are college bred. On

the other hand, nearly 50,000 women are engaged in teaching or producing music and art, and female painters outnumber the male. In England this is not yet the case, and the artistic energies of women are, on the whole, more directed to such art crafts as stained glass, china painting, wall papers, wood carving, metal-work for lamps and so forth, art needlework, bookbinding, modeling in clay, and even house decoration and landscape gardening.

After this general survey of women's work, divided as it was in a recent book into the nine departments of Education, Literature, Journalism, Medicine (of course including surgery and dentistry), the Ministry, the Law, the State, Industry, and Philanthropy, it would seem that there is no walk of life which, in some quarter of the globe at least, is not open to them. Into the factory, into the world of business, politics, or sport, into haunts of learning or offices of state, they have gradually found their way. As far as sentiment and abstract justice are concerned, the movement has met with approval from almost all thoughtful people, and has shown itself to be antagonistic neither to sex distinctions nor to the teachings of Scripture. There is, however, an economical side of the question which must not be overlooked. The rush of women into professions, notably that of teaching, has overstocked the market and tended to reduce salaries, if not to lower the standard of excellence, an evil aggravated by the prevailing want of combination among the women workers themselves. The cheapness of female labor makes employers engage the wives and daughters and leave the men at home, and it is a historical fact that such a state of things leads always to the deterioration of a race. Again, the very physical differences between the sexes would seem to predestine them to different kinds of work, and the duties of maternity alone would prove that woman was not primarily created to be the bread winner. All this belongs properly to the question of woman's true sphere; here it will be enough to have sketched historically the varying attitudes assumed by men toward the intellectual aspirations of women.

(3.) We have now arrived at our third point; what have women made out of their opportunities? Have they ever achieved, or will they ever achieve, anything first-rate in literature, science, or art? The first half at least of the question admits of a decided

answer, and that answer is in the negative. Looking impartially at history we cannot claim that the widespread mental and artistic activity of women has in a single instance achieved anything absolutely first-rate, whether as creation or as discovery. This proposition must be discussed somewhat in detail.

Taking literature as our first topic, we find women from the earliest days expressing their thoughts in verse and prose. Yet as real poets we can only mention the half-mythical Sappho, and possibly in our own day Mrs. Browning and Christina Rossetti. Edmund Gosse has, indeed, emphatically asserted that women never have been or can be poets, because they lack the artistic impulse, and that the only possible exception to this rule lies in the realm of lyric poetry, which alone can be perfect without art. In prose we find the same absence of supreme excellence. No woman has ever written a great essay or a great history. Masculine production has been everywhere superior, except in the minor branches of letter-writing and novels of domestic life, with their special demand for the feminine qualities of quick emotions and ready observation. In dramatic literature no woman has gained for herself any lasting fame. Now, in the field of letters, at any rate, it cannot be claimed that woman has only just started. She has been writing for over 2,000 years and, broadly speaking, in every civilized country, even in Turkey and India, where her social position is most inferior; yet nowhere do we find her in the highest rank. Even the assumption of masculine *noms de plume* by so many authoresses points not so much to the desire for an impartial judgment from the public as to the dislike of each new aspirant to associate herself with the legions of female failures in literature. The want of closeness of grasp, want of balance, and want of precision in form, which characterize the writings of women, may be variously ascribed to lack of synthetic power, undue indulgence in the emotions, or imperfect training in the study of great models, but they are none the less incontestable. Whatever women may achieve in the future of letters, it is certain that in the past they have not attained an equal level with men, not even proportionally to the smaller number engaged in the attempt. They may, however, claim to have brought into literature, or intensified in it, two inestimable qualities, purity of sentiment without sentimentality, and breadth of human sympathy; and when we add to this their indirect influence on the

writings of men, we must concede to them great importance though not supreme excellence.

The same things might almost be said, word for word, about art. Neither the antagonism of society nor inherent difficulties in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music can be put forward as adequate excuses for the mediocrity of feminine achievement, and lack of training can no longer be urged. Yet in all days past or present, what woman has risen to the highest rank in art? Mme. Lebrun and Angelica Kauffmann owe their principal fame to the fact that as exceptionally charming women in an age of laxer artistic criticism they were employed to paint the portraits of all their most famous contemporaries, and in their work have curiously reflected the spirit of a bygone and deeply interesting period. Rosa Bonheur is indeed "the monarch of animal painters," but no one can deny that hers is at best an inferior sphere of art. In landscape painting feminine mediocrity has been so marked that it has led to the assertion that women have no real love for nature. In sculpture who would venture to class Sabina von Steinbach or Harriet Hosmer with a Phidias or a Michel Angelo? In the field of architecture women have, it is true, only just begun to appear, but in the ancient and far-reaching realm of music their achievements are no less meagre. With the exception of a few simple airs, and the much-discussed share of Fanny Mendelssohn in her brother's *Lieder ohne Worte*, we can hardly mention anything produced by female musicians. On the other hand, in the sphere of rendering music, a woman such as Jenny Lind has probably eclipsed all male competitors, just as in another secondary or imitative art the Mrs. Siddons' or Rachels of the world have gained a fame to which even Garrick and Booth cannot approach. Again, as writers about art, women have done good service, and we can hardly even estimate the debt of masculine music, painting, and sculpture to feminine inspiration; but as creative artists women hitherto have been conspicuous failures.

Before we pass on to the abstract sciences, a glance must be given to the departments of teaching, philanthrophy, and medicine. It has been truly asserted that the two former have benefited enormously by the higher education of women. From classical days when Aspasia gave lectures and female philosophers discoursed to admiring pupils, there have always been women

teaching with success, and indeed the obligatory training of a child by its mother seems to point this out as natural feminine work. And thus it can be only a gain to humanity to have its women teachers every year more thoroughly educated, just as in philanthropic work the value of trained intelligence is increasingly recognized. In all the walks of medicine, woman's presence is now almost universally welcomed. The military authorities in the Crimea who opposed the arrival of Florence Nightingale and her fifty nurses were soon converted when they saw the reduction in the death rate and the improvement of moral tone in the army. In the Turkish war of 1877 and in the recent cholera times Russia owed much to her women doctors, and in all countries, particularly in India, the work of these women among their own sex has been of unspeakable value. In this country a famous doctor said of Dr. Susan Dimock, who died at 28, but had already become famous for her "skill and self-command in operating," "I found her one of the most accomplished physicians I have met;" and there is a growing feeling that medical work in reformatories and insane asylums calls imperatively for women. In law, on the other hand, they have not worked long enough to be a fair subject for theories, and to theology and pulpit eloquence they cannot be said to have contributed anything whatsoever. In politics their power has been either exceptional, as in the case of queens, or indirect, as, for instance, in the old French *salons*, so that no general argument as to feminine capacity can fairly be adduced.

Turning to women in science—that is to say, to woman as an inventor and discoverer—we find more achievement of a distinctly high order, but the same absence of anything absolutely first-rate. In some branches, such as archæology, biology, chemistry, history, and philology, women have not worked in sufficient numbers to call for special attention. In philosophy they have translated and interpreted much, but originated nothing of consequence. In political economy Harriet Martineau herself recognized that she could "popularize but neither discover nor invent"; and the modern writer, Mrs. Fawcett, is chiefly known as her husband's collaborator and echo. In astronomy, however, there are several female claimants to fame. Hypatia, indeed, is known to us chiefly by tradition, and we have no positive proof that the astronomical tables inserted in her father's work are

rightly ascribed to her, so that she owes her reputation principally to her youth and beauty and pathetic fate. But, when we come to modern days, we must not overlook the indubitable discovery of five comets by Caroline Herschel, even if we think of her primarily as the devoted assistant and amanuensis of her greater brother, Sir William ; nor the valuable contributions made to astronomical science by Catherine Scarpellini ; nor the place filled in our own country by Maria Mitchell, not only as professor of astronomy at Vassar College, but as a staunch advocate and shining example of higher education for women. At the present moment the women engaged in this science are occupying humbler, but no less useful, positions, and, as assistants in observatories, are doing good service in the study of photographs under the microscope or in the observation of sun-spots and eclipses.

In physics and mathematics we find feminine enthusiasts at quite an early date. In the 18th century a work by Signora Agnesi, assistant professor of mathematics at Bologna, was translated by one of the greatest English mathematicians then living ; while at Voltaire's request Mme. du Châtelet published a French version of Newton's *Principia.* Early in this century Sophie Germain carried off a special scientific prize offered at Napoleon's suggestion by the Institute of France, and Mrs. Somerville was authorized by Laplace to make a condensed English reproduction of his *Mécanique Céleste.* Of this remarkable woman, Justin McCarthy could justly say that she "distinctly raised the world's estimate of woman's capacity for the severest and the loftiest pursuits," and we learn that her chief regret in dying, at the advanced age of 91, was that she had not lived to see ascertained the distance of the earth from the sun, and the true sources of the Nile. In our own day Miss Fawcett has shown much mathematical promise, and it is said by a competent judge that the work of Sonia Kovalevski, who died at 41 after gaining the Bordin Prize from the French Academy of Sciences, is of far higher grade than any as yet achieved by any American mathematician, astronomers possibly excepted. Yet taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men.

In the realm of invention the same statement holds good. In the earliest times, it is true, both the industrial arts and the spread of language were due to the women of a race, with their sedentary

lives and constant occasions for conversation and mechanical devices, rather than to their hunting and necessarily taciturn husbands and brothers. Tradition itself assigns to various women or goddesses the first introduction of agriculture, law, medicine, and the rudiments of learning, and history confirms such a belief. To two Chinese empresses we owe the art of spinning and the discovery of silk. A Greek woman gave us gauze, a Hindoo princess Cashmere shawls and attar of roses, and a Japanese woman the first relief work in bronze ever produced in her country. In later days Miss Betsy Metcalf originated the straw industry in the United States, and even if Eli Whitney and not Mrs. Greene devised the cotton gin, yet we find 3,458 indisputable feminine inventions registered at the United States Patent Office since its opening in 1790. On the whole, it is probably safe to say that no epoch-making invention has yet been produced by a woman, though as assistants in mechanical experiments women are preferred to men by no less an authority than Edison.

After this rapid survey of all possible branches of mental activity, one-half at least of our third question may be said to be answered. Women have never yet attained the highest rank in science, literature, and art. Whether they ever will do so is, of course, a matter of opinion, and here it is well carefully to discriminate facts from theories. When a distinguished critic asserts that women are fitted to excel in the arts of pleasing (such as dress and conversation) and of mere decoration, rather than in the fine arts proper, we may be inclined to agree with him, owing to historical experience. But we shall probably not admit as proof his arguments of doubtful relevancy and accuracy, such as the development of æsthetic taste in the male animal earlier than in the female, the effect of muscular weakness in precluding sympathy with an artist's own creations, and the comparative insensibility of women to love. Again, when Professor Romanes follows Darwin in putting down observation, reason, imagination, and invention as the qualities selected in man, and intuition, rapid perception, and possibly imitation as those selected in women, no one can venture to dissent; but when he proceeds to give supposed reasons, we listen with interest rather than conviction. According to him the intellectual inferiority of women is due, first to the preference of men who marry only the clinging and dependent among them and perpetuate these

traits in the race; secondly, to the woman's physical weakness, inclining her to timidity, vacillation, and an absorbing desire to please; thirdly, to the diversion of her energies and the over-stimulation of her emotions effected by maternal duties; and, fourthly, to the comparative ignorance of life in which she is and should be brought up. No more satisfactory are the reasons alleged on the other side, such as the comparative recentness of women's attempts in literature, science, and art, the prejudice and opposition of men, and the influence of past centuries of imperfect education and inherited ignorance. Of these the first two are untrue or exaggerated, and the third must strike with surprise any person who reflects that women presumably inherit as much from their educated fathers and grandfathers as from their uneducated mothers and grandmothers. There seems more logical cogency in the arguments of a recent writer, who shrewdly asks: If women were ever intellectually equal to men, when and why did they begin to fall behind? and if they never were equal, how can they hope to catch up now, when masculine education is advancing at as great a rate as feminine?

(4.) There now remains only our fourth and last question, that of woman's proper sphere. Here again "who shall decide when doctors disagree?" Basing all theories, however, on experience and history, as previously cited, we may perhaps assert tentatively a few propositions. In writing, women will be wise to recognize with George Eliot the fact of sex in literature, and realize that to write *as women* is the office they have to perform. *After their kind*, in her opinion, women can fully equal men. Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric, and especially the hymn, letter-writing, and domestic novels. In art she will do well to confine herself to the lower and no less useful branches, decoration, and the various art industries; in music and drama she must be content with being indisputably a finer interpreter than man. In teaching, philanthropy, and medicine she can take an honorable place, and in religious work (apart from the vexed question of preaching) she will be universally welcomed. In the sciences of invention and discovery she had best not hope for great achievement, but be satisfied with a large arena of usefulness in assisting and carrying out the creations of men. For it is in this subordinate relation that women can probably find their truest and widest

sphere, that of Influence. It is the modern fashion to decry this power as degrading; none the less it is a vitally important factor in human affairs. Buckle declares that in the modern world the spread of civilization and the influence of women have been commensurate. Not only on morals, he tells us, but on knowledge has this influence been of enormous importance, for it is women who encourage in men those processes of deduction and imagination which are foreign to the male nature. To the same secret but beneficent agency Mill ascribes the aversion of the world nowadays to war and its addiction to philanthropy. In whatever field of mental activity we look, women have from all time been the great inspirers and moulders of men. No one can mention Barak, Pericles, Dante, or Petrarch without thinking simultaneously of Deborah, Aspasia, Beatrice, or Laura. The finest compositions by Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin would probably never have been written but for the women to whom they are dedicated, and the paintings of Andrea del Sarto and Titian show almost too plainly the earthly and feminine sources of their inspiration. The French Academy owes its birth to the female purists assembled in the Hotel de Rambouillet, and indeed throughout the history of French literature women seem to have abided by the famous advice of Lebrun: "Inspire, do not write." In the various *salons* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, literary, political, philosophical, semi-religious, or wholly revolutionary, a new French literature and philosophy, and above all, the spirit of a terribly new political age, may be said to have been cradled. Clubs have now arisen to draw men away from ladies' drawing-rooms, and the power of the press has eclipsed that of any social circle, but none the less can women expect and claim a vital if subordinate or indirect share in all the activities of men.

To those who are not contented with this, we can only say: Take your own way. You are probably as well fitted as a man at least to *acquire* learning, and all opportunities are now open to you. But if in achievement you fail to attain the highest rank, do not be surprised, but look with more tolerant respect on the women who are satisfied to be and confess themselves the intellectual inferiors of men.

G. G. Buckler.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

V.—THE PACIFIC STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States, eleven in number, comprise more than 40 per cent. of the area of the Union, but are of such recent formation that they have less than 4 inhabitants per square mile, against 35 in the Prairie States. Census reports show:

	1850.	1870.	1890.
Americans	95,000	678,000	2,257,000
Foreigners	90,000	313,000	771,000
Total	185,000	991,000	3,028,000

The population in 1850 consisted of a group of gold-diggers in California, and it was not until 20 years later that these States began to attain any importance, viz.:

	1870.	1890.	1897 Est.
California	560,000	1,208,000	1,580,000
Colorado	40,000	412,000	650,000
Washington	24,000	349,000	640,000
Oregon	91.000	314,000	460,000
Utah	87,000	208,000	280,000
Montana, etc	189,000	537,000	750,000
Total	991,000	3,028,000	4,360,000

Here, as in other parts of the Union, urban population grew twice as fast as rural. The census of 1890 showed 22 cities, of which only 5 dated so far back as 1870. The returns were as follows :

	1870.	1890.	Increase per cent.
Urban population	199,000	901,000	350
Rural "	792,000	2,127,000	170
Total	991,000	3,028,000	206

San Francisco and Denver are the only cities that count more than 100,000 souls; the former is now the seventh city of the

Union, having outstripped New Orleans and Cincinnati since the census of 1870. The Pacific States are remarkable for the great number of foreign settlers and the paucity of negroes, the former composing one-fourth of the population, the latter less than one per cent. The foreign element is, nevertheless, on the wane, seeing that in 1870 it stood for nearly one-third of the population. This is the only section of the Union in which British settlers hold the highest place, outnumbering both Germans and Irish.

Agriculture.—The area of improved land under farms has trebled in twenty years, and yet has not kept pace with population, viz.:

	Acres improved.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
California	6,220,000	12,220,000	11.1	10.1
Oregon	1,120,000	3,520,000	12.3	11.2
Washington	190,000	1,820,000	7.9	5.2
Colorado	90,000	1,820,000	2.4	4.4
Other States	480,000	3,640,000	1.8	4.9
Pacific States	8,100,000	23,020,000	8.2	7.6

The new farms established in the above interval of twenty years covered an area equal to the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium put together. The production of grain and meat has been as follows :

	Tons yearly.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1870.	1893-95.	1870.	1893-95.
Grain	950,000	2,900,000	2,150	1,700
Meat	120,000	750,000	270	440

There is a deficit of grain, but a large surplus of meat, about 500,000 tons yearly. No part of the Union has such abundant flocks and herds; for if we take horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs collectively there are 8 head to each inhabitant, as compared with 3 in the Prairie States and less than 3 in the Union at large. The value of farm products is approximately as follows :

	Tons.	Dollars.
Grain	2,900,000	50,600,000
Potatoes	290,000	4,800,000
Hay	10,100,000	75,000,000
Meat	750,000	99,000,000
Tallow and lard	135,000	12,000,000
Dairy products	.....	4,000,000
Sundries	.....	49,000,000
Total	.....	294,400,000

This gives an average of $13 an acre, against $9½ in the Prairie, and $14 in the Middle States. The production of grain

and meat in comparison with the number of persons employed in farming in these and the other States is shown as follows:

States	No. of hands.	Tons.		Pounds per hand.	
		Grain.	Meat.	Grain.	Meat.
Pacific	310,000	2,900,000	750,000	21,100	5,400
Prairie	3,060,000	50,300,000	2,190,000	36,700	1,570
Southern	3,850,000	14,600,000	1,630,000	8,500	940
Eastern	1,100,000	5,300,000	390,000	10,800	790
Union	8,320,000	73,100,000	4,960,000	19,700	1,350

If we admit the formula that one ton of meat is equal to 8 tons of grain it will appear that the labor of each farm hand is equivalent to 30 tons of grain in the Pacific States, 22 in the Prairie, 7 in the Southern, and 8 in the Eastern States, the average for the whole Union being 14 tons per hand. In other words, each hand in the Pacific States produces double the average. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the farms in these States are much larger, and the number of acres to each farming hand much greater, than elsewhere, viz.:

States.	Average farm, acres.			Acres to each hand.		
	Improved.	Unimproved.	Total.	Improved.	Unimproved.	Total.
Pacific	158	166	324	74	78	152
Prairie	95	38	133	60	24	84
Southern	58	81	139	27	38	65
Eastern	65	32	97	42	20	62
Union	78	59	137	43	32	75

If the agriculture of the whole Union were on the same footing as in the Pacific States the improved area under farms (at 74 acres per hand) would reach 615 million acres, or 70 per cent. more than at present. This shows how efficient and economical is the labor applied in these States, where a machine with a couple of men cuts, threshes, winnows, and bags 60 acres of wheat in a day. The largest farms on the Pacific slope are in Nevada, averaging 1,300 acres, the smallest in Utah, average 126 acres. In the latter State the number of improved acres gives only 39 acres to each farm hand, which shows that the labor of two Mormon farmers is required to produce as much as one ordinary hand, not for want of industry on the part of Mormons, but because small farms are ill-suited to labor-saving machinery of the newest kind. There is an immense field for agriculture, as yet undeveloped, the Pacific States having only

6 per cent. of their area under farms (even including lands that are unimproved), whereas the farming area of the Union is 20 per cent. of the superficial extent. The following table sums up the agricultural wealth of these States, and shows the average value of land per acre in the census of 1890:

	Million dollars.	Dollars per acre.
California	772	57
Oregon	143	33
Colorado	110	46
Washington	101	46
Other States	187	31
Pacific States	1,313	48

The value per acre averages one-fourth higher than in the Prairie States, the price being abnormally high in California, by reason of the fertility of its valleys, teeming with wheat, wine, and delicious fruits, and enjoying the most perfect and salubrious climate in the world. The vineyards cover 30,000 acres, yielding 10 million gallons of wine yearly; the fruit-gardens produce 60,000 tons of plums and apricots, which is more than half the total product in the Union. On the other hand, these States are insufficiently supplied as regards poultry, the number of eggs produced yearly allowing only 110 to each inhabitant, or two-thirds of the ordinary consumption.

Forestry.—The timber area of these States is much below the average, but the State of Washington is exceptional, having 24 million acres of forest, equal to 55 per cent. of its area. The Pacific States have altogether 116 million acres of timber, and the annual cutting is estimated at 30 million tons, one-third lumber, the rest fences and firewood, representing a value of 70 million dollars, say 60 cents per acre, whereas the forests of the Union at large give an average product of $2.20 per acre.

Mining.—The Pacific States are pre-eminently addicted to mining, the annual output of minerals, according to last census, amounting to 142 million dollars, or 37 dollars per inhabitant, against 18 dollars in Australia. The returns for 1890 were :

	Gold, oz.	Silver, oz.	Coal, tons.	Total value dollars.
California	610,000	1,100,000	120,000	19,700,000
Colorado	190,000	18,400,000	2,600,000	41,100,000
Montana	150,000	13,500,000	360,000	33,700,000
Nevada	170,000	4,700,000	.....	10,100,000
Utah, etc	300,000	13,200,000	3,220,000	37,900,000
Pacific States	1,420,000	50,900,000	6,300,000	142,500,000

Immediately after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, in 1849, California was invaded by a crowd of gold-diggers from all parts of the world. Down to 1857 the diggings yielded gold to the annual value of 60 million dollars, afterward declining to one-half, but gold was also found at Pike's Peak, Colorado, as well as in Nevada and Montana, between 1858 and 1863; so that at present California produces (as shown above) less than half the total. Silver was first found in Nevada in 1858, but not in any abundance till 1871, and mines of even richer ore were subsequently developed in Colorado, Montana, and Utah. The quantity of precious metals extracted in 44 years, according to a statement published in 1894, was as follows:

Period.	Tons gold.	Tons silver.	Value millions dollars.
1850-69	1,525	2,130	1,110
1870-89	1,104	20,980	1,465
1890-93	201	7,270	350
44 years	2,830	30,380	2,925

The Comstock Lode, Nevada, produced at one time (1871–76) gold and silver to the annual value of 24 million dollars. The yield of the Montana mines from 1862 to 1889 averaged 10 tons of gold and 90 of silver, together worth 11 million dollars yearly.

The annual product of precious metals in the Pacific States since 1890 has averaged 55 tons of gold and 1,800 of silver, worth 100 million dollars, which exceeds the value of precious metals that any country has yet produced, in the history of mankind.

Manufactures.—This branch of industry is of minor importance, but has quadrupled in 20 years, viz.:

	Output, dollars.	No. of operatives.	Dollars per operative.
1870	80,000,000	32,000	2,500
1890	360,000,000	152,000	2,370

California stands for 60 per cent. of the total manufacturing output of these States, as the returns for 1890 show:

	Million Dollars.		
	California.	Other States.	Total.
Lumber	14	36	50
Flour	14	15	29
Sundries	185	96	281
Total	213	147	360

The value of manufactures produced yearly is equal to 119 dollars per inhabitant, against 141 in the Prairie States.

Commerce.—The trade of these States is mostly internal. The only port that has a foreign trade is San Francisco, the shipping entries of which have doubled in 20 years and now reach 1,200,000 tons. It is the fourth seaport in the Union, taking rank next after Philadelphia.

Railways.—In 1895 the Pacific States had 23,800 miles of railway, which had cost 1,210 millions of dollars, or $51,000 per mile. No other part of the world possesses such a length of railways for population, since each inhabitant has 10 yards of railroad, against 5 in Australia, 6 in Canada.

Banking.—Discounts fluctuate between 90 and 100 millions. Savings-banks deposits reach 136 millions, or $35 per inhabitant, these banks being found mostly in California, where the deposits average $90 per inhabitant, or three times the average for the Union.

Wealth.—The components of wealth in 1890 were:

	Millions dollars.						
	Farms.	Houses.	Mines.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant.
California.....	772	974	83	236	469	2,534	2,097
Colorado.....	110	518	161	222	135	1,146	2,779
Washington..	101	432	8	93	127	761	2,180
Oregon.....	143	264	17	75	91	590	1,878
Montana.....	49	182	81	113	28	453	3,432
Utah.....	36	155	67	56	35	349	1,675
N. Mexico....	16	106	22	75	12	231	1,500
Idaho.....	26	79	47	48	8	208	2,476
Arizona.....	11	89	26	56	7	189	3,150
Nevada.....	19	80	27	48	6	180	3,913
Wyoming.....	30	77	5	48	10	170	2,787
Total.	1,313	2,956	544	1,070	928	6,811	2,318

There is no parallel to the increase of wealth which has taken place in these States. In 20 years wealth multiplied ninefold, viz.:

	Wealth, millions dollars.		Increase yearly.	
	1870.	1890.	Dollars, amount	Dollars per inhabitant.
California.....	556	2,534	98,900,000	112
Colorado.....	18	1,146	56,400,000	260
Washington.....	12	761	37,400,000	247
Oregon.....	45	590	27,300,000	140
Other States.....	96	1,780	84,200,000	165
Pacific States.....	727	6,811	304,200,000	156

During the above interval of 20 years the annual increase of wealth for the whole Union averaged $39 per inhabitant; the accumulation in the Pacific States during the said period was therefore four times the average.

Mortgages are not heavy, being a little over 10 per cent. of the value of real estate, but farm lands are much more heavily encumbered than house property, viz. :

	Millions, dollars.		
	Value.	Mortgage.	Per cent.
Lands	1,095	214	19
Houses	2,956	215	7
Total	4,051	429	10½

The rate of interest is very high, averaging 9 per cent., and in three States, Arizona, Idaho, and Montana, the average is 11 per cent. The annual burden of interest on mortgage is equivalent to a tax of $12 per inhabitant, which is double the average in the rest of the Union. Insured property in 1890 amounted to 413 millions, or $137 per inhabitant, the average for the Union being $300 per head.

Finances.—Local and State taxes in 1890 summed up $41,400,000, or not quite $14 per inhabitant, as compared with $8 in the Prairie States. The difference is partly accounted for by the scattered nature of the population in the Pacific States, as well as by the large expenditure for schools, equal to $3½ per inhabitant.

Education.—The level of public instruction is inferior to that of the Eastern or the Prairie States, notwithstanding the higher outlay for schools. The percentage of illiterate persons according to the census of 1890 was as follows :

	Illiterates, per cent.			
	New England.	Middle.	Prairie.	Pacific States.
Americans	1.7	2.8	3.4	4.5
Foreigners	18.1	14.5	10.6	10.4
General population	6.3	7.0	5.7	8.3

From whatever cause the expenditure, compared with the number of school children, is much above the average for the Union. The returns of public instruction for 1895 showed the average daily attendance of children and the annual outlay as follows :

States.	School children.	Outlay, dollars.	Dollars per child.
Eastern	2,520,000	66,500,000	26.40
Southern	2,790,000	20,400,000	7 30
Prairie	3,610,000	77,900,000	21.40
Pacific	470,000	13,500,000	28.70
Union	9,390,000	178,300,000	19.00

The average attendance of school children is very satisfactory,

being 51 per cent. of the number of children of school age, whereas the attendance for the whole Union is only 46 per cent.

In whatever aspect we may view the Pacific States, their progress must appear marvellous. Although of such recent formation that most of them have sprung into existence since 1860, they possess more miles of railway than any European state except France or Germany, and their wealth exceeds that of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in the aggregate.

The share which corresponds to these States in making up the Great Republic may be expressed as follows: Area 40 per cent., population 6, agriculture 8, manufactures 4, mining 25, wealth 10, per cent., of the total.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

CENTRAL AFRICA SINCE THE DEATH OF LIVINGSTONE.

BY THE REV. W. GARDEN BLAIKIE, DD., LL.D., F. R. S. E.

THE transformation which the part of Africa that Livingstone first brought to light has undergone since his death surpasses anything on a like scale that has ever been witnessed in the short space of four and twenty years. But, indeed, we may say, in one sense, the transformation which the whole continent of Africa has undergone; for however far it may have been from his intention, it was Livingstone indirectly who set in motion that unprecedented machinery that within the last dozen years has divided the Dark Continent among most of the leading powers of Europe. It would be out of the question within the limits of an article to attempt a full narrative of this great chapter of African history; we shall notice it only in so far as it is necessary to explain the present position of that part of Central Africa with which the name of Livingstone is specially connected. The river Shiré and the lakes were emphatically Livingstone's domain. It is here that the transformation has been most remarkable. Within this region in particular, exploration, geography, natural science, commerce, the suppression of the slave trade, missionary enterprise, and social improvement have all made wonderful progress since the intrepid missionary passed away, on May 1, 1873, on the swamps of Lake Bangweolo.

Livingstone was like Samson; he did more by his death than by all the efforts of his life. That picture of the weary, wornout man, found dead in the attitude of prayer in the rude hut beside Chilambo's village, thrilled the civilized world, and roused its noblest energies. It is rather difficult to put Livingstone's character together. That he was a true missionary at heart is be-

yond doubt, and that he held the Gospel to be the chief instrument of transforming the country in all its great interests; but it is equally certain that he was fascinated by the geographical problem, and that it was for the solution of that problem that he wandered so long in the region where he died. But he never lost sight of the missionary aim, and, apart altogether from the geographical problem, he felt that in becoming thoroughly acquainted with the infamies of the slave trade which he saw there in all its hideousness, and thus becoming fitted to expose it when he should return home, he was doing a service more than worthy of his highest energies. He was bent on finding the sources of the Nile, but unfortunately he was on the wrong tack. Had he been able at Nyangwé to get the means of exploring the Lualaba River, he would have done what Stanley did afterwards —sailed down the river, and found that its connection was not with the Nile but with the Congo. Of this he had some vivid surmises; but without proof positive, he could not abandon his first impression. Dean Stanley had good cause to place the lines over his remains in Westminster Abbey:

> "Tantus amor veri, nihil est quod noscere malim
> Quam fluvii causas, per sæcula tanta latentes."

But he had equal reason to add the words which were the key, not to a mere part, but to the whole scope and aim, of Livingstone's life:

> "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice."

It was on September 16, 1858, that Livingstone, sailing up the River Shiré, discovered Lake Nyassa. From the very first he was convinced that the valley of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa was the key to Central Africa. The experience of nearly forty years has verified that impression. In imagination he saw the great object of his Zambesi expedition accomplished. He saw the valley dotted with British colonies and mission stations and trading settlements; he saw the slave trade superseded by lawful commerce, the natives transformed into intelligent, industrious laborers; the whole valley blossoming as the rose. Alas, much was to happen, the thermometer was to fall to zero, before this could be realized. The next few years were to be a season of heartbreaking disappointments; every effort was to result in at

least temporary failure; so that fifteen years later, at the death of Livingstone, the prospect was darker than ever. The slave trade was carried on more widely and cruelly; the Universities' Mission, under Bishop Tozer, had left the continent and established its headquarters in the island of Zanzibar; and the Free Church of Scotland after sending out Mr. Stewart (now Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale) to reconnoitre, had found that the country was too unsettled for any mission to be established then on the banks of Lake Nyassa. If ever there was a forlorn picture on earth it was that of Livingstone, after his expedition had been recalled by the British government; after finding that the slave raiders were the only party that had benefited by his discoveries; after nearly all his countrymen had for one reason or another left him; after all the depressing effects of illness, and of worries, delays and disappointments without number; after finding that the ship he had bought with his own money could not be turned to use on the lake—persevering, nevertheless, in exploring the banks of Nyassa, although it could only be by the weary process of trudging on foot; pressing on as far as he could go until compelled to turn to look after the vessel he had got from the government; and finally leaving the lake, from which he had hoped so much, just as he found it, without a single missionary on its banks, without a single white merchant on its heights, the slave trade more active than ever, and misery, strife, darkness, and disorder holding their unmitigated reign.

When he returned to Nyassa on his last expedition he found no improvement, and he was not able to effect any. In the interest mainly of the geographical problem he pushed westward, becoming acquainted with Lake Tanganyika, and discovering lakes Moero and Bangweolo. Finding him at Ujiji in much the same plight as the traveller in the parable of the good Samaritan, Henry M. Stanley, on the part of Mr. Bennett of *The New York Herald*, rescued him from rags and starvation. It was a noble service, romantic in its origin, most loving and fraternal in its execution. The three months which these two men spent together had memorable effects. The spirit of Livingstone passed into Stanley in more senses than one. But they had to part; Stanley to return, having accomplished the purpose for which he was sent out, and Livingstone, in spite of every remonstrance, to finish his work if possible, and find

the sources of the Nile. In reality, it was to end his life, and thereby, as it appeared to human vision, to shut conclusively the door of hope which he had opened for Africa. *Dis aliter visum.*

When Stanley heard of the death of Livingstone, he was seized by an irresistible desire to finish the work which had been left incomplete. Arriving in London just in time to take part in committing to their resting-place in Westminster Abbey the bones of his friend that had been so marvellously borne from the hut on Bangweolo, he was only strengthened in his resolution. The newspaper reporter was transformed into the intrepid traveller; the youth who had been captivated by the love of adventure, awoke to the responsibilities of life, and entered in a measure into Livingstone's view of its purpose. Under the conjoint auspices of *The New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, an expedition was fitted out, and Stanley proceeded to Africa with the resolute purpose of exploring the Lualaba, and following its course to the sea.

In the meanwhile, however, another man had been trying to accomplish this very thing, and failed. Lieutenant Verney Lovett Cameron (Commander Cameron, C. B.), who had headed an expedition sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in search of Livingstone, having met at Unyanyembe the band of natives who were carrying his remains to the sea, had resolved to go westward in the same direction, and finish Livingstone's work. An intrepid and skilful traveller, he reached Nyangwé, but there he encountered the very same difficulty that had baffled his predecessor. Nothing could induce the natives to give him canoes, or to aid him in his work. Fear of the consequences to themselves overcame them. When Stanley came to the same place in 1876 it could be little comfort to him to think of the failure of his predecessors. It was a marvellous tribute to Stanley's power of management that he succeeded where they had failed. The story of his ten months' journey down the Congo is one of the most remarkable narratives of adventure ever known, as the results were certainly of unprecedented importance in the history of Africa. He reached the sea in the end of 1877. The publication of his book, "Through the Dark Continent," not only effected a revolution in the realm of geography, but also in the realm of history. The region which he opened

up was of such importance, the basin of the Congo was such a magnificent sphere for commerce, agriculture, and all manner of enterprise, that men's minds were stirred to the utmost, and a host of projects, missionary and commercial, rose above the horizon.

It would have said little for the Christian church if the missionary aspect of the discovery had not immediately arrested attention and been followed by corresponding activity. And the history of missionary enterprise on the Congo during the last twenty years is a remarkable record—a record involving numberless instances of early death, through ignorance or inattention, no doubt, in many cases; but in the readiness of men and women to take the place of those who had fallen it showed in a most interesting way that the spirit of heroism had not died out in the nineteenth century, and that Livingstone's example had not been in vain.

But it is in other directions we are to look for the most far-spreading effects of Stanley's enterprise. Even before he had left Nyangwé the attention of Leopold, King of Belgium, had been eagerly turned to Africa and to the best means of promoting the civilization of the continent, and opening it up to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the civilized world. For the consideration of this subject he had summoned an international conference to Brussels, which met on September 12, 1876, and resulted in the formation of an International African Association.

King Leopold was profoundly interested in Stanley's letters from the Congo, and at the earliest possible moment invited him to Brussels, and discussed with him in full his plans for the settlement of the country. Afterwards members of the International Association were invited to a conference, and a committee was formed for the investigation of the Upper Congo. Capital was subscribed to enable the committee to carry out its objects. In 1878 Stanley's book, "Through the Dark Continent," was published, and gave an immense impetus to the project of King Leopold. In 1879 Stanley returned to the Congo, under the auspices of the King and his associates, and took the main part in the formation of the Congo Free State. It is unnecessary in this place to detail the steps connected with the development of this project, which ended in making Leopold virtually

the head of the Congo State, and placing it under his administration. He had been the mainspring of the whole movement; he had contributed immense sums from his own purse towards it; he was willing to incur great responsibilities in connection with it, and, being the King of a very small European state, he could not become the object of that jealousy which would have been felt had any of the great powers of Europe been invested with the control. The arrangements of the Congo Free State were made at an international conference held at Berlin in 1884-85.

What may be the final outcome of the Belgian Congo State is far from certain. Rumors of maladministration have of late been very rife. Belgium has had little or no experience in colonial administration, or in the management of foreign races. Whether she may succeed in establishing a settled government, or whether she may have to make way for some stronger power, or whether the Congo State may break up into a number of smaller states, are all questions which the future must determine.

What is of special moment for our present purpose is that, in thus making herself mistress of the Congo State, Belgium began that great game which has issued in the partition of nearly the whole of Africa among European powers. Her example proved very infectious. Let us now briefly state what has been done in the same direction by France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and last, not least, by Great Britain.

It is no wonder that France should have been powerfully moved by the opening up of the African continent, because of late years she has shown a strong desire to become a great colonial power. The conquest of Algeria, begun in 1830, cost much bloodshed, and, it is said, a hundred and fifty millions sterling. Much has been done to civilize the country; but it is not a very desirable colony.

In 1881 France took possession of Tunis. France from early times had a hold of Senegambia, on the west coast. Of late years she has contrived to enlarge greatly the area over which her influence extends. She long cherished an eager desire for the control of the whole region of the Niger, and in the Upper Niger her authority has been firmly established; but on the Lower Niger her ambition has been frustrated, chiefly through the efforts of Sir George Goldie, who succeeded in getting a royal

charter for the Niger Company of England. A few scattered settlements on the west coast are under the French flag. But her greatest acquisition on the continent of Africa is the very extensive region known as French Congo, adjacent to the Congo Free State, between the right bank of the river Congo and the sea. The acquisition of this territory she owed mainly to an Italian named De Brazza, who, leaving Europe in 1879 under pretence of promoting the objects of the International Society, induced certain chiefs to make treaties favorable to France. Mr. Stanley and the King of the Belgians were annoyed at his proceedings, which, in reality, broke up the International Society and left each power to scramble for itself. Of the French seizure of Madagascar we do not take note, because it is the partition of the continent we have to do with.

Increase of appetite, as the poet says, grows by what it feeds on ; and when Bismarck had created the empire of Germany, the ambition arose to make her a great colonial power. She had some small settlements in Africa from an early period, and there were German African Colonial societies ; but 1884 witnessed the beginning of her active zeal to obtain new colonies. Before that year German merchants had stations along a large tract of the west coast, and German missionaries occupied about a hundred stations. We say nothing of the manner in which Germany went to work, and in which she dealt with British interests in part of the region. There was a long and sharp correspondence between the foreign offices of the two countries, which ended in Britain's giving way to Germany.

Similar proceedings went on thereafter on the east coast. Attention had first been called to the region near Zanzibar by an eminent German explorer, Von der Dacken (1860–65), who lost his life while exploring the river Juba. In 1894 Dr. Karl Peters, who had gone without government authority into the country, negotiated certain treaties with native chiefs, and then transferred the rights thus obtained to the German African Society. Again the interests of Britain appeared to be trifled with, and again she acted a conciliatory part. The result was that another huge slice of African territory was placed under German influence, bounded roughly by Lake Victoria Nyanza on the north, Lake Tanganyika on the west, and the British and Portuguese spheres on the south.

Portugal was certainly one of the earliest colonizers of Africa, and of that fact she tried hard to avail herself. On the strength of what had been done by early travellers and traders, she claimed a vast trans-African empire, extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. On the strength of traditions equally vague and questionable, she claimed the Nyassa region which Livingstone had discovered, and which he destined as the centre both of commercial and missionary work. Lord Salisbury, who was thought to have been rather complacent to Germany, took up a very firm attitude with Portugal. The Berlin Conference had laid it down that no country could claim any part of Africa of which it was not in actual possession, and this resolution quashed wholesale many of the claims of Portugal. Yet two great tracts fell to her possession, the Angola Colony on the west and a strip along the coast from Zululand to Cape Delgado on the east. The Nyassa region (of which we are to speak presently) was specially reserved for a British protectorate.

Of the Italian portion of Africa in the neighhorhood of Abyssinia we need not write in detail, for hitherto it has brought little but disaster to Italy, and it is doubtful whether Italy will be able to colonize it or, indeed, to occupy it to any practical purpose.

And now we come to Great Britain. Of her early colonies on the west coast, and of her great colony, the Cape of Good Hope, on the south, and Natal on the southeast, we need not speak, because they remain as they were. We have already adverted to her success on the lower Niger, by which she frustrated the aim of France to possess a vast African empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Congo. But the chief acquisitions of Great Britain in recent years have been in the southern and eastern sections of the continent. In regard to the south, we have no space to narrate all the events that led ultimately to the extension of the region under British influence as far north as the river Zambesi. Agreements were made with the chiefs, who professed their desire to come under British protection. The Transvaal Republic and the Portuguese nation were extremely desirous to obtain parts of these lands, and the efforts of Great Britain were no doubt quickened by the certainty that if she did not obtain them, some other country would. By and by, Mr. Cecil Rhodes came on the field, and by him and others Mashonaland and Mata-

beleland were prospected, with a view to the working of gold mines. After delay and difficulty, a charter was granted to the British South African Company, under whose control that vast region now is, and which has recently become so notorious in connection with Dr. Jamieson's attempted raid on the Transvaal.

We now come nearer to that part of Africa with which the name of Livingstone is specially connected, and the present condition of which it is the main object of this paper to describe. But a brief historical introduction is still necessary. It is a wonderful proof of Livingstone's influence that as soon as he passed away very vigorous efforts were made from many quarters to establish agencies for the moral and commercial improvement of the Lakes District. It is necessary to remember that other lakes besides those of Livingstone had been discovered in the neighborhood. Speke had discovered the Victoria Nyanza; Speke and Butler, Tanganyika, and Baker the Albert Nyanza. On his way to explore the Lualaba and the Niger, Stanley had made a survey of the Victoria Nyanza, and had become acquainted with King Mtesa, of Uganda, and ascertained his willingness to have Christian missionaries sent to his people. When he wrote to England he pressed the desirableness of occupying Uganda as a mission sphere. Without any definite provision for protection, the Free Church of Scotland in 1875 established its Livingstonia Mission on the banks of Lake Nyassa; next year the Established Church of Scotland took possession of a district in the Shiré Highlands, which it named Blantyre, after Livingstone's birthplace; the Church Missionary Society commenced work in Uganda, whither a Roman Catholic body of missionaries was sent subsequently. The London Missionary Society in 1877 found a field at Tanganyika; and the Universities Mission returned in 1882 to the district it had formerly occupied, between Lake Nyassa and the sea. The Moravians, the Berlin Society, and other bodies, likewise commenced missionary work. In Livingstone's idea, Christianity and commerce were always united, for without a thriving legitimate commerce he could not get rid of the slave trade; but it was undesirable that missionaries should combine the two avocations; hence the African Lakes Association was founded by some friends in Glasgow, to work as a trading company in connection with the Scotch missions. But it was not to be expected that, settling among wild bar-

barians, all these agencies would be able to carry on their work without molestation and serious opposition. They might be implicated in the feuds of the tribes; or they might get into trouble by their horror at the slave trade and their irrepressible desire to help the miserable slaves; or some jealous chief might fall on them in his fury, and literally annihilate them. In the neighborhood of Lake Nyassa great trouble was caused by the Arab slave-traders, and in that of Victoria Nyanza by the persecuting fury of King Mwanga, the son and successor of Mtesa. The African Lakes Company had to fight with the Arabs for their lives; in the course of the wars their managers, John and Frederick Moir, were both seriously wounded, and the whole company was in danger of extinction. The atrocities of King Mwanga are well known. The Uganda martyrs, braving not death only, but nameless tortures, behaved like heroes; the murder of Bishop Hannington was an infamous crime, and it seemed not unlikely to be followed up by the murder of every white man in the kingdom. Then there were internal feuds between the natives and the Mohammedans, and between the Protestants and Roman Catholics; at one time Mwanga had to fly; then he returned; Uganda was like a volcano. The British government was appealed to by the missionaries for protection; naturally it was very unwilling to interfere where it had no proper jurisdiction; but the memory of Livingstone, the sacredness of the cause and the atrocious treatment of British subjects at last overcame its reluctance.

But here it is necessary to explain the relations in which Britain now stood to the region governed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and to the lakes in particular. There were old and intimate commercial relations between Britain and Zanzibar. The Sultan was very friendly, and had to a certain extent co-operated with Britain in the suppression of the slave trade. A distinguished and wealthy merchant, very friendly to Christian missions, and to the schemes of Livingstone, afterwards Sir William McKinnon, having, in 1877, as Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, connected Zanzibar with India and Europe by a regular line of mail steamers, was on very friendly terms with the Sultan, who offered to lease his territories to him—an offer which McKinnon could not accept without the aid of the British government, which was not to be obtained. About this

time, Germany was making most strenuous efforts to obtain control of the whole of that part of Africa, and though Britain might well claim prior rights from her connection with Zanzibar and the lakes, the indifference of the British government might have left Germany in possession of the whole field, but ultimately, in 1890, an agreement was come to, by which the lake region was included in the British sphere. About 1886, along with a few congenial friends, Sir William McKinnon formed a company, entitled the British East Africa Association, for the administration of the territories which Britain had obtained in that part of Africa. For this a royal charter was obtained in 1888, and the headquarters of the company were fixed at the port of Mombasa. Uganda was reached in 1890, and in accordance with the Anglo-German agreement of that year, the company's flag was displayed. But this was the time when the affairs of Uganda were in utter confusion (as we have seen) and its future was extremely uncertain.

Post tenebras lux. We can but glance at a most interesting chapter of the history. Captain Lugard was sent by the company with a small force to grapple with the Uganda disorders and endeavor to settle the affairs of the country. He accomplished his object with consummate skill and most remarkable success. The country was thoroughly pacified. But the resources of the company were now exhausted, and without aid from the British government they were helpless. In particular they were unable to construct a light railway of 500 miles between Uganda and Mombasa, which was deemed indispensable to the successful administration of the country. The government would do nothing, and the evacuation of Uganda seemed imminent. But by this time the missionaries were reaping a great harvest, public opinion was wonderfully roused, and the pressure on the government compelled them to yield. Sir Gerald Porter was sent out to report on the state of things. In June, 1894, it was announced in Parliament that the government had resolved to retain Uganda, and to administer it as a protectorate under a commissioner.

So much, then, for the modern partition of Africa. It may be asked, what right had these European powers to seize on the property of the native tribes, and bring them into a state of subjection? Was this an honest, a defensible transaction?

It was the opinion of Dr. Livingstone that mere occupation

did not constitute a valid title to a country, unless the people occupying it were really cultivating its soil and doing something to develop its resources. It can hardly be said that the nations of Africa were doing that. Moreover, the slave trade was rampant in many places and attended by unutterable horrors. And most of the chiefs exercised their authority with abominable tyranny and cruelty. Further, European occupation has been in almost all cases the result of treaties with native chiefs, although these chiefs may often have been ignorant of what the treaties really meant. Any transactions of this kind should be carried out with great forbearance and generous consideration of the reasonable claims and even prejudices of the natives. But here is where many have failed. Europeans, ignorant of the native character, and forgetful of their special circumstances and claims, have often carried things with a high hand, and treated the natives whose country they were occupying with harshness and cruelty. The natives have been goaded to rebellion, when tact and consideration would have made them friends. With honorable exceptions, Europeans have used the airs and arrogance of a superior race and treated the natives with supercilious contempt. How different from Livingstone and his three requisites for gaining influence with the natives—good principles, good manners, and good conduct!

On the other hand, we may reasonably expect that the European protectorates will issue in great good to the Dark Continent. Already we are able to point hopefully to first fruits. The slave trade was the great open sore of Africa, which caused the benediction of Livingstone to fall on "whosoever—American, English, or Turk—would help to heal it." And, thank God, the slave trade has been powerfully checked; although, owing to the vastness of the country, and the fewness and smallness of the European settlements, it has not yet been obliterated. We may reasonably cherish the hope that as time passes on it will be hemmed in within narrower and narrower limits, and at length disappear. No European state will be worthy of its position if it does not strive to its very utmost to put an end to this infamous evil.

Further, in the Lake region especially, we can point to many other excellent results of the protectorate. The country is now orderly and peaceable, its resources are being developed, and its

missionary operations have been attended with singular success. The lives of Bishop Hannington and Alexander Mackay show the early difficulties and tragic history of the operations of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda. Recent accounts tell of missionary triumph. From statements issued by that society it appears that in Uganda, at the end of 1896, there were 300 churches, 5,000 baptized adults, 15,000 in preparation, and 23,000 readers of "the first reading-book." Reading-books are in great demand, and it is reckoned that there are 100,000 who seem to be on the way to profess Christianity. Beyond Uganda openings for the Gospel are presenting themselves on every side. It was only in 1875 that Stanley first called for a mission in Uganda; so late as 1885 the mission seemed doomed to destruction when Bishop Hannington was murdered and the native converts tortured to death; now, even the resources of the Church Missionary Society are unable to keep pace with the marvellous expansion of the work and the crowds of converts and enquirers that are pouring in.

Livingstone's peculiar field, the neighborhood of Lake Nyassa, is now a separate protectorate, administered under the British government by a commissioner. During his six years of office Sir Harry Johnston has done his work admirably. The results of his administration are presented in his reports to the British government, and likewise in the book which has just been published, entitled *British Central Africa* (Methuen, 1897). Sir Harry has not only been of great service in difficult dealings with the Portuguese and the Germans, but he has thrown himself with the greatest ardor into his special work, and lost sight of no interest bearing on the prosperity of the country. Happily peace now reigns for the most part over Nyassaland, although there are some, and one tribe in particular, whose voice is still for war. But generally the natives are becoming more and more friendly to the British government, and more and more sensible of the benefits it brings. Some of the native tribes of Nyassaland are superior to the ordinary negro, show themselves quick and clever in some kinds of work, particularly telegraphy, and give promise of carrying out civilized ways of living with considerable success. And it is in the hands of the natives that the country must continue in the future. Livingstone's idea of white colonies cannot be carried into effect to any considerable extent, for though some

healthy men have, with great care, kept their health for years, and though the high portions of the country are fairly habitable by the white man, yet it is the low grounds that are most fertile, and one of the benefits of the freedom from fighting that is becoming prevalent is that the natives are leaving the barren heights to which they have been accustomed to resort for protection, and bringing the fertile lowlands into cultivation. Uganda seems to be more promising for colonization than Nyassaland.

The population of Nyassaland is estimated at about 800,000; the white population is 289. Of these 118 are Scotch, 109 English, 5 Irish, 21 South Africans, 13 Germans, and the rest of various nationalities. On the Lower Shiré and Zambesi there are nearly twenty steamers; on the Upper Shiré and Lake Nyassa there are three steamers and many boats. There are about twenty post-offices in the protectorate. The value of the year's trade from April 1, 1895, to March 30, 1896, was £102,428.

We have before us reports from all the chief missions in the protectorate, full of interest and encouragement. Want of space prevents us from adverting to these in detail; but we may briefly note the summary of their results as given by Sir Harry Johnston, the more especially because he has never been an indiscriminate admirer of mission work in its higher aspects.

Of the Universities Mission (the first in the country) he remarks that since its return to the mainland in 1882 it has been greatly tried by its having to deal with the Yao people, who have been exceedingly hostile to us, and from its having placed its headquarters on the island of Lacoma, intended to be a sort of modern Iona, but found to be very unhealthy. They have another station at Kolakola, and besides European agents, male and female, employ many native assistants, chiefly in their numerous schools. They also train natives as painters, carpenters, masons, etc., and several of these find employment at Zomba, where the headquarters of the protectorate administration are situated.

The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland came next in order. In 1875, it sent out Dr. Robert Laws, an admirable missionary, who is now next to the oldest pioneer in the country. Its educational, industrial, medical, and missionary work has been highly successful. It has done much service in translation. "It has prospered," says Sir Harry, "almost more

than any other mission in the country as regards development and the success of its teaching."

The Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland, in the Shiré Highlands, was begun in 1876. It owns a handsome church, built wholly by natives. It, too, has been very helpful in translation. It is strong in educational and industrial work, and prints two English monthly magazines and one native paper.

There are some smaller missions at work in Nyassaland on similar lines and with encouraging results. Lake Tanganyika was occupied in 1877 by the London Missionary Society. The early history of that mission was one of grievous calamity, through ill health, death, fires, and accidents. The mission here too has taken root, and is bearing fruit that amply encourages the workers, and shows that its many pioneer sacrifices have not been in vain. "On the whole," says Sir Harry, "I can say of all mission-work in British Central Africa that it has only to tell the plain truth, and nothing but the truth, to secure sympathy and support."

It is not merely the fact that civilization and Christianity have been firmly established in the Lake region that calls for congratulation, but that the capacity of the African to receive these influences and benefit by them has been amply proved. If only the European powers, and those somewhat suspicious bodies which we call "Chartered Companies," would realize their responsibilities, and devote their energies not to the mere accumulation of wealth, but to the moral and intellectual elevation of the natives, we might cherish a lively hope of bright days for Africa.

"Find Livingstone," was not spoken by the editor of *The New York Herald* in vain. Stanley, converted into an explorer, gave an impetus to Livingstone's projects that has carried them to completion; and the visions that filled his imagination when he discovered Lake Nyassa, once so cruelly frustrated, now bid fair to be realized.

W. Garden Blaikie.

THE INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE IN INTERNATIONAL ATHLETICS.

BY HAMBLEN SEARS.

THE history of athletic meetings between Englishmen and Americans leaves it doubtful whether the results of these contests can be regarded as tests of the relative physical prowess of American and English athletes. Other factors have to be reckoned with, and this fact has been so obvious that the question has arisen: Is it possible for American athletes competing in England or for British athletes competing in the United States to equal, respectively, their own best work at home? To this question no satisfactory answer has yet been given; but it may not be uninteresting to consider it in the light of facts drawn from the international sports of recent years.

A close examination of the few international boat races seems to show that, while we have lost all but one, the loss has been largely attributable in each case to climatic influences. The Harvard four-oared crew which went to England in 1869 and rowed Oxford on the Thames from Putney to Mortlake, a distance of four miles and two furlongs, was probably the best amateur four-oared crew that had been known in this country up to that time. When this crew left the United States, another four-oar was organized at Cambridge for the annual meeting with Yale. The men on this crew were not in the same class with those who went abroad. In fact, considerable difficulty was encountered in getting four men together who could meet Yale on anything like equal terms. A few weeks before the race took place in England, word was received that bow and stroke of the Harvard crew had suddenly collapsed; though the men, when they arrived on the Thames, had been in the best of condition. The collapsed bow and stroke gave place to two of the men from

the "second" Harvard boat, who at once proceeded to England. There were but few days in which the new crew could be trained, and hence the new men were obliged to go into the race practically before they had become settled in their boat. At the end of the race, which was lost to Oxford by six seconds, the two who had but just arrived were able to pull the distance through, while the two remaining oarsmen of the original crew collapsed at the finish. Here was the case of a good crew giving out in part after a few weeks' sojourn in the Thames valley, and the other two collapsing at the end of the race; while the two supposedly inferior men, newly arrived from the steamer, had strength still left within them when the fight was done.

Nine years later, in 1878, Columbia sent a four-oared crew to Henley for the mile and a furlong race. The boat was entered for the Stewards' Challenge Cup, and lost in the first heat to a crew that was defeated in the final heat. Later, Columbia won the Visitors' Challenge Cup, the competition for which was not so strong as for those in the more important contests.

In 1881 again Cornell sent a four-oared crew to Henley—a crew that had just won from all-comers at the American Intercollegiate Regatta on Lake George. They trained some time on the Thames and lost in an early heat. Other American crews, made up from rowing clubs, have entered the Henley races, but they have never succeeded in winning final heats.

The experiences of the Cornell and Yale crews in 1895 and 1896, respectively, are familiar matters, and they throw much interesting light on the question of training in foreign climes. The more these experiences are studied, the more evident it becomes that the differences of stroke have had less to do with victory or defeat in the international races on record than has the training of the men as influenced by the climatic conditions of the Thames Valley. Cornell, just before leaving for England in 1895 had a time row, and did the one mile and a furlong in a little under seven minutes. They then crossed the ocean and arrived in capital condition. Practice was begun at once on the Thames at Henley, and shortly after they were settled in their new quarters they did the distance on the course itself in something a little over seven minutes. Not many days later, they did the course in seven minutes and five seconds, when several Englishmen took the time. The day of the race with Trinity,

after the Leander walkover, they were beaten by the comparatively slow time of seven minutes and fourteen seconds. And the significant feature of the race, from our point of view, is that they were not only beaten, but that the crew collapsed about three hundred yards before reaching the finish. Here was a set of healthy men who rowed in their own country under seven minutes, and who gradually fell off in the strange country first to a little over seven minutes, then to seven minutes and five seconds, and who finally died a sixth of a mile before they reached the finish, trying to catch a crew which they had led for the first half of the race and which did the course in seven minutes and fourteen seconds.

Many reasons were given at the time for this defeat, the principal ones being that a forty-four stroke to the minute was not equal to a thirty-four, that the excitement of being in a strange land destroyed the nerve of the men, and finally that the rigging of the boat was not equal to Trinity's. But, looking at the matter in the light of history, and comparing this Cornell race with what followed as well as with what preceded it, the condition of the men at the time of the race appears to have been a controlling factor in the result.

The case of Yale in 1896 is precisely similar in its general features. Yale did better time on the course when her men first arrived than she did in the race. Leander finished in seven minutes and fourteen seconds, the same time as that made by Trinity the year before. But, though Yale came over the line less than two lengths behind, the Americans were completely exhausted, the Englishmen being still remarkably strong. The stroke cannot be given as a reason for this defeat, as Mr. Cook had a thirty-four to thirty-six stroke in his boat with long swing and narrow blades by the time the race came off. The definite point is that Yale, like Cornell and Harvard, did not, during the race, equal her best time done on the Thames that season, and that in all three cases the longer the men remained in the country the poorer was their time.

There is but one instance of an English crew's experiences in the United States. This was during the International Rowing Regatta held at Philadelphia during the Centennial Exposition of 1876. The Leander Boat Club and the London Rowing Club each sent a four-oared crew to enter these races, and the history

of the contests has little in it to prove or disprove the statement that crews in strange waters are handicapped by conditions. A four-oared crew which was stroked by Mr. Cook, the present Yale coach, was defeated by the London Rowing Club by a small margin, and the Leander boat steered such a wild course that they not only lost, but were completely out of the race.

During Henley week the races open to the world include those for the Grand Challenge Cup, eight oars; the Stewards' Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Visitors' Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Thames Challenge Cup, eight-oars; the Wyford Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Silver Goblets, pair-oars, and the Diamond Sculls for singles. Naturally, by far the greater number of entries for each of these events have been English; but during recent years a number of Canadian, American, Dutch, and other boats have been entered, and each season there are some foreign crews competing for most of the cups. In considering the following table, while the result rather overstates the case, there is nevertheless much to be learned from the fact that Englishmen win by far the greater number of events.

ANNUAL RACES.	ESTABLISHED.	NATIONALITY OF WINNERS.
Grand Challenge Cup, eight-oar.....	1839	English every year.
Stewards' Challenge Cup, four-oar..	1842	" " "
Visitors' Challenge Cup, four-oar....	1847	" " " except Columbia, 1878.
Thames Challenge Cup, eight-oar....	1868	English every year.
Wyford Challenge Cup, four-oar.....	1855	" " "
Silver Goblets, pair-oar.....	1845	" " "
Diamond Sculls, single.....	1844	" " " except Ten Eyck, of Worcester, Mass., in 1897.

In the Diamond Sculls, where most of the foreign entries have been made, no American has ever won until this year, and this summer the final heat was between two Americans. The important fact is that Ten Eyck completely outclassed all the Englishmen.

Look at the two systems of training and then consider the climate along the Thames and along Long Island Sound. The American system of training, which is very generally in vogue among all the colleges in the northeastern portion of the United States, is to row all through the winter indoors in tanks, to run after practice, and end up the day's labor by going through a drill with pulley weights. In the early spring, as soon as the rivers are open, the men get into their boats and row in the after-

noon six days in the week, practising in pair oars in the morning. Towards the early days of June the crews go to New London or Poughkeepsie and do nothing but row for three weeks. The eight go out in the morning and in the afternoon, pair oared work being slipped in between times. This continues without respite, except on Sundays, till two or three days before the race. The food during this time is hearty; and variety, within certain limits, is allowed. Drinking is confined to water in small quantities and to milk, with an occasional bottle of ale for dinner.

In England the coaching for crews is so different that little or no comparison is possible. The 'Varsity crews of Oxford and Cambridge are not chosen until after the college boat races in December. Then the 'Varsity boats are made up from the best men in the college eights, and they are trained six weeks at Henley. There is little or no competition for places in the boat, and each man comes to his place an already accomplished oarsman, well taught in the one stroke used in England. He has nothing new to learn. He needs merely to get in with the other seven. With us many a man rows for the first time when he sits in a 'Varsity boat, and he must, therefore, be actually taught to row. Others come from class crews, and they perhaps have to unlearn the stroke in order to pick up the new one taught by the 'Varsity coach. The element of instruction is, therefore, present in our boats, as well as that of team work; whereas in England the time is devoted solely to perfecting an already well-known stroke. The Henley crews are made up after the 'Varsity races, and the training is confined to a few short weeks on the course. Their climate is such that they can row out-of-doors all the year round if they choose to, and hence gymnasiums are practically unknown in England. The business of "getting into condition" is not a feature of their work. They row continually, and the training is merely the work of a coach in making eight of them row together. From time to time, during the weeks when the crew are training at Henley, they are taken away from the Thames, and sent on a trip to Brighton, on the English Channel, where Saturday and Sunday are spent away from rowing, and in a different atmosphere. Our crews, however, are accustomed when they are on the British Thames to keep up their hard work morning and afternoon, rowing six days in the week; and each time they have lost their sprint quality before the day of the intended race. Yale, in

1896, was unable in the last half of the race to get the stroke up above thirty-four, while Trinity reached thirty-eight. The energy of the men was gone after three-quarters of a mile. They might have kept to the thirty-four stroke for four miles, but they had neither the snap nor the strength to meet Langford's endeavor to keep the speed of the stroke up to the spurting point for one mile and a furlong.

This would go to suggest that the hard training of American athletes is too much for the low malarial valley of the Thames ; or, to put it otherwise, that the damp, enervating climate of England does not require and cannot stand such severe training as does and can the more vigorous atmosphere of New England.

A most interesting and instructive bit of additional evidence in this matter has just been given in the Poughkeepsie races which took place at the end of June and in early July. Harvard, coached by Mr. R. C. Lehman, perhaps the best rowing teacher in the world, not only lost the race, but the stroke oar collapsed just before the race ended, and the forward men in the boat were as near to a state of collapse as they could well be. The style of stroke could scarcely be to blame for this, as Yale rowed practically the same, and though all the discussions as to the weakening effect of long body swings may have some sound basis of reasoning, they cannot explain this difference between Yale and Harvard on this occasion. Consider rather the situation as it was, remembering at the same time that a man who is overtrained will show the same state of mind and body as one who is not trained at all. Mr. Lehman is accustomed to the Thames Valley, a much more enervating climate than ours. He trained the men for this. He gave them Saturday and Sunday off, in much the same way as he does to his crews in England. He let them have claret and gave them occasional dinners with wine, just as he has done for years with his crews when they ran down to Brighton for their rest. Then the Harvard men had a rest of a week or ten days before the race. The result was that, after taking the lead at the start, they collapsed before the finish, precisely after the manner of Cornell and Yale in the preceding years on the Thames. These crews, coached according to American methods, were overtrained in England, and the Harvard crew, coached by English methods, was actually undertrained in the United States. And though the Leander crew of 1896 and

the Cornell crew of 1897 were both remarkably fast crews, the state of collapse to which their opponents were reduced at the close of both races was caused by condition and not by stroke.

To a sufficiently marked extent the same is true of other sports in the athletic class, the results being distinctly traceable in each case to condition, and not always to style and physique. The London Athletic Club track team which came to America two years ago not only had to run on the hottest fifth of September which either we or they had ever known, and which naturally affected them more than it did our men, but Mr. Horan, Mr. Jordan, and others of the team found that with their methods of training they could not get into trim or keep there in this climate. Their diet was less restricted than that of their American rivals. Their exercise was light compared with that of our men. They did not run as often in the week, nor train as severely during the time they were running. Some of them gave as a reason for this that they could not stand the hot weather, and no doubt the heat had much to do with their taking less exercise; but the New York Athletic Club men and those who represented Yale maintained during all this time their regular training, which involved exercise, food, and hours that would have completely prostrated the Englishmen. Some of the latter felt just before the meets that they were not at all up to their usual mark; yet during the races the long-distance men fairly equalled their records, and it was only in the sprinting events that they fell short. Their capacity for nervous, sudden, short work had to a certain extent gone. This again was attributed to the heat; but the heat, if that alone had affected them, must necessarily have shown its results in the long distances as well as in the short ones.

In like manner, when the Yale track team went to England to meet Oxford in July, 1894, they came upon certain conditions in athletics that were new to them. These might in themselves be sufficient to defeat one team by causing it to lose two or three points. But comparing this meet with that of the Cambridge-Yale team here, and both with the London Athletic Club, the differences in customs and rules do not fit all three cases. On the other hand, here are the facts of the three meets. The Yale men in England, with records in the 100-yards of 10⅕ seconds, were beaten by Fry and Jordan in 10⅖ seconds, and that was as

good as Jordan had ever done before. Cady, the Yale hurdler, was beaten in 16⅘ seconds, and fell while trying to keep up with Oakley, of Oxford, though he had a record in America of 16 seconds flat, and Oakley had never beaten 16⅘. Sanford, holding the half-mile record of 50⅘, was beaten by Jordan in 51 seconds. In the hammer throwing, broad jumping, and weight putting events, however, the case was quite different. Sheldon won the broad jump in 22 feet 11 inches, which was nearly up to his regular standard, while Hickok put the shot 41 feet 4¼ inches, and threw the hammer 110 feet 5 inches, both of which were good exhibitions of what might be expected of him, and both of which won. The Englishmen here in the United States in the following year failed to equal their sprints, with the exception of Bradley, while in the long distances Jordan did very nearly as well as he had ever done, and Robertson came up to his regular distances with the hammer and shot.

What is the reason for this? It appears to be that the snap which wins races is taken out of Englishmen competing in America and Americans competing in England; that those events which depend most on the nerves and exact conditions of mind and body are most affected, and disastrously so, by the altered conditions which the contestants meet in foreign countries. It was said by high authorities in such matters at the time of the Yale-Oxford meet that the Yale men were over-trained, that the result of the games showed that our system of training was too severe, and that we should study the English systems and benefit thereby. No doubt the Yale men were over-trained for that meet in England, but the critics missed an important point in their discussions. For, though the Americans had been trained too severely for England, they were not over-trained the next year in America for a similar meet, though the same man trained them in both years in precisely the same way, according to the same systems, for the same events; and they won in this country and lost in England against practically the same men. In other words, the system of training which is required by the American climate to bring a man to a fit condition is too severe to bring him to the same condition in the English climate.

It appears, therefore, that if Americans are to run or row with Englishmen in England they must do it within ten days after their arrival there; that is to say, before the condition of the

men has become affected by the climate and after they have sufficiently recovered from sea-sickness and the cramping influences of shipboard. Even then the trip over the sea must always be a handicap; and hence an international event of this nature can scarcely be a fair test of relative strength.

What is shown in relation to this when other sports are considered, which are not so sensitive to variation in the regularity of training? What have we done in tennis, golf, cricket, racquets, and baseball? There have been but few meetings between Englishmen and Americans in these sports; but such as have occurred go far to witness that in such sports the representatives of the two nations are on evener terms in either country provided they start comparatively even in ability. Englishmen, of course, play cricket better than we do. They are brought up on it and should defeat us in the majority of cases, as we can defeat them in baseball. Still, the capacity of the American for playing any game is well illustrated by the work which the Gentlemen of Philadelphia have done in England this summer. They have shown surprising and unexpected ability in their encounters with the best teams in England. Speaking generally, however, cricket requires no training, that is, no such variation from ordinary diet, or hours of sleep and exercise, as the hundred-yard dash, for example, requires; and the players are less susceptible, therefore, to changes in climatic conditions. That this is the case seems to be indicated by the work of the Philadelphia team, as well as by that of the British teams which have from time to time visited this country. The same can be said in a general way of tennis and racquets. As a rule the Englishmen can defeat us here and in England in both these sports, because we have not gone in for these two athletic games as they have. Nevertheless our representatives when in England have as a rule made quite as creditable a showing as they were expected to do, judging from their work here.

The influences of climate on physical condition in rowing and track athletics correspond to the influences of water, winds, and courses on models and sailing tactics in yacht racing. We have not succeeded since the days of the "America" in defeating English boats in English waters, and English boats have been invariably beaten here. The choppy seas of the Channel and the complications in the semi-inside courses are all unknown to us on this side

of the Atlantic. Besides this, the necessity for constructing a craft that can cross the Atlantic is as much of a handicap to the visiting boat as is the sea voyage to the athletic man. Yacht models are practically alike to-day so far as general lines go, but the man who is sailing in his own waters has an infinite advantage, and for an Englishman to win outside Sandy Hook or an American in the Solent means that the boat in each case must practically outclass the other, which was, in fact, the case with the "America."

Here appears to be a fact established, therefore, that in certain athletic sports the American competes in England under practically fatal disadvantages, as does the Englishman in America. It seems probable that for many years to come these particular sports cannot be conducted in international meetings on terms which are even for both sides; and it may be that if we are ever to secure absolutely even conditions between the teams engaging in international events the teams will have to be trained in the country where they are to compete; which means that the men composing them must practically become for the time inhabitants of the country they would otherwise merely visit.

This seems like a pessimistic view of international athletics. While, however, the hope of winning victory is one of the factors which keeps sport alive, it is not the only reason for athletic games. One of the two contestants in any competition must lose; and defeat, though a disappointment, is never a disgrace, provided the loser has done his best in preparation and during the contest. In spite of the fact, therefore, that we are likely to lose in England, and that Englishmen are reasonably certain to be defeated in this country, so much may be learned of each nation by the other through international competitions, as well as of sport by both, and so much may be acquired by Americans of their cousins' larger experience in athletics, that we at least should encourage these athletic meetings on either or both sides, of the Atlantic. We may not win half the victories in England but we shall learn much of sport and do a great deal for outdoor life in our own country, as indeed we have done through the meetings that have already occurred.

HAMBLEN SEARS.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CITY.

BY THE REV. JOSIAH STRONG, D. D.

LEGISLATIVE enactment creates a "Greater New York." It has also been decreed by the laws of our social life that there are to be a greater Boston and Philadelphia, a greater Chicago and San Francisco. The city is to contain an ever-increasing proportion of the population and to constitute a factor of ever-increasing importance in the national life.

The accelerated rate of growth of the city in modern times is illustrated by New York. Settled in 1614, it took the city 175 years to gain the first 33,000 inhabitants. During the next 50 years it gained 280,000. During the next 30 years it gained 630,000; and during the next 21 years, which ended in 1890, it gained 859,000. In the last short period the gain was twenty-six times as great as during the first long period, and the rate of gain was 208 times greater. The census of 1890 showed that this metropolitan city contained a larger population than any one of twenty-eight great states of the Union.

In 1790 only three per cent. of our population was urban; in 1890, twenty-nine per cent. The number of the cities in the United States a hundred years ago was six; in 1880 there were 286; ten years later there were 443.

For a time it was supposed that this wonderful growth of cities in the New World was due to the exceptional conditions of a new civilization. But though London's history runs back many hundreds of years, four-fifths of her growth have been made during this century. It is found that in Europe, in Asia, and even in Africa, wherever the breath of nineteenth century civilization has been felt, it has breathed new life into cities.

This sudden concentration of population is often spoken of

as a congestion, and is believed by many to be abnormal and temporary. It has brought perplexing problems, as yet unsolved, which some have imagined would find their solution in a reaction of population toward the country. But no warrant for such an expectation is to be found in the causes of the city's recent growth. This movement of population from country to city, which is one of the most significant phenomena of modern times, is due primarily to three causes: (1.) The application of machinery to agriculture, which enables four men to do the work formerly done by fourteen; (2.) the rise of manufactures in the cities, which attracts the men released from the farms, and (3.) the railway, which not only makes the transfer of population easy, but, which is more important, makes it possible to feed a massed population, no matter how vast.

There is a gregarious instinct in men, which has always made the city as large as it could well be; and these three causes have liberated and emphasized this instinct during this century. As this instinct and these causes are all permanent, it is obvious that this tendency will prove permanent.

Some have imagined that the pressure upon the city might be relieved and the miseries of the slum modified by removing families to unoccupied lands and teaching them to engage in agriculture, and steps have been taken in this direction. But those who expect to solve or even to simplify the problem by this method fail to appreciate the profound change which has come over the world's industry during this century, by which it has ceased to be individual and has become organized; a change which is destined to exert more influence on material conditions and on the social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual life of man than did the discovery of America, the invention of gunpowder or the art of printing. Doubtless this transition is the most important material change which has ever taken place in the history of the race. It has separated as by an impassable gulf the simple, homespun, individualistic life of the world's past from the complex, closely associated life of the present and of the world's future.

In the age of homespun, which, for most of our population, reached well on toward the middle of this century, the typical farmer could not only till his own soil, but build his own house, make his own furniture, and many of his own tools. His wife

could take the wool as it came from the sheep's back, dye, cord, spin and weave it, and then make it into a coat for her husband. That is, they could together do in a rough way work which now represents ten or a dozen trades. Their wants were simple, and most of them they could supply with their own hands. Such a couple could have raised a family in comparative comfort, if they had been alone on the continent. They were practically independent of the whole world.

The organization of industry has changed all this. In it was involved the division of labor. The work of one trade was divided between a dozen or twenty machines, each fed by a different man and each dependent on all the others. Moreover, great branches of industry have become linked together in a kind of endless chain of interdependence, so that one link cannot move far unless the other links move with it.

There has resulted a manifold multiplication of the products of labor, which has powerfully stimulated wants and greatly elevated the standard of living ; and, further, we have become dependent on well nigh all the world.

Poets have sung the independence of the farmer, but that independence forever ceased with the transition from the age of homespun to that of the division and organization of labor ; and this fact has a most significant bearing on the future growth of cities. When the farmer could directly provide for himself the necessities of life and patronized the tradesmen for little more than its luxuries, the number of farmers might have been indefinitely multiplied so long as unoccupied land remained; and if we could reverse the motion of the earth and roll it back into the age of homespun, we might relieve the pressure upon the city by planting families on unoccupied land ; but with the division of labor this became impossible. The farmer can now do but one thing, and that is to farm. He can supply the many wants of his family only by turning his produce into money, which means that he must farm for the market. This fact makes him dependent on the demand and supply of the world. Now it should be observed that the world's demand for food must necessarily be limited and that the food supply to-day is equal to the demands of the civilized world to-day. It is true there is want even to starvation, but that is due to the lack of distribution, not to any lack of production. There are already more persons engaged in

farming than are needed, with the improved agricultural implements of recent years, to supply the world's demands for food, and that accounts for the general depression of agriculture in Europe and America during recent years.

If we could transfer 100,000 families from our crowded cities to unoccupied land, and so train them as to make them successful farmers, the world would not consume any more food to accommodate them. They could succeed only by getting the market, and they could get the market only by driving 100,000 other farmers out of it, which would mean driving them off the farm and into the city.

Again, efforts are being made to relieve agriculture by improving its methods. It is said, "If men farm with their brains, they will make money, and then they will remain on the farm." By all means let us make farming intelligent. Indeed, if we do not, we shall lose much of our hold on the European market. We have been able to command that market by reason of our cheap virgin soil, notwithstanding our wasteful methods. But American competion, after first causing great depression, has at length created a remarkable agricultural revival in Europe. Governments have afforded powerful aid through the Departments or Ministries of Agriculture. Subsidies have been granted, prizes offered, agricultural academies and colleges founded, and free lecture courses established. By every means the people are being instructed and encouraged; and their new activity is manifested in the co-operative agricultural societies which are rapidly multiplying on the Continent. Some 6,500 such societies have been formed in France and 7,200 in Prussia. It is said that in Denmark there is now a co-operative dairy in every parish.

Our American agriculture must certainly be more intelligent if it is to retain its markets, but the attempt to stop the exodus from the country by better farming will prove worse than futile. Intelligent farming succeeds because a given amount of effort when intelligently directed produces greater results. Inasmuch, then, as the amount of food which the world can consume is limited, the more intelligent the farming is the smaller will be the number of farmers required to produce the needed supply; so that the more intelligent farming becomes the larger will be the number of farmers driven from country to city.

Of course population will increase; but increased production

by reason of improved methods is likely to keep pace with it for many years to come. Good judges tell us that our present agricultural product could be doubled without any increase of acreage under cultivation, simply by reasonably good methods.

It has been pointed out that the world's demand for food is necessarily limited. This fact places a natural limit to the number of men who can successfully devote themselves to producing the food supply; but there is no such natural and necessary limit to the world's consumption in other directions. In palaces and gardens, in furniture and equipages, in dress and ornaments, in paintings and statuary, the purse sets the only limit of expenditure. If the world were a thousand times as rich as it is, it could spend a thousand times as much as it does on such objects; it could consume but little more food.

This harmonizes perfectly with what is known as Engel's economic law. Dr. Engel, formerly head of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, tells us that the percentage of outlay for subsistence grows smaller as the income grows larger; that the percentage of outlay for rent, fuel, light, and clothing remains the same, or approximately the same, whatever the income; and that the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater as income increases.

From all this it follows that, as population and wealth increase, an ever-enlarging proportion of men must get their living by means of the mechanical and the fine arts; or, in other words, an ever-increasing proportion of population must live in cities.

Our free institutions are based on two fundamental principles, viz.: local self-government and federation. These are alike necessary; the former to the exercise of our liberties, the latter to their preservation. The principle of federation was imperilled a generation ago, and the nation poured out blood and treasure to save it. To-day, South and North alike agree that this principle is to stand in its integrity.

But while patriotism was at the front defending the Union, the other fundamental principle was being quietly subverted at home. Selfish men gained control of municipal governments for personal ends. Conditions made it easy for the political boss to compact his power and to perfect his machine. The inevitable result was the development of bottomless corruption and un-

blushing outrage upon the rights and liberties of the people; and, as a rule, the larger the city the more completely did it become boss-ridden.

Professor Bryce declares that the one conspicuous failure of American institutions is the government of our great cities, which every intelligent man knows to be true. The State limits the liberties of its cities. It does not dare to trust them with full autonomy. Thus one of our two fundamental principles, that of local self-government, is in question; and in our great cities it has failed. This makes painfully significant and ominous the rapid and inevitable growth of our cities.

We have for years relied upon the country vote to hold the cities in check, but the time is soon coming when the cities will take matters into their own hands. If the rate of growth from 1880 to 1890 continues, in 1920 the cities of the United States will contain 10,000,000 more than one-half of the population. The city will then control State and nation. What if the city is then incapable of self-government?

The greater part of our population must live in cities—cities much greater than the world has yet seen—cities which by their preponderance of numbers and of wealth must inevitably control civilization and destiny; and we must learn—though we have not yet learned—to live in cities with safety to our health, our morals, and our liberties.

When great populations are massed together there are multiplied relations whose harmony must be preserved. A mistake is farther reaching; it has a longer leverage. If, therefore, the people are to govern, they must be made better acquainted with the principles of government as population and municipal problems increase. And a higher morality is even more essential. As civilization becomes more complex, the division of labor becomes more minute, and the individual becomes more fractional and dependent. Under such conditions it is increasingly important that men should be dependable. More complicated relations require a more delicate conscience and a stronger sense of justice, for under them any failure in character or conduct is farther reaching and more disastrous in its results.

The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the

young. Evidently our public schools must give to the children and youth of to-day such instruction in the duties and principles of good citizenship as earlier generations did not have. Literature dealing with American citizenship, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course.

We dare not rely on campaigns of enthusiasm ; it is still true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. If tidal waves come, they also go. If our liberties are to be secure, patriotism must be, not a mere impulse, but a fixed principle, rooted in the heart, informing the mind and inspiring the life.

JOSIAH STRONG.

FARMERS' INSTITUTES AND THEIR WORK.

BY FREDERIC W. TAYLOR, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS' INSTITUTE MANAGERS.

WITHIN recent years the idea has gone abroad that education may be taken to a larger constituency than it is possible to reach by the schools of higher grade through the ordinary channels. This idea has received the name "University Extension," and in one form or another the work has been attempted along various lines with varying results.

The University Extension idea contemplates the facilitating the study by the people of certain higher branches by means of lectures, which are usually given by university professors in the same way as are their class-room lectures. Meetings of the local centres, as they are sometimes called, are held as frequently as possible, perhaps weekly, and a regular amount of home preparation is expected of those in attendance. In many cases this work has been very successful, making possible the acquirement of systematic training by those who might otherwise never have been able to make any addition to the, perhaps slight, education which they acquired in the public schools.

But there has been developed, more or less directly from University Extension, a work among farmers and others engaged in rural occupations which has outstripped, in far-reaching effects and in point of numbers touched, all the other forms of extension work. This has taken to itself the name of "Farmers' Institutes," and has made itself felt all over the United States, as well as in the provinces of British North America. Nearly every State in the Union now has some sort of an arrangement under which Farmers' Institutes are held, and in such States as have no specific appropriation for this work, there are movements on foot to bring about the granting of funds for it. At least thirteen States

now make legislative appropriations for Farmers' Institutes, and in as many more there is regularly organized work done, in some cases by the State University, in others by the United States Experiment Station, established in each State under the Hatch act, while in still other States the initiative has been taken by the Land Grant Agricultural College of the State. During the winter of 1896–7 several States held more than a hundred Institutes each and more than a dozen States held above fifty each.

A study of the manner of growth in a single State may serve to indicate pretty clearly what has been the experience in almost every State in which the Institutes have gained a strong foothold.

Some of the progressive farmers in certain communities gathered together a number of their neighbors, about a dozen years ago, with the thought that an interchange of ideas might be beneficial, and that if some of those who had been successful in certain lines, as in stock growing, for instance, could be persuaded to describe their methods, their brethren might adopt such as seemed fitted to their special needs, thus making possible more satisfactory results in that particular branch of agriculture. After a few such gatherings, speakers of training and reputation were sought for, who could command the confidence of their hearers and attract to the meetings the most intelligent and successful farmers. It seemed natural to turn to the State University for trained men to fill this place on the programme.

Soon, however, the calls became so frequent that a loss of time and money resulted from the fact that the points asking assistance were located in widely separated and distant parts of the State. Then arose the necessity of entrusting the arrangements for sending out speakers to one person, who should make the appointments in series, so that a speaker going to a distant part of the State might reach several points in the course of one trip. There was developed a bureau for conducting the work of the Institutes, to which was referred all correspondence on that subject. The university, soon finding itself unable to supply all the speakers required, would call on the various State societies to supply speakers on subjects coming within the scope of their work.

This is the actual record of the growth of Institute work in one State, and it is only a type of what has been going on in nearly all the States.

After the various organizations and societies in a State for

promoting the spread of education through this means have united their forces, it has usually been only a short time until the expansion has been so great as to make it necessary to ask the Legislature for a direct appropriation for the Farmers' Institutes, and then the work may be said to be really established. As a rule, the results actually accomplished require only to be brought clearly before the lawmakers to secure the needed funds.

One of the first States to get on to such a financial basis as made the doing of good work possible was Wisconsin, and that State may be taken as a type of one form of Institute management. There the money appropriated by the State is put into the hands of the State University, and is expended under the direction of that institution.

A superintendent is employed, who conducts all the correspondence, appoints dates, employs speakers, and in general exercises supervision. Localities desiring meetings must make their arrangements with him, agreeing to supply a hall for the gatherings and to attend to advertising. A conductor is assigned to each meeting, who takes entire charge, seeing that the programme is presented as advertised and that interest in the proceedings is kept up. Three or four speakers are usually sent to each Institute, local talent being called upon to complete the programme. Full discussion is not only permitted, but encouraged, the questions and their answers often consuming half the time, or even more.

Practical demonstrations are given of improved methods wherever it is possible. For instance, a machine for showing the butter content of milk is used in the presence of the audience, and its value explained and demonstrated by means of samples of milk brought in, upon request, by farmers of the vicinity. The necessity of knowing exactly what is the value of each individual in the dairy herd is thus clearly shown. Charts are exhibited and used as the basis of talks showing the correct types of the different breeds of animals. Under this system a number of Institutes are kept going in various parts of the State during the greater part of the winter season.

In Minnesota a different method prevails. The Institutes are, practically, schools, the superintendent and his corps of assistants going in one body, and remaining at each Institute during the entire session. Under this arrangement a smaller number of

Institutes can be held with a given amount of assistance, but the work is undoubtedly more thorough.

The work in all the States may be said to be based on one or the other of these two plans, or on some modification of them.

If the sessions described, usually of two or three days' duration, represented all of the Institute work, there might be good ground for the criticism that the service is insufficient, in that in so short a time little of lasting benefit could be accomplished. But the result of a start in Institute work at any point is almost invariably the organization of a local body for holding more or less frequent meetings for regular discussions. Thus there is a constant exchange of ideas going on between the most progressive persons engaged in agricultural and horticultural pursuits.

A single illustration may indicate the good that may come from such meetings as this movement brings about.

In a certain county in one of the Western States there had been long search after some forage plant which should prove thoroughly adapted to the needs of the locality. The country was new, and the grasses which were common in other parts of the State did not seem to succeed there, while the fencing in of the wild pasturage caused the indigenous grasses to disappear rapidly. Some of the most progressive farmers organized an Institute, and knowing of a man who had been successful in the growth of a certain species which was not generally supposed to be adapted to the conditions prevailing there, asked him to tell how he had succeeded in getting it to grow and flourish. The man was a German, writing and speaking English indifferently, but he finally consented to do his best to explain his methods, some of which were unusual, the result of his own experience and painstaking investigation. Much interest was manifested in the subject, and a perfect volley of questions asked and answered, relating to every detail as to the preparation of the soil, sowing of the seed, care of the crop for the first and subsequent years, and other similar practical matters. A year later, at the next annual meeting of the Institute careful inquiry brought out the fact that at least a thousand acres of this particular forage plant had been sown, with almost uniform success, as a result of the information gained from this single discussion.

When the desirability of enlarging the work has become apparent, no force has been so ready to co-operate in doing so as

the railroads, which have, in most States, supplied transportation for speakers.

There is no occupation in which sharp competition and improved methods have made it so necessary to keep abreast or even ahead of the times as farming. When it is discovered that certain sections are specially adapted to dairying, grazing, the growth of certain grain or fruit crops, or any other specialty, the sooner accurate and improved practical methods are introduced the sooner will wealth flow toward that community. The present condition of the dairy interest in the State of Wisconsin may be pointed out as well illustrating this proposition. No State in the Union to-day has a higher standing as to the product of its dairies. As regards the volume of the industry, it is only necessary to state that a single county has nearly two hundred creameries in successful operation, the important fact, as regards the subject of this paper, being that no small amount of the credit for the condition mentioned is frankly admitted by those most able to judge to be due to the educational work of the Farmers' Institutes.

In disseminating accurate information regarding the growth of the sugar beet, as in many other directions, there is work enough to keep a corps of speakers actively engaged in every State in the Union which is at all adapted to that or any other of the industries that are to take place among the practical and wealth-making efforts of agriculture. And besides the new industries to be introduced, there are always the improved methods with which the successful farmer must constantly familiarize himself.

The largest amount given by any one State for Farmers' Institutes is appropriated by Wisconsin, the sum being fifteen thousand dollars. Other States give liberally, notably Minnesota, New York, and Ohio, while various sums are given by Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, New Jersey, and a few others. More or less organized work has also been done in Missouri, Arizona, California, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Florida, and, indeed, could the facts all be got together, in almost every State in the Union. The provinces of Ontario and Manitoba have done some of the best work on the continent, both in volume and in quality.

In a number of the States the funds are not appropriated in a

lump sum, but each county may, by vote, levy a tax for the purpose of raising a sufficient sum to carry on one or more Institutes, a portion of the amount going toward the payment of the local expenses, and the rest going to the central organization, sometimes under the control of the State Board of Agriculture, for the payment of the speakers and other necessary expenses connected with the general work of the State.

So far as known the Farmers' Institutes have been kept, in every State, entirely out of politics. One of the fundamental principles always insisted upon is that no question of religion or politics must be permitted to be discussed on any consideration.

In Europe something is done along the same lines by means of lectures delivered by men sent out by the governments.

It was particularly interesting to the writer to learn, last summer, that in Russia, through some of the Imperial societies, considerable progress has been made in the way of bringing this sort of instruction directly to the people. In St. Petersburg is maintained a great agricultural museum, in which lectures are given during the winter season; and at other times regular courses of lectures, on the various economic subjects relating to the farm, are given on the estates, in order that the working people themselves may be reached and taught.

His Excellency N. A. Hamakoff, Director of the Department of Agriculture in Russia, expressed himself as particularly interested in that line of work, and the interest in the dissemination of such knowledge in other European countries is well known by those who have made any study of the question. Count Leo Tolstoi, in the course of a conversation on the economic questions of the day as related to rural life, showed the deepest interest in this particular method of spreading knowledge among the masses, and said that he thought it an eminently practical way of giving such training as is sorely required to those needing it.

The great interest that is everywhere manifested in the improvement of methods in agricultural work, not only in America, but in Europe, should surely indicate what is necessary to be done if we are to retain our position at the head of agricultural countries. To assist in maintaining that place is the mission of the Farmers' Institute movement.

FREDERIC W. TAYLOR.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES. A REPLY.

BY THE HON. H. D. MONEY.

THE distinguished Mexican Minister, Señor Romero, in his interesting paper in the July number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, leaves a disagreeable impression on the mind of the American citizen, who has always gloried in the belief that his government had cordially sympathized with any people anywhere in their struggle for liberty, and especially with those of this continent. Señor Romero declares that the revolted Spanish colonies established their independence without aid from any outside source, and denies that the United States ever rendered them "material or moral assistance."

One of the complaints against the United States is their tardiness in recognizing the independence of the several colonies. In this age of the steamship, the railroad and the submarine cable, the time required for definite action on the part of the United States may seem to have been unnecessarily protracted, but an investigation into the conditions which prevailed at the time of the revolution will acquit our government of any undue delay. It must be remembered, also, that the warning words of Washington in his farewell address, against foreign complications, were so recent as to have hardly lost their echo, and had, with other causes, induced an exceedingly conservative and cautious foreign policy. There were then no regular mail communications between the United States and the South American colonies, and very little commercial or social intercourse; and that was made hazardous by the swarms of privateers, who, on the South Atlantic and on the Spanish Main, flew the insurgent flags and committed the most atrocious acts of piracy.

The Spanish subjects in America did not originally conceive

the idea of independence from any particular love of it. For three centuries they had suffered tyranny, proscription, repression, cruelty from their sovereign lord of Spain, with a constancy which was more creditable to their patience than to their enterprise. In fact, with the exception of perhaps Cuba, Costa Rica, and Chili, the proportion of whites to Indians would not average one in twelve, with a considerable number of negroes in La Plata and Venezuela especially, who were unprepared and unfit for self-government.

The Indians, who were the victims of the Spanish—oppressed and oppressors—were, perhaps, indifferent to what they believed would be a mere change of masters, hoping for little benefit under any circumstances. The native whites were as much discriminated against, and almost as much oppressed, as the Indians and blacks. The Spaniards held the offices, civil and military. They were the merchants and capitalists, and controlled almost every business enterprise, this condition of things giving them a monopoly of position, wealth, and advantages which they did not care to submit to the fortunes of a revolution. Personally, they were thriving, and their interests committed them to the policy of *laissez faire*.

It may well be doubted whether the Spanish subjects in America were not forced into revolution more by the chaotic condition of affairs in Spain, which left them virtually to their own resources, than by any desire for independent government, or for the position of an autonomous dependency of Spain. It must be admitted, however, that the torch kindled at the altar of liberty in the British provinces was taking its luminous course, firing the hearts of the people in both the new and the old worlds, and its generous flame gave, no doubt, warmth to the efforts of the patriots of South America.

The status of the respective governments asserting their independence was difficult to be ascertained, and the United States sent special commissioners, carried by warships, to enquire into the true condition of the revolutionists. Before attempting by this means to inform themselves, the United States had very promptly proposed to Great Britain and France to unite in recognition of the independence of the new governments. Another fact that added to the uncertainty was the efforts being made by Peru, Chili, and La Plata to organize a confederate republic.

New Granada and Venezuela were coalescing into the republic of Colombia, and the Central American States into the republic of Central America, while, during the whole struggle, from Mexico to Patagonia, there was continual talk of alliances, offensive and defensive; so that the United States might well hesitate before taking any action likely to prove offensive to a friendly power. It should be remembered that when, after due deliberation, the United States did recognize the Spanish-American governments in 1822, the act was made the subject by Spain of a grave and emphatic protest to the United States, and of a circular to the members of the Holy Alliance, invoking their assistance. In fact, her displeasure amounted to resentment, and caused her not only to demand explanations, but, also, to refuse to ratify a treaty already negotiated for the cession of Florida and the establishment of our Western boundary. In that negotiation the Spanish minister endeavored to obtain a pledge from the United States that they should not acknowledge the independence of these provinces. The United States would make no such pledge, even to her own profit; and this is surely good evidence of a support, both "material and moral." It is quite probable that the cession was at last made by Spain for fear of the forcible occupation of the territory by the United States, which would have been a blow at her power in America and her prestige in Europe.

It is worthy of mention that the same desire to observe strictly the faith of treaties, and the obligations of friendly neutrality, which influenced the United States in the tardiness of this recognition, operated quite as distinctly in favor of Mexico, in postponing the recognition of the republic of Texas, which had driven every hostile Mexican from its shores, organized its government, and performed its functions and maintained a position becoming a member of the family of nations. For years the Texans impatiently awaited their recognition by the United States; and notwithstanding the ardent sympathy of the people and the passage of repeated resolutions by each House of Congress promising support to the Executive, yet no action was taken, no resolution of Congress ever signed, until the last day of the official term of "Old Hickory." That ardent lover of liberty recognized the independence of Texas by sending a diplomatic representative to her. Still later, when the French and Austrian troops

had placed Maximilian on the throne of the Empire of Mexico, there was not only a slowness but an absolute failure to recognize his government; and his expulsion from Mexico was due as well to the decided and determined attitude of the United States as to the prowess of Mexican arms.

The United States have always recognized the *de facto* government, and were the first to recognize the imperial governments of Dom Pedro and Iturbide; and, notwithstanding the charge of cold indifference to the success of the Spanish-American revolutionists, they were the first to recognize the independence of these governments. Under the bonds of their treaty with Spain, they could not tolerate the fitting out of military expeditions in their ports; but the revolutionists and the Spaniards were equally permitted to purchase in her cities all kinds of material not contraband of war. Of this both availed themselves to the full extent, and the curious spectacle was afforded of two ships exactly alike, built at the same time, in the same American shipyard—one for the Spanish king, and one for his insurgent subjects. As far as the law of nations would permit, we certainly gave "material" support to the cause of freedom in South America.

We are also charged with withholding "moral" support. The answers to this are the repeated resolutions passed in Congress to aid the Executive in any constitutional effort he might make for the benefit of the colonists; and the interest and sympathy expressed through the press and other channels of publicity. In fact, it is inconceivable, not only from what we can learn from the history of those times, but from our knowledge of the American character and temper, that we should have occupied a coldly sympathetic attitude toward the struggling patriots of South America, and although President Monroe gave a most scrupulous regard to the observance of our treaty with Spain, and the maintenance of a friendly neutrality, yet he privately and officially repeatedly expressed, as did his cabinet and our most distinguished statesmen, his warm concern in the affairs of the revolutionists. In his message to Congress in 1822, President Monroe said that the movement in the Spanish provinces "attracted attention and excited the sympathy of our fellow-citizens from its commencement;" also that "to other claims a just sensibility has always been felt and frankly acknowledged, but they, in themselves, could never become an adequate cause of action."

Mr. Monroe was still further embarrassed by the civil wars and dissensions that prevailed among the revolutionists themselves, and time was absolutely necessary, in some instances, to ascertain what party was entitled to recognition as the government.

It may be noted that when general recognition was accorded in 1822, but a short time had elapsed from the triumph of General San Martin at Lima, in September, 1821, which was, by the revolutionists themselves, considered the finishing stroke to Spanish authority, and as such celebrated with great rejoicing from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is somewhat curious that a distinguished representative of Mexico should consider the declaration of the Monroe doctrine, in 1823, as of no "material" advantage to the new republics, and much more so that it was of no value as giving "moral" support. It certainly had much to do with arresting the movement designed by the Congresses of the Holy Alliance at Troppau, Laybach, Verona, and elsewhere, to reduce the revolting provinces anew to subjection to Ferdinand. Before Mr. Monroe had declared his famous "doctrine," the British Minister, George Canning, had informed the French Minister at London with great emphasis, that if the design of the Holy Alliance was persisted in, Great Britain would acknowledge the independence of the Spanish provinces. Great Britain decided to weaken Spain, so as to enjoy trade with her late colonies. This had been denied to her by the humane and gentle policy of Spain toward her American subjects, which inflicted death upon them as the penalty for the crime of trading with any other people than the Spaniards.

The motive which influenced the Executive of the United States was more disinterested, although not entirely unselfish. The Holy Alliance had most clearly avowed its belief that no reform in government could come through a revolt of subjects against the authority of kings, who ruled by divine right, and they had made equally clear their purpose to suppress any movement in derogation of that right. They had promptly acted upon that declaration by marching a hundred thousand of their troops into Spain and prostrating a constitutional Cortes at the feet of Ferdinand, and by suppressing the liberal movement in the Piedmont. They then proposed to continue thair operations on the Western Hemisphere for the restoration of the Spanish authority. The United States had not at that time attained a

position among nations that so challenged the respect of Europe as to cause a quarrel with her to be considered a momentous matter, and they had a risk to run so grave that the Spanish republicans of America should appreciate it.

Señor Romero cites the historical fact that Mr. Clay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, requested the ministers of Mexico and Colombia to suspend an expedition which their governments were jointly fitting out for the invasion of Cuba with a view to wresting that island from the Spanish Crown. The reasons given by Mr. Clay are not accepted as sincere by the Mexican Minister, who suggests that Mr. Clay feared that the conquest of the island by Colombia and Mexico would lead to the abolition of slavery thereon. This belief is based upon the hypothesis that the administration was being conducted in the interest of slavery in the United States. This administration had for its President John Quincy Adams, a New Englander of very great ability and accomplishments, hostile to the institution of slavery, and the first representative to introduce into Congress an abolition petition. Our citizens have been accustomed to consider Henry Clay as the highest type of frank and fearless American manhood; and will not so lightly discredit his sincerity—even in an affair of diplomacy.

The reason mentioned as given by Henry Clay was not the only one which he avowed; but in itself it constituted a sufficient motive for discouraging the proposed expedition. It was not believed that Colombia or Mexico, separately or jointly, without navies and without resources, would be able to hold the island against the adverse contention of either France or Great Britain. About this time, and a little after, it was believed that France was preparing a great fleet and army of invasion to capture Cuba; and at one time there was a general report that possession of the island had been accomplished by her. Great Britain had been absorbing the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and was exceedingly anxious to add to the list the "gem of the Antilles"; so that the apprehensions of Mr. Clay were not only entirely reasonable, but warranted by the history of the times.

Mr. Clay doubted the capacity of the Cubans, on account of their small numbers, and the racial diversity of the population, to maintain their independence. However much the question of

slavery entered into our domestic and foreign policy, it is not easy to understand how the possession of Cuba by any power likely to get it would threaten the institution in America, or even in Cuba. Great Britain, lashed by the eloquence of Wilberforce, paid for and manumitted her slaves in 1838. France followed, a slow second, in 1848, and Mexico did not emancipate her own, of which she had very few, until several years after the events here considered.

There is no evidence that the inhabitants of Cuba had invited the invasion of Colombia and Mexico, nor that they desired to throw off the Spanish yoke. There was no outbreak there contemporaneous with the uprising in the other colonies in the hour of Spain's calamity and confusion at home. In fact, the Spanish crown, in grateful acknowledgment of the loyalty of the Cubans in these years of general rebellion, designated her "the ever-faithful isle." The invasion was projected, as far as we can learn, not through sympathy with the Cubans, but from a natural and proper desire of Colombia and Mexico to deprive their enemy of a convenient base of operations against them, present and future.

The other reason above-mentioned was a sincere desire on the part of the United States to terminate the long-protracted war between Spain and her colonies, which had not only exhausted all the combatants of their resources, but had subjected the commerce of the United States to the numerous pirates who conveniently sheltered themselves under the ensign of one or other of the republics. Mr. Clay was earnestly engaged in urging Russia to bring about a peace, and there seems to be no doubt that the action of Mr. Clay, regarded by Señor Romero as unfriendly, was really of the most vital service to Mexico and the other republics, as it made Spain feel the necessity of terminating the war with the colonies already gone from her, in order to secure Cuba and Puerto Rico that remained to her. It was Mr. Clay's business also to protect the material interests of his own country. Our trade with Havana was greater than with all the other Spanish possessions, and in view of its injury or destruction by an invasion Mr. Clay frankly declared to the ministers of Colombia and Mexico that the interests of the United States would not permit them to allow a desolating war to be carried on in Cuba.

If anyone derived from Señor Romero's paper the impression that the freedom of Cuba from Spanish oppression was thwarted by the interposition of the United States in this affair he may take comfort from the true reasons rendered above; and if the principles laid down by Mr. Clay as sufficient justification for his declaration of our policy at that time were applied by the administration of to-day there would be a prompt interference to stop a war not only desolating but destructive and exterminating. Great as was our business with Havana then, it was a bagatelle to the amount of our commerce with her at the beginning of the present Cuban struggle.

Shortly after the date of Mr. Clay's communication, just considered, the new minister from the republic of Central America declared the United States the "most generous friend" of the Spanish revolutionists.

H. D. MONEY.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO CENTRAL AMERICAN CANALS.

BY JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

"THERE is but one insuperable difficulty known to engineering, and that is a lack of money." Yet the obstacle is so great that the inter-oceanic canal has never been built through Central America; and so, for four hundred years, this narrow neck of land has remained a barrier in the sailing route suggested by Columbus. He had hoped to find a direct passage to the East Indies; but, a continent having been accidentally discovered, his original object became a matter of less importance. It was by no means forgotten, however. For years efforts were made to find a way into the Pacific. Captain John Smith sailed up the Chicahominy in search of it. Columbus himself looked for it in Central America, where also Cortés, at a later period, made a very thorough investigation. There was no strait, although an old Indian tradition related that the Atlantic and Pacific had once mingled their waters in a natural channel through the Isthmus of Panama. It did not seem an impossible task to restore this waterway, but man (particularly the *genus* engineer) proposes, and often his proposals come to naught.

About 1551 Gomara proposed the piercing of the isthmus. "It is true," he said to Philip II., "that mountains obstruct these passages, but if there are mountains there are also hands." A canal made under the auspices of His Most Catholic Majesty would have been only a private channel for Spanish commerce. In those days, before the acceptance of the doctrine of *Mare Liberum*, when nearly every part of the sea was under the jurisdiction of some country, there was no thought of constructing a canal for the benefit of mankind in general, or for the bene-

fit of anybody but the builders. Philip did not take much interest in the matter and seemed to fear that the canal, if constructed, might possibly be used by the ships of other nations to the detriment of his own commerce.

This exclusive policy, as well as the doctrine of *Mare Clausum*, has been laid aside by statesmen in modern times. A study of the diplomacy of the United States will show that the Department of State has usually looked upon the matter in a very enlightened and liberal way; although, after the Civil War, a desire for exclusive control began to manifest itself. The exclusive policy reached its culmination under that Secretary of State, who was also, to a certain extent, the advocate of the obsolete doctrine of *Mare Clausum*.

In 1814, after Humboldt's explorations had given new impetus to the matter of canal construction, the Spanish Cortes commanded the Viceroy of New Spain to pierce the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, but internal wars prevented the execution of the design. In 1825 the new republic of Central America invited the participation of the United States in a plan for cutting a canal. Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, declared that the policy of the United States would not be one of exclusive control.

"If the work should ever be executed," he said, "the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon payment of just compensation or reasonable tolls."*

The concession was granted to Mr. Palmer, of New York, but the canal was never built.

In 1829 General Verveer went to Nicaragua to obtain the concession for his royal master, the King of the Netherlands. It was granted. The canal was to be open on equal terms to all nations at peace with Central America; armed ships of belligerents were to be excluded, and the maritime powers were to be invited to recognize the neutrality of the canal.† But just at this time disturbances arose which fully occupied William's royal mind, and again the plan was dropped.

The subject of an interoceanic canal having been brought before the United States Senate in 1835, that body passed a resolution requesting the President "to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the governments of other nations, and

* See Mr. Clay's letter to Commissioners of United States to Panama Congress.
† See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47th Congress, Vol. 23, p. 20.

particularly with the governments of Central America and New Granada," for the purpose of securing the "free and equal right of navigation of such canal to all nations."*

This international character of the canal was also recognized by Monsieur Guizot† about the time when Don Francisco Castellon visited Louis Philippe in the hope of obtaining that thrifty monarch's assistance in constructing a waterway. But the King and his money were not easily parted, and the government of Nicaragua had to lay the canal plans at the feet of the Prince Prisoner at Ham. The canal was to be called "*Le Canal Napoléone de Nicaragua*," but the Prince, having escaped from his prison, aimed at a position more exalted than the presidency of a canal company, and the scheme obtained from him nothing more than fair words such as the first Napoleon had given to the canal at Suez.

The acquisition of California and the discovery of gold in that region made it extremely important to the United States that there should be a short sailing route between the Pacific ports and those on the Atlantic. With this idea in mind, and anticipating the construction of a canal,‡ Mr. Hise, the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States in Central America, negotiated a treaty§ with Nicaragua granting to the United States special privileges of transit in return for a guarantee of protection. This treaty had been negotiated without instructions; it was not in accordance with the views of the administration; and it was never ratified. Mr. Clayton, Secretary of State, hastened to inform Lord Palmerston that the United States "had no views of exclusive advantage to themselves in this matter,"‖ and that it was their wish to see "the canal dedicated to the common use of all nations on . . . a footing of perfect equality for all."¶

Even had the United States wished to construct a canal solely for their own benefit, it would hardly have been possible for them to do so in the state of affairs then existing. When the United States added California to their territory, Great Britain possessed herself of Greytown, which would probably be one of the termini of any canal through Nicaragua.

* See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47th Congress, Vol. 23, p. 21.
† Speech in the Chamber of Deputies, June 10, 1843.
‡ A contract between Nicaragua and the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Co. was signed at Leon, August 27, 1849.
§ Hise-Selva Convention, June 21, 1849.
‖ Mr. Crampton to Lord Palmerston, September 15, 1849.
¶ See letter of Mr. Rives to Mr. Clayton, September 25, 1849.

While, therefore, Nicaragua was willing to grant the United States special privileges in regard to one end of the route, the other end was controlled by Great Britain, who was thus placed in a position as commanding as that of the United States. This in itself would have been a sufficient reason for inviting her to join in the canal scheme, had not an equally good reason already existed in the fact that it was the declared policy of the United States to establish the canal for the use of all nations, and not under the exclusive control of any power.

On the 19th of April, 1850, Mr. Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer signed a treaty, usually known as the "Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," by which both Great Britain and the United States guaranteed the neutrality of the proposed canal, and agreed that neither of them would "occupy or fortify or colonize or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America."* The canal was to be open on equal terms to both nations. Furthermore, the high contracting parties promised to invite other friendly powers to join in protecting the canal and in receiving the advantages of the same. The first part of the treaty refers especially to the canal then contemplated, but the eighth article is more general in character. It gives unequivocal expression to the views of the United States, that the benefits of a canal "should not be appropriated to any one nation," and that, in order to secure this result, there should be a joint guarantee of neutrality. This article is in the following terms:

"The Governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the inter-oceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama. In granting, however, their joint protection to any such canals or railways as are by this article specified, it is always understood by the United States and Great Britain that the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid governments shall approve of as just and equitable; and that the same canals or railways, being open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms, shall be open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other state which is willing to grant

* Article I., Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford."

Before the exchange of ratifications, Sir Henry Bulwer bethought him that there might be some ambiguity in the treaty. Prosper Mérimée said of Sir Henry, "He is very mad, very free and easy, and very witty when he is not dying, a thing which happens to him about four days in the week." On this occasion he did not wish to be too free and easy, so he wrote to Mr. Clayton, saying: "Her Majesty does not understand the engagements of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlements at Honduras, or to its dependencies."* The Secretary of State replied that this was in accordance with his own understanding of the treaty.†

At this time Great Britain had a "settlement" at Honduras, a protectorate over the Indians of the Mosquito Coast, and she had a "settlement" on Ruatan, one of the Bay Islands.

A dispute soon arose as to the interpretation of the treaty. The United States claimed that it was retrospective and that, therefore, Great Britain should give up the Bay Islands and withdraw her protection from the Mosquito Indians. Great Britain, on the other hand, considered that the treaty forbade future acquisitions only. She, moreover, held that the Bay Islands were not part of Central America, and that the protectorate (as Mr. Clayton himself said) "was not disavowed by the treaty, but disarmed by it."‡ For years the matter was the subject of contention between the two governments. At one time, to use the words with which Mr. Alderman Cotton graphically described a similar case to a bewildered House of Commons, "the danger was so imminent that it only required a spark to let loose the dogs of war." Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas negotiated a new treaty for the settlement of the difficulties, but it was not ratified. Great Britain suggested arbitration, which the United States declined on the ground that the dispute was one about the meaning of the English language, and could, therefore, be settled best by the two nations which speak that language.§

The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was considered. Great Britain intimated that she would assent to such a course,

* Declaration made by Sir Henry Bulwer at the Department of State, June 29, 1850.

† Memorandum filed by Mr. Clayton at Department of State, July 5, 1850.

‡ See Sir H. Bulwer's statement in *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1856.

§ Lord Napier to Lord Clarendon, October, 1857.

but would, in that case, insist that the matter should revert to the *status quo ante*:* she should be allowed to retain her possessions in, or near, Central America, and each nation should be at liberty to acquire new territory. Lord Malmesbury playfully said that England would not object to the United States colonizing in Central America, and that he had no doubt such a course would have a civilizing influence upon the inhabitants of those countries.† This proposition was not agreeable to the United States, who were unwilling to abandon their bird in the hand, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, without first binding England so as to prevent her acquiring even more extended possessions in, or near, Central America.‡

At last, Sir William Gore Ouseley, Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, went to Central America, and, after some difficulty in finding the capitals of those governments, entered upon negotiations which, with the assistance of Mr. Wyke, resulted in the modification of the British possessions in accordance with the American interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Great Britain gave up the Bay Islands, formally renounced her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, and arranged with Guatemala for the settlement of the boundaries of British Honduras.§ The United States accepted these concessions, and President Buchanan informed Congress that "the discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the two governments have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this government."‖

Thus after ten years the disputes were adjusted and both parties to the treaty were satisfied. The controversy had been one concerning British dominion in, or near, Central America, and there had been no denial of the binding force of the eighth article, whereby the two powers, desiring "to establish a general principle," had agreed to extend their joint protection to any other canal that might be built, and had also provided that the canal should be "open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other state which is willing to grant thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford."

* Lord Malmesbury to Lord Napier, April 8, 1858.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Mr. Cass to Lord Napier, November 8, 1858.
§ Treaty between Great Britain and Honduras, November 28, 1859; treaty between Great Britain and Nicaragua, January 28, 1860; treaty between Great Britain and Guatemala, April 30, 1859.
‖ President Buchanan's Message to Congress, December 3, 1860.

On many occasions since the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as well as before that time, the government of the United States has given expression to the opinion that the inter-oceanic transit routes should be neutral, and that foreign powers should join in guaranteeing such neutrality. This sentiment has not only been expressed in diplomatic correspondence, but has also been embodied in public treaties. The Clay-Colindres Treaty* (1864), and the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty† (1867), both contain stipulations for inviting other nations to extend their protection to the canal. Similar provisions were made in the three unratified treaties, known as the Cass-Yrisarri Treaty‡ (1857); the United States and Colombia Treaty§ (1869), and the Fish-Cardenas Convention‖ (1877).

It will now be necessary to examine the conduct of the United States in regard to the Panama route.

In 1846 a movement was made towards the improvement of Isthmian transit by means of a railway from Panama to Colon. The work was completed in 1855, and, by treaty, signed in 1846, the United States guaranteed "positively and efficaciously to New Granada . . . the perfect neutrality of the beforementioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists."¶ In return for the protection thus conceded, the United States received the right of transit, but no exclusive privileges which might not be granted to other powers. In 1849 Great Britain was invited to join in that guarantee.**

In 1856, after very serious riots at Panama, Mr. Marcy proposed a new treaty with New Granada in order that the United States might acquire greater facilities for protecting the railway. The district containing the road was to be made a sort of satrapy under the rule of United States Consuls.†† At the same time the Secretary of State disclaimed any desire for exclusive advantage, and also announced the intention of the United States to invite

* Treaty of July 4, 1864, between the United States and Honduras, Article XIV.
† Treaty of June 21, 1867, between the United States and Nicaragua, Article XV.
‡ Treaty of November 16, 1857, between the United States and Nicaragua, Article XV.
§ Between United States and Colombia, Article XVIII.
‖ Between United States and Nicaragua, Articles I. and XV.
¶ Article XXXV.
** Mr. Lawrence to Lord Palmerston, November 8, 1849.
†† *Projet* enclosed in letter of instructions from Mr. Marcy to Messrs. Morse and Bowlin, December 3, 1856.

other nations to become parties "to a guarantee for the neutrality of that part of the Isthmus."*

In 1862, when the plenipotentiary of the New Granadian Confederation invoked the aid of the United States against a revolutionary movement, which, it was claimed, endangered the freedom of transit, the United States consulted both Great Britain and France as to the proper course to pursue. "This government," wrote Mr. Seward, "has no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers."†

He also instructed Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton to inquire "whether these governments [*i. e.*, Great Britain and France] will unite with the United States in guaranteeing the safety of the transit and the authority of the New Granadian Confederation, or either of these objects." ‡

While, for forty years, the government of the United States adhered to its declared policy of seeking no exclusive advantage, it was not blind to the benefits (such as they were) that might be derived from a contrary course. Several months before the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was signed, Mr. Clayton said to the British Minister that there was no doubt the government of the United States might obtain "great applause in certain quarters and a certaint sort of popularity by an attempt to effect this work upon a principle of exclusive advantage;" but he added that such applause would "be dearly bought by the jealousies and misunderstandings between nations which would be the inevitable result."§

After the civil war, when the United States began to realize their military strength, there was a change of feeling among the officers of state.

Even Mr. Seward, who in 1862 had declared that the United States had "no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers," tried in 1868 to negotiate a treaty with Colombia by which the flag of any nation at war with the United States should be excluded from the canal.‖ Colombia rejected this article; the matter was afterwards arranged on a basis of equality for all nations, and a clause was added in favor of "procuring the friendship and guarantee of other na-

* Mr. Marcy to Messrs. Morse and Bowlin, December 3, 1856.
† Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams. July 11, 1862.
‡ *Ibid.*, also Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton on same date.
§ Mr. Crampton to Lord Palmerston, October 1, 1849.
‖ Mr. Seward to Mr. Sullivan, September 27, 1868.

tions."* In this form it was presented to Congress, but the treaty was never ratified.

As early as 1866 General Grant had expressed his desire that no European power should have control of the canal. † During his administration Mr. Stephen A. Hurlbut attempted to negotiate a new treaty with Colombia, in which there was provision for closing the canal against enemies of the United States. The clause was different from that already rejected by Colombia in 1868, but it was "the old dog in a new doublet." The Colombian Congress again rejected it. Mr. Hurlbut, whom Mr. Lowten would have described as "a capital man of business," suggested that a little bribery might overcome the objection. ‡ He seems also to have indulged in *double entendre* to an unwarrantable extent. He obtained permission, by the convention, to have the docks and yards guarded by police; "but I apprehend," he wrote to the Secretary of State, with a mental wink, "marines will make a capital 'police.'" § The twenty-fifth article, by which the high contracting parties agreed to invite foreign nations to give "a guarantee in favor of the stipulations of immunity and neutrality means nothing," said Mr. Hurlbut; it was inserted for "home consumption, to be used in Congress against those who are European in tendency and hostile to the United States." ‖

In spite of Mr. Hurlbut's *finesse*, he lost the game. There was a diplomatist more subtle than he. Mr. Bunch, Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, placed the British flag at half-mast on Good Friday, and, carrying a candle, walked in procession in the Cathedral. The Colombian Congress rejected the treaty and refused to grant the exclusive privileges—a result which, Mr. Hurlbut said, was due no doubt to "the strange means" Mr. Bunch had taken "to deepen the hold he has on this people." ¶

The desire for exclusive control has manifested itself at sundry times and in divers manners, as, for example, in the message of President Hayes, March 8, 1880, but that policy reached its most aggressive form under Mr. Blaine. In the early part of 1881 it was said that the European powers, at the invitation of

* Article XVIII. of Convention, signed January 14, 1869.
† Letter of General Grant to Rear Admiral Davis, U. S. N., July 7, 1866. See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47 Congress, Vol. 23, p. 30.
‡ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, June 6, 1870.
§ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, January 5, 1870.
‖ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, February 1, 1870.
¶ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, April 17, 1870.

Colombia, "might possibly be considering the subject of jointly guaranteeing the neutrality" of the projected canal at Panama.* On June 24, 1881, Mr. Blaine sent despatches to all the envoys of the United States in Europe, informing them of his objection to such an arrangement, and desiring them to bring the matter to the attention of the several governments to which they were accredited. The Secretary of State said he thought it most desirable that there should be some guarantee of neutrality; the United States had already given such a guarantee by the treaty of 1846, and it was, therefore, unnecessary that any other power should supplement that guarantee.† Mr. Blaine denied that he sought any commercial advantage, but insisted that, in time of war, the canal should not be used by the armed vessels of his country's adversaries. He then glowingly described the Western States and told how many tons of wheat were raised per inhabitant therein. All this was intended to show that the waterway leading to this Eldorado should be under control of the United States, and that, in fact, the canal, albeit some hundreds of miles distant in Colombia, formed "substantially part of our coast line."‡ Mr. Blaine concluded his circular despatch by cautiously suggesting to the envoys that they should "not represent this position as the development of a new policy."§

In reply, Lord Granville called Mr. Blaine's attention to the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by which the two governments had agreed to extend their joint protection to any canal that might be built across the Isthmus; "and," said he, "Her Majesty's Government rely with confidence upon the observance of all the engagements of that treaty."‖

In subsequent despatches, Mr. Blaine, and after him Mr. Frelinghuysen, contended that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was practically a thing of the past, and should no longer be considered as forbidding the United States to acquire control of the canal.¶ Mr. Blaine suggested, however, that it would be well to retain those portions of it which bound England to refrain from obtaining possessions in Central America.**

* Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid.*
‖ Lord Granville to Mr. Hoppin, November 10, 1881.
¶ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
** *Ibid.*

The reasons suggested for considering the treaty void and for giving the control of the canal to the United States were chiefly the following :

(1.) The treaty had never been satisfactory to the United States.*

(2.) The treaty had been made upon the implied condition that English capital should be invested. That condition had not been fulfilled.†

(3.) The treaty had been made with a view to the construction of a certain canal. That canal had not been built.‡

(4.) The eighth article of the treaty had not, up to that time, been acted upon, and should be "regarded as obsolete." §

(5.) Great Britain had violated the treaty by making Honduras a "colony." ‖

(6.) The United States, because of their isolated position, would probably not become involved in war so readily as the nations of Europe; therefore the United States would be the best guardians of the canal. ¶

(7.) The treaty was contrary to the "Monroe doctrine." **

(8.) The treaty had been "made more than thirty years ago, under exceptional and extraordinary conditions, which have long since ceased to exist."†† "The conditions of 1882 are not those of 1852." ‡‡ *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.* The situation of the canal and the growth of the United States on the Pacific made it necessary that that government should have political control of the canal for the proper protection of its coasts. §§

Many of these contentions may be easily controverted.

(1.) The statement that the treaty had never been satisfactory to the United States is, apparently, not in accordance with the facts. Since 1860 the treaty seems to have been accepted as a final settlement, "entirely satisfactory" ‖‖ to the United States. Moreover, the dissatisfaction prior to that time had been caused by British occupation in, or near, Central America, while the

* Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 29, 1881.
† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‡ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 5, 1883.
§ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‖ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
¶ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
** Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
†† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‡‡ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
§§ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
‖‖ President Buchanan's Message, December 3, 1860.

principle of joint protection had never been disputed, but, on the contrary, had been repeatedly affirmed.

(2.) The treaty was not made in order to secure British capital. It is not so nominated in the bond, and Daniel Webster declared that the money could "easily be obtained in this country."*

(3.) The fact that the canal has not been built does not make the treaty invalid, seeing that by the eighth article Her Britannic Majesty and the United States "having *not only* desired to accomplish a particular object, but *also to establish a general principle,*" had agreed to extend their joint protection to any inter-oceanic canal or railway that might be constructed in Central America.

(4.) There was no limit of time within which Great Britain was required to give a guarantee of protection. The canal has never been built and, therefore, has never needed protection. The Panama Railway is of much less international importance; and, although England has never guaranteed the neutrality of that road, Lord John Russell, upon the invitation of Mr. Seward, in 1862, offered informal protection to it, saying that, in the event of "an actual derangement of the communication, the British government would readily co-operate with the United States in the measures that might be thought necessary." †

(5.) Mr. Frelinghuysen founded an ingenious argument upon the fact that British Honduras had been made a "colony." Lord Granville replied:

"Inasmuch, then, as British Honduras was expressly excluded altogether from the arrangement which was entered into between the two governments in 1850, . . . Her Majesty's Government cannot see with what justice it can be said that the change of title of that possession of Her Majesty from that of a 'settlement' to a 'colony' can be appealed to as a violation of the arrangement of 1850." ‡

(6.) If the guarantee of the United States alone were enough it is improbable that the guarantee of the United States together with that of other nations would be less efficient.

(7.) The "Monroe doctrine" is not a principle of international law. It is a guiding rule of conduct for the United States, laid down by Mr. Monroe, and variously interpreted by his suc-

* Mr. Webster to Mr. Lawrence, May 14, 1852.
† Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward, August 1, 1862.
‡ Lord Granville to Mr. West, August 17, 1883

cessors. Moreover, the Executive and Senate in 1850, as well as the statesmen in authority for years before as well as after that period, did not consider the principle of joint protection to be contrary to the "Monroe doctrine"; nor is it so in fact.

(8.) Mr. Blaine's principal argument was deduced from "changed conditions" and from the extent and wealth of the Western coast. The growth of the United States on the Pacific was clearly foreseen in 1850, and was one of the causes which induced the United States to take a deep interest in the canal, and to enter into the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty for its protection. That these expectations had been more than realized was not a sufficient reason for refusing to adhere to the terms of the treaty. The conditions had not really changed, but they had developed.

Great Britain, as well as the United States, has a large extent of territory on the Pacific, and the two nations, "in consequence of their possessions on the coast of the Pacific, and other obvious causes," as Daniel Webster said, "have a similar interest in its (*i. e.*, the canal's) success." *

It does not seem evident that the canal is "a part of our coast line"—a phrase which must have a particularly pleasant sound to the nations lying immediately south of the present boundary of the United States—nor is it indisputable that nature and the conformation of the continent have declared the United States the rightful masters of the canal, although Mr. Blaine would make it appear that this is "so evidently true by way of fact, as no man that is not desperately impudent can deny it." †

In the absence of any evidence other nations will refuse to believe that all inter-oceanic canals are the property of the United States by the law of nature. Great Britain prefers to rely on the documentary evidence afforded by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Several of the European powers answered Mr. Blaine's circular in an evasive manner, as who should say "we will see thee again in this matter" ‡; while Colombia declared her perfect liberty to choose her own protectors.§

This departure from the traditions of the Department of State produced no practical results except, perhaps, some applause

* Mr Webster to Mr. Lawrence, May 14, 1852.

† The quotation is from "The Soveraigntie of the Seas, written in the yeare 1633, by that learned knight Sr John Boroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London

‡ See "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881."

§ Report of Dr. Quijano Wallis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Colombian Congress, 1883.

from the admirers of an aggressive policy, and much humiliation to the country because of the attempt to evade treaty obligations on frivolous grounds.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard, upon their advent, found that a treaty granting exclusive privileges had been negotiated with Nicaragua with a view to the construction of a canal through that country. The treaty was promptly withdrawn from the consideration of the Senate for reasons expressed by Mr. Cleveland in his first message :*

"I am unable to recommend propositions involving paramount privileges of ownership or right outside of our own territory, when coupled with absolute and unlimited engagements to defend the territorial integrity of the state where such interests lie. . . . Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, nor become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for warlike ambition. An engagement combining the construction, ownership, and operation of such work by this government, with an offensive and defensive alliance for its protection with the foreign state, whose responsibilities and rights we should share, is, in my judgment, inconsistent with such dedication to universal and neutral use, and would, moreover, entail measures for its realization beyond the scope of our national polity or present means."

After stating that the United States have "by their positive declarations and through the formal obligation of treaties," consecrated the canal to the "common use of mankind," Mr. Cleveland announced that his administration would bear in mind the declaration of Mr. Cass, who said :

"What the United States want in Central America, next to the happiness of its people, is the security and neutrality of the inter-oceanic routes which lead through it."

"These suggestions," Mr. Cleveland added, "may serve to emphasize what I have already said on the score of the necessity of a neutralization of any inter-oceanic transit; and this can only be accomplished by making the use of the route open to all nations and subject to the ambitions and warlike necessities of none."

In 1888 and in 1894 the United States again confirmed their adherence to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty (and consequently to the policy indicated in it) by insisting that Great Britain should refrain from any intervention in behalf of the Mosquito Indians, and by using the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as a spell wherewith to lay this ghost of England's protectorate.†

* Message to Congress, December 8, 1885.

† See letters of Mr. Bayard to Mr. Phelps, November 23, 1888; Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Edwards, March 7, 1889 ; Mr. Bayard to Mr. Gresham, May 28, 1894.

Efforts have been recently made in Congress to depart from the traditional policy, and to revive the Nicaragua Canal scheme under the auspices of the United States, but these efforts have not yet been successful.

The old policy of seeking no exclusive advantage and of wishing to place the canal under the protection of all nations, for the benefit of all nations, is in accordance with treaty obligations, justice, and practical wisdom. In return for the expense in armament, which would be necessary to maintain control of the canal, the United States, in guaranteeing, alone, the free passage of the Isthmus, would, as Mr. de Bustamante * observes, "only succeed in wilfully drawing upon themselves an inexhaustible source of international conflicts." The canal can be neutralized, in the proper sense of the word, only by conventional agreement between the great maritime Powers. Similar arrangements in regard to Belgium, Switzerland, and other places have been found satisfactory. The neutralization of Colombia or Nicaragua would remove them from the danger of attack by any foreign power, while leaving their domestic affairs free from the control of external influence. This is a state of things which the "Monroe doctrine" was designed to bring about; and an international agreement to neutralize the country through which the canal may pass would be equivalent to an international agreement to observe the "Monroe doctrine" in regard to that country.

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

* In article in *Revue de Droit International*, tome XXVII., Nos. 2 and 3. This article contains an interesting discussion of the means of neutralizing the canal.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND HAWAII.

THE Constitution of the United States, in the first section of Article XIV., declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States;" and in the first section of Article XV. that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Up to this time we have found in our naturalization laws and treaties a shield for the American ballot box against Asiatics.

Neither treaties nor naturalization laws will serve for this object if we annex Hawaii and make it a part of the territory of the United States. All persons born in Hawaii after annexation would be born on American soil, and their right to vote—all males possessing the same qualifications as other males, black and white, born in the United States—could not be abridged by the United States or by any State.

Either we should have to deport after annexation the entire Asiatic population of Hawaii born in the islands, or, on reaching voter's age, the legally qualified would have to be admitted to the ballot on equal terms with the white Europeans and Americans in the islands.

Neither the Executive of the United States, nor Congress, nor the Executive and Legislature combined can set aside the Constitution.

After annexation migration of American citizens of Hawaii, of every race and color, will have to be free and unrestricted to every State and territory of the United States. After annexation legal voters of Hawaii, of *every race and color*, will be constitutional voters in every State and Territory of the United States.

Thus the detested and dangerous Asiatic must reach the American ballot box if Hawaiian annexation is to become an accomplished fact.

It is true that native-born Hawaiian American citizens, with voters' rights, cannot arrive thus in practical American politics for nearly another generation, if the projected and pending treaty becomes law. But the issue must be faced now. Is the nation prepared to accept it and its full consequences? It involves the writing of an absolutely novel chapter in national and international history, more momentous than the American Civil War and its political, economic, industrial, and social results.

In a spirit, therefore, of wisdom, of patriotism, and of statesmanship, has President McKinley deferred definite consideration of the proposal of Hawaiian annexation. Let the administration wait for the mandate of the nation. Give the nation time to reflect!

According to the latest statistical returns the population of Hawaii contains:

Chinese	15,301
Japanese	12,360
Natives, kin with the Maories	34,436

There is no restriction on Japanese immigration. The slight restriction on Chinese immigration has proven effectual only in a limited degree.

The voting category, to be added to ours, therefore, as a consequence of Hawaiian annexation, will comprise Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, Maories and numerous other hybrid human varieties. They may be voters in every part of the United States, as well as in Hawaii, if Hawaii becomes American soil. Is President McKinley, is the Republican party, ready for this responsibility?

LONGFIELD GORMAN.

A NEW BUSINESS ALLIANCE.

DOES the East realize how rapidly it is losing its hold on the business interests of the prairies? Does it know that the West and the Southwest are joining hands, not politically but commercially, in the formation of new trade relations that mean the hardest blow to the traffic of the Atlantic slope that it has ever seen? It is so.

A third of a century ago Texas was further from Kansas and Nebraska in a business sense than it was from Europe. One day an energetic cattleman laid out a trail across the 200 miles of Indian lands separating the commonwealths, and for a time they were almost one. Great herds were driven up from the ranches of the Southwest to the northern shipping and feeding stations. Then the trade fell off, and both sections looked to the East again. Events are bringing about another business alliance between them, but this time the tide of traffic is southward.

Corn sold during the winter in Northern Texas for 36 to 45 cents; in Kansas, 450 miles away, it was worth 8 to 12 cents, and the farmers were complaining because with an abundant crop they could not get cash enough to pay their taxes. This sort of a condition has set the people to thinking, and the result is a demand for closer trade relations between the North and South and the promise of a business revolution. The entire Western Mississippi valley is looking to the Gulf of Mexico as an outlet for the vast granary of the plains. The legislatures of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas have appointed commissions to consult on the feasibility of an interstate railroad to be built and operated by the three governments, and there is an ever-increasing stream of business flowing Gulfward. Perhaps the never-ceasing abuse of the "plutocratic East," the "Wall Street sharks," and the "millionaire robbers," with which the Populist orators have regaled their audiences through six campaigns in every schoolhouse, has had some influence in awakening public sentiment, but the hope of better prices for crops has been the more potent factor. The farmers have seen the prices of their products decrease and the payments on their bonds and mortgages remain as before; they have "figgered" on the freight charges to the seaboard and have realized why their old-time neighbors "back East" received so much more for their labor; then they have clamored for a nearer market. They have seen in the Gulf an export point 500 miles nearer than that of the Atlantic slope. By reason of this shorter haul they think they can thus secure better prices for grain. That is, in

brief, their argument, and they talk it on the farms, on the street corners, in the prairie towns, and at the schoolhouse "lyceum."

They hoped much when the first railway line was built across the Indian Territory, then a *terra incognita*, but now becoming a rich commonwealth itself. They were encouraged when there were two and three lines; now there are four, and the effect of the new direction in which trade is turning is being felt by the eastern roads. The extent to which the southern ports are grasping the export business may be seen in the corn exports of 1896. The total bushels sent out of the country was 128,518,437, being a gain of 67,100,000 bushels over 1895. Of this gain southern ports made 60,000,000 bushels. New Orleans made a gain of 16,500,000 bushels, and Galveston 5,000,000 bushels. Last year Galveston exported nearly 10,000,000 bushels of grain of all kinds, practically its first appearance on the scene. New Orleans advanced in the same twelvemonth from 9,000,000 to 20,000,000 bushels. The total amount of all exports from all ports of the United States in the first eleven months of 1896 was $888,660,415, an increase of $156,300,000 over the same months of 1895. Of this increase nearly one-half, or $78,600,000, was at southern ports, their gain being 35 per cent., while the gain at all other United States ports was only 15 per cent.

New Orleans has steadily advanced as a corn-exporting point, as has Galveston also. Nearly two-thirds of the corn sent out of the States of Kansas and Nebraska for export is going that way, and these two cities are getting the business that formerly had no choice but to seek the Atlantic seaboard. This is significant, and with the building of new roads from the prairies to the Gulf there is sure to be a further increase in the shipments, proportionately, than in the past.

The one fact that handicaps the southern route at the present time is the fact that the railroads have what they call a "one-way haul." They must, they say, bring back their cars from the Gulf empty, whereas they can on the eastern haul bring them back laden with the product of loom and spindle. There is much truth in this, and the thing that will do more than any other to strengthen the new business alliance between the prairies and the Southwest is the development that is going on in the Southwest in manufacturing. A double flow is the life of traffic. When the Gulf States get the importing houses that are so influential in the business of the East and when the cotton manufactories that are now in the Atlantic States are duplicated in the heart of the cotton-growing region, there will be a change that will make what will be almost a business revolution. It is passing strange that the people of the Southwest, with the need of employment for their increasing population and with the raw material at hand, should send their cotton fifteen hundred miles to the New England States to be turned into cloth and then ship that cloth back again. They are not going to do it much longer. They are realizing the advantages of home industry and all over the great Southwest are going up buildings which will be used to manufacture the cotton that grows at their doors. In the city of Galveston last winter one was attracted by huge signs that were placed in conspicuous places on every thoroughfare, "Patronize Home Industry—Only Texas Capital is Invested in the Manufacture of ————'s Goods." That is the spirit manifested in the South of to-day, and it means that it is able to stand alone and intends to do so at the earliest opportunity. The Western States are willing to join hands with it and are giving their best efforts in that direction. Scarcely a week passes that every paper in the prairie States does

not say something good for the Gulf outlet, and at the sessions of the Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma legislatures during the past winter this subject attracted more attention than any of the measures before them, except that of railroad freight rates, which after all is closely connected with it.

The rates on grain from Kansas City, the basing point of much of the Western traffic, to the Atlantic sea-board is about 35 cents a hundred pounds. From Kansas City to Chicago it is from 15 to 20 cents. To the Gulf it is 15 cents. The railway haul from the interior of the Northern States to Kansas City and from the terminal points to the interior of Texas made the difference in prices at those points. But for the export trade, on which the price is after all dependent, there is in shipping to Liverpool a railway haul *via* the Atlantic of 1,208 miles; while through the Gulf ports it is only 767 miles. The ocean haul is, of course, the greater, but the freight thereon is so cheap that the difference is altogether to the credit of the Gulf ports. These things are being spread in the minds of the people and of the capitalists and both are becoming so much interested that they will make the new alliance assume proportions that are of the greatest importance to the business of the nation, if they have not already done so.

During the past six years there has been going on an intermingling of the settlers of the two sections. The States of Kansas and Nebraska have lost thousands in population. The lack of rain and the failure of crops have made them discouraged, and they have loaded their belongings into the white-covered "prairie schooners" that, like ships of discoverers, have sailed the plains for a quarter century, and sought the milder climate and the less arid skies of the South. Some have stopped in the newly-opened Indian lands, but many have gone on to the fertile fields of Texas. The ranches of the cattle barons have been cut up into farms and the wild-eyed steer of cattle trail days has given way to the well-bred cow whose milk is furnishing creamery butter to the city markets. Their industry is manifested in the well-tilled fields and the cosey homes that are scattered all over the northern and southwestern portions of the Lone Star State. They have brought into the politics of the commonwealth a different atmosphere and have compelled a greater intimacy between it and the North. Time was, and not so very long ago, when the idea of a joint commission to consider the mutual interests of the States North and South would have been hooted at, yet now it is an accomplished fact and is looked at as most natural.

The effort to build on the plains great cities has thus far been a failure. Outside those situated on the Missouri there are none that can claim the prominence two decades ago predicted of not less than a score of budding municipalities. But with the appearance of a seaport at a distance of only 700 miles what may not happen? The vast and fertile region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains is capable of supporting more than one Buffalo, Cleveland or Cincinnati. If the alliance that is being so rapidly perfected unites, as it bids fair to do, all this magnificent section, we may see this come to pass, with a second Boston on the Gulf besides.

The East has populated and built up the West. Its best young men have "broke" the prairies and made, of the level reaches of sod, farms and orchards. Its capital has caused a growth that has been the wonder of the world. But the emigrants who left the homes in that revered land, "back East"—the dweller on the plains speaks the words with tenderness—who

> "Crossed the prairies as of old
> The Pilgrims crossed the sea,"

are in different case now. The friends and relatives in the East are thinned by the sickle of time, the debts are being paid off and the relation between the East and West is less one of dependency on the one hand, and of patronage on the other. They are independent empires, each with its own conditions and ambitions. That the West is reaching out for an alliance with the nearer South is because it sees in that action the improvement of its finances and a fairer prospect for the coming years. That such a view is wide-spread, and that it is attracting more attention every day is a striking feature of the present condition of the western development. That it means something more than idle speculation and that it will result in new business and trade relations is scarcely to be doubted. It probably means decreased revenues for the eastern traffic lines and the related industries, but unless the judgment of the West is at fault it means better times for the plains.

The East may as well realize that its child has come to the years of maturity and is acting for itself.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

THE ALLEGED REPEOPLING OF IRELAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:

DEAR SIR: Pray grant me the freedom of your pages to say a few words regarding some Notes and Comments over Mr. George Bassett's signature, in a recent number of the REVIEW. The subject is the "Repeopling of Ireland," and Mr. Bassett in the beginning remarks that to the stranger it looks as if the island which gave letters to England had been repeopled by Britons, while at the end he reflects that it would be a heart-breaking termination of the struggle if the Home Rule flag should float at last over a thoroughly Anglicized Ireland.

Mr. Bassett cites a number of Saxon and Norman names of Irish-born men distinguished in military, scientific, literary, clerical, and commercial circles, to show that what one may call the original Irishry are, so to speak, "not in it" in their several walks. The license which he takes in buttressing this theory will be gauged when one finds him using such names as Burke, Moore, Sheridan, Fitzgerald, as typical of "those English-speaking people of Ireland friendly to England." But let that pass, though it is worth while to note that the Normans became more Irish than the Irish themselves, and notoriously waste no friendship on England.

Mr. Bassett will be glad, I guess from the tone of his article, to learn that, according to a census recently taken in Ireland, purely Irish names stand far away in point of numbers at the head of the list. Murphys are over 60,000; O'Kellys are between 50,000 and 60,000; O'Sullivans are about the same number. My own name (purely Irish, with bearers of it concentrated to a large extent in one county, Wicklow, on the eastern seaboard, and contiguous to Dublin, the City of the Pale) musters 48,000, and is fifth on the list. I have not the official figures by me, but, as well as I remember, those I put down are, in the main, accurate. The name of Smith—not uncommon—is at the head; and it is well established that a great number of the native Irishry took the names of trades, such as that of Smith, Carpenter, Weaver, Joiner, and so forth, to disguise their race and conceal their religion during the penal days. As a matter of fact, the English settlers (nor the Scotch, apart from some sections of Ulster) have made no appreciably permanent effect on the agricultural population—and Ireland is an agricul-

tural country. In effect, they become assimilated or extinct after a generation or two. The Jews, to whom Mr. Bassett alludes, never engage in agriculture, and go to Ireland merely as a migratory population, and because, perhaps, they were never persecuted there, and had champions in the Irish agitators and leaders, O'Connell, Butt, and Parnell, who were often their defenders in Parliament and out of it. It is true that in the higher learned circles and in the heavier commerce Saxon and Norman names preponderate in the cities; but throughout the country towns, large and small, the Irish names on the signboards as significantly predominate. Nay, even in Dublin, the greatest brewery in the world was founded by and is still mainly held by the Guinness family, who are MacGinnesses, and claim lineage with the chiefs of the old Northern sept or clan; and as for Cork, the Murphys are the founders and owners of the next biggest brewery in Ireland, while the Mahonys are makers and owners of the famous Blarney tweed factory. Gleesons and others of as truly Irish names are the proprietors of woollen mills in the very heart of the island.

If Mr. Bassett took up the national newspapers he could not have found such a disproportion of Irish to alien advertisers as he found in the conservative organ upon which he pitched. In point of fact it would be much easier for one to prove, on the lines taken by Mr. Bassett, and it would be much nearer the truth, that England has been Celticized by Scotchmen and Irishmen than that Ireland has been Anglicized by England, and certainly America has been more Hibernicized than Anglicized. As for the colonies of French Huguenots, afforded a refuge in such places as Portarlington, or German colonists dumped down here or there, the latter are nowhere and the former hardly count as affecting more than a small locality.

With reference to the Irish language, although it is not widely spoken, it is carefully preserved. There are professorships for Irish in all the considerable colleges in Ireland. It is taught in the Christian Brothers' and other schools, and is an officially recognized subject for marks in the intermediate education system. Besides, space is devoted to it on several newspapers, in some magazines, and it is fostered by conversazione societies in the capital. Mr. Bassett alludes to the fact that a greater number and variety of antique golden articles of a remote past are found in Ireland than in any other country, traces and proofs of its high ancient civilization. The treasure and muniment room of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College Library contain priceless articles of this character, and Irish manuscripts of a rare beauty beyond compare.

In concluding a letter which I did not mean to run to such length, and for which I claim your indulgence, I cannot agree with Mr. Bassett's theory that with a greater number of Irishmen out of Ireland than in Ireland the tendency must be ever to draw the flower of each generation to other lands. The Irishman, unlike his Cousin Scot, returns, or at least means to do so.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD BYRNE.

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MAN AND THE MACHINE.

BY THE RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER, D.D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

In May last there was held in the city of New York the annual meeting of an Association popularly known as C. A. I. L.* This Society is made up of the friends of working people of various callings and professions and of both sexes, and includes also representatives of various classes of working men and women. The meeting was wholly informal, and indeed explicitly social in its character; and after a simple but excellent supper there were informal speeches from various guests and others who were more or less representative of the interests represented by the Association.

It was my privilege to be one of these speakers, and it was not unnatural that one addressing such a gathering should be moved to call attention to the "interests" of those who labor, in a somewhat wider view of them than that word might ordinarily suggest. The interests of working men and women concern not alone their wages or housing, their hours or their food. And so I attempted to point out those just considerations which ought to influence not only the employers of labor, but all those who have it in their power, in any degree, to modify the conditions

* The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor.

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under which people work to-day, growing out of the nature of those conditions as peculiar to our own generation. This line of remark led me to refer to what has aptly been called the "Industrial Revolution" of the last and the present century, and to the great changes it has brought about; to sketch briefly the condition of the handicraftsman of earlier times—his domestic relations to his employer, the intimate and almost filial character of a workman's life as part of a great household, in which he ate below the salt, but often ate at the same table with his employer; and our modern conditions, under which he was often personally unknown to his employer, designated by a number, working in a "gang," and hired or dismissed usually without the smallest reference to any personal or domestic circumstances in the case. I recognized that a laborer, before the present century, was often hard driven, poorly fed, and worse housed; but pointed out that his individuality had more habitual recognition, and in many cases kindly and more or less fraternal consideration. Passing from this branch of the subject, I referred also to the enormous change in the circumstances of the working man growing out of the introduction of machinery, and pointed out how inevitable was the tendency of the increased employment of machinery to *mechanicalize* the workman. It was in view of such considerations, I urged, that such sympathetic interest in the circumstances, as well as the legal and economic rights of working men, appeared to have a just claim upon everybody who had regard to the "eternal equities," and felt any obligation for the well-being of his fellow-men.

Almost immediately after saying the few words which I have thus epitomized, I left the country for an absence of some months; but I had hardly touched the shores of a foreign land before I was followed by reports of my informal address, which for ingenious and grotesque inaccuracy have hardly had a parallel anywhere,—I do not think I could state the case more strongly—in the columns of a sensational press.

I have not the slightest intention of undertaking to correct them here. My own rule in such cases has long been invariable. Some day the innocent people who allow themselves to be beguiled into correcting newspaper misstatements will learn that that weakness of misrepresented people is one of the reasons that

prompt the unscrupulous authors of those statements to make them. The personal element in modern newspapers is the mustard that gives to the whole vulgar dish, to many appetites, its chief relish. Sensible people will refuse to furnish it.

But I refer to the matter now in order to call attention to the immense mischief which is wrought by modern journalism, in such a connection as this, with regard to interests that are vastly more important than those of any individual. The deluge of excerpts, to which I have referred, included a multitudinous variety of criticisms of every kind upon statements which I had never made, and which any sane person, one would suppose, must know that it was impossible that I could have made—since they imputed to me opinions which could only be excusable in a lunatic. These criticisms proceeded from manufacturers, employers of labor, journalists, men of letters, clergymen, and other critics who could not easily be classified. No one of these persons had ever taken the trouble to verify the statements they criticised; and in the case of ministers of religion, especially, they furnished a curious and painful illustration of the way in which the demoralization of the pulpit has attended upon that of the press. The preacher, apparently, cared as little as the journalist for the *facts* in the case. What he wanted for his Sunday harangue was a sensational point of departure, and where he found it, or what was its value as something having any foundation in fact, was a matter of profound indifference to him.

Now, we talk of a sound public opinion as a foundation of the well-being of the state. But it is certainly a question of some importance,—how is such a public opinion created? Public opinion is not alone the opinion of scholars, statesmen, journalists, clergymen and the like. It is the opinion of that great mass of the people, whose diffused intelligence and accurate knowledge are in civic matters our only hope. But what is to be expected of it if it is fed habitually by misinformation, by exaggerated, sensational and irresponsible statements? Much is said in these days about the suppressed discontent and irritation which exists between classes,—not on one side alone, but on both sides. It is time that the question was asked: Who is responsible for it, and how may such a malign influence be restrained and chastened?

The most depressing fact that confronts one who is trying to interpret to each other men or classes that are at issue, is the immense sub-stratum of ignorance and prejudice that exists on both sides, and that is found on examination to be the result of persistent misinformation ; of facts torn from their connection, or partially stated ; of bitter, or scornful, or inflammatory words, spoken often by those who represent no one but themselves, and that are flung abroad in displayed type, or with sensational expansion of editorial comment, to be the spark that anew kindles social resentments or inflames class hatreds. We are facing to-day a whole group of grave questions, of real difficulty, of extreme delicacy often, and almost as often of almost entire novelty. They grow out of conditions that, until the present century, never had an existence, and they are complicated by perplexities which what we call our industrial progress does not diminish, but often greatly complicates. In such a situation, what the hour waits for is a cool temper, restrained speech, a judicial hesitancy in flinging about loose opinions, and a wide knowledge of a very wide range of facts. Under these circumstances the swift imputation of motives, the ready inference of malign intent, the exaggerated descriptions whether of the heartlessness of one class or of the malignity of the other, to which we are frequently treated, is precisely as mischievous as the act of the anarchist or incendiarist who drops bombs or petroleum about the streets or homes in which his neighbors live. That we have become so far wonted to it as we have ; that the mischief of it appears so little to concern or to alarm us, is itself an element of danger that has constrained me to refer to the matter here.

On the occasion to which I referred at the opening of this paper, I was striving to say some words to bind men together—the more favored classes in intelligent sympathy with those whose lot is that of unremitting labor, the hardships of which have unquestionably been greatly increased, often, by those modern conditions under which labor has to be performed. In illustration of this point I referred, as has already been indicated, to the purely mechanical and unintelligent character of much that is required of a working man in serving or feeding some great mechanism, and pointed out that the utter monotony of it must needs account for the intemperate reaction from such monotony, of which one sometimes heard. These temperate and,

as I venture to think, timely words have been widely heralded as a denunciation of the employment of machinery in manufacture and an unreserved condemnation of it in connection with our modern industrial life. It is not necessary, I hope, that I should disown so absurd a misrepresentation. Any one of even the most limited intelligence cannot fail to perceive the enormous gains in convenience, comfort, and luxury from the application of machinery to the arts. But no great gain of such a character is without cost, in many ways and of many kinds. The cost to the individual who works at a handicraft is real and serious, and it is concerning this that we need to recognize the present situation and to do what we can to ameliorate it.

The case is admirably stated by Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor, in his work *The Modern Factory System*, in terms so true and temperate that I cannot refrain from quoting them :

"This type of industry is new in the world. In all previous modes of labor (including the earlier factory systems) all the processes were performed by means of manufacture proper ; either, that is, by the 'fitting together (by human hands) of partial products made independently,' or by the conducting them through 'a series of connected processes and manipulations,' with or without the aid of more or less simple machines and tools. In the present instance it is the processes themselves that are performed by the machines, and the human hands that only assist them. It is machiue industry ; not industry merely aided by machinery. A weaving establishment of 200, 2,000, or 5,000 years ago (say in England, Greece, or Egypt) would equally well afford an example of the first type, and the same general description of what occurred be fairly applicable. The yarn, spun independently with a simple tool, a distaff—or a simple implement, a spinning wheel—is fitted to the loom as warp and weft, and woven on that more complicated implement into a web. But it is not woven by it. The shuttle is passed back and forward or in and out by hand. Adam Smith's celebrated description of pin-making as practised in his day furnishes a good illustration of the second category. 'One man draws out the wire ; another straights it ; a third cuts it ; a fourth points it ; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head ; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations ; to put it on is a peculiar business ; to whiten the pin is another ; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper ; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories are all performed by distinct hands.' Here the finished product is the result of a 'series of connected processes and manipulations,' all manual, and directed under a common superintendence to a definite end. But compare now these proceedings with the same or similar ones all performed by machinery ; or rather let us return to textile industry for the comparison. The warp and weft both spun *by*, not merely *with* machinery, are by machinery wound on the shuttle and the beam, and being conducted to a proper place, are then again by a machine wrought into the web. The

'connected processes' are still there, but they are no longer 'manipulations.' Nay, if this machine does its work badly and the yarn breaks, it is not the weaver who detects the fault, but the machine that informs *him.* By an ingenious contrivance a bell is rung, the loom stops, and all that is left for human faculties to perform is the common-place operation of tying the broken ends together. Is this machinery aiding human labor or human labor aiding machinery? It is clearly the latter; it is *machine industry;* a different thing from anything that had yet been known, one of the special characteristics of modern industry, and among other forms of it, of the modern factory system. The full significance of the change thus introduced in labor is not yet understood, nor can any adequate exposition of it be attempted here. It is clearly a much larger question than is involved in the rise or fall of any particular factory system, for it obviously affects forms of labor lying altogether outside it. But the difference made in the position of the factory worker is fundamental. In earlier factories the human element was the supreme one; under the modern system that supremacy belongs to the machine."*

Precisely. And the question for all right-minded people is: How far shall this supremacy be allowed to extend? It is idle to pretend that this domination of the machine in the life of the working man can long obtain without affecting that in him which is of incomparably more value than anything that the machine can produce. In fact, in this connection the testimony of those who can speak with a technical knowledge and wide experience to which I can make no claim is substantially conclusive. Says Hobson in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism:*†

"Though the quality of intelligence and skill applied to the invention, application, and management of machinery is constantly increasing, practical authorities are almost unanimous in admitting that the proportion which this skilled work bears to the aggregate of labor in machine industry is constantly diminishing. Now, setting on one side this small proportion of intelligent labor, what are we to say of the labor of him who, under the minute subdivision enforced by machinery, is obliged to spend his working life in tending some small portion of a single machine, the whole result of which is continually to push some single commodity a single step along the journey from raw material to consumptive goods?

"The factory is organized with military precision, the individual's work is definitely fixed for him; he has nothing to say as to the plan of his work or its final completion or its ultimate use. 'The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost.'‡ The work of a machine tender, it is urged, calls for 'judgment and carefulness.' So did his manual labor before the machine took it over. His 'judgment and carefulness' are now confined within narrower limits than before. The responsibility of the worker is greater, precisely because his work is narrowed

* "*The Modern Factory System,*" W. C. Taylor, pp. 75-77.
† "*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism,*" by J. A. Hobson.
‡ D. A. Wells, "*Contemporary Review,*" 1889, p. 392.

down so as to be related to and dependent on a number of other operatives in other parts of the same machine with whom he has no direct personal concern. Such realized responsibility is an element in education, moral and intellectual. But this gain is the direct result of the minute subdivision, and must therefore be regarded as purchased by a narrowing of interests and a growing monotony of work. It is questionable whether the great majority of machine workers get any considerable education, from the fact that the machine in conjunction with which they work represents a huge embodiment of the delicate skill and invention of many thousands of active minds; though some value may be attached to the contention that 'the mere exhibition of the skill displayed and the magnitude of the operations performed in factories can scarcely fail of some educational effect.'* The absence of any true apprenticeship in modern factories prevents the detailed worker from understanding the method and true bearing even of those processes which are closely linked to that in which he is engaged. The ordinary machine tender, save in a very few instances, *e. g.*, watchmaking, has no general understanding of the work of a whole department. Present conditions do not enable the 'tender' to get out of machinery the educational influence he might get. Professor Nicholson expresses himself dubiously upon the educational value of the machine. 'Machinery of itself does not tend to develop the mind as the sea and mountains do, but still it does not necessarily involve deterioration of general mental ability.'† Dr. Arlidge expresses a more decided opinion. 'Generally speaking, it may be asserted of machinery that it calls for little or no brain exertion on the part of those connected with its operations; it arouses no interest, and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence, though it may sharpen the sight and stimulate muscular activity in some one limited direction.' "‡

The writer from whom I have just quoted furnishes, in the same discussion, a very striking illustration of these words in connection with the work of railway engineers:

"A locomotive superintendent of a railway was recently questioned as to the quality of engine-driving. 'After twenty years' experience, he declared emphatically that the very best engine-drivers were those that were most mechanical and unintelligent in their work, who cared least about the internal mechanism of their engine.'‖ Yet engine-driving is far less mechanical and monotonous than ordinary tending of machinery.

"So far as the man follows the machine and has his work determined for him by mechanical necessity, the educative pressure of the latter force must be predominant. Machinery, like everything else, can only teach what it practices. Order, exactitude, persistence, conformity to unbending law—these are the lessons which must emanate from the machine. They have an important place as elements in the formation of intellectual and moral character. But of themselves they contribute a one-sided and very imperfect education. Machinery can exactly reproduce; it can, therefore, teach the lesson of exact reproduction, an education of quantitative measurements. The defect of machinery, from the educative point of view, is its absolute conservatism. The law of machinery is a law of statical order,

* Taylor, "*Modern Factory System*," p. 435.

† *Cf.* the comparison of conditions of town and country labor in Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*," Bk I. Chap. x., part 2.

‡ "*Diseases of Occupation*," pp. 25-26.

‖ "*The Social Horizon*," p. 22.

that everything conforms to a pattern, that present actions precisely resemble past and future actions. Now the law of human life is dynamic, requiring order not as valuable in itself, but as the condition of progress. The law of human life is that no experience, no thought or feeling is an exact copy of any other. Therefore, if you confine a man to expending his energy in trying to conform exactly to the movements of a machine, you teach him to abrogate the very principle of life. Variety is of the essence of life, and machinery is the enemy of variety."*

With those words I am content to rest my case. There is no one who will read them who will not own the enormous strain that comes from the pressure of an unremitting monotony. It is to such a monotony that our modern industrial life increasingly tends; and it is to its effects, first upon the nervous system of men and women, and then upon their reasoning and imaginative powers, that the present unrest of the industrial classes is largely to be traced. It would seem as if it were the part of reason and of common humanity to recognize such facts, and to own the appeal which they make to those of us who have it in our power in any way to ameliorate these untoward conditions. The first obstacle to be faced is a profound and widespread indifference, based, I believe, upon a large ignorance of the facts, and a very superficial judgment as to any efforts that may have been made to modify them; and the other, of which I would that I had space to speak now, is that increased distance and ever-enlarging ignorance which, to-day and in this land, divide from each other those who are differently circumstanced. We are eating the fruits of an irresponsible prosperity, which has grown rich and luxury-loving with a fine indifference, too often, to the processes by which our wealth has been gained. What it has cost, what it is costing others, has, at the best, very little concerned us. But a day of reckoning will come; and the awakening of the privileged classes to conditions in the life of working people which they ought long ago to have recognized may easily be a very painful and costly one. Surely, a wiser and a nobler way will be to seek first to recognize and to own the conditions in our present industrial life that need bettering, and then to touch them with a wise, and generous, and fraternal hand.

HENRY C. POTTER.

* "*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*," p. 257.

IMMIGRATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL TEST.

BY PRESCOTT F. HALL, SECRETARY OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

A RECENT writer upon the immigration question * truly says that much as this question has been discussed pro and con, there has been "a noticeable lack of the one element which can give certainty to the argument and force to the conclusions." Of such facts, he adds, "as bear directly and strongly upon the problems involved there has been little use made." There are many facts of the greatest importance to the solution of this question which have not appeared prominently in previous discussion, but which cannot safely be dismissed with generalities. A few of them it is my purpose to present in this article.

In the first place the real question confronting us to-day is not whether immigration in general is desirable, or has benefited this country in the past, whether it shall be entirely suspended, or whether there are more or fewer inhabitants per square mile in the United States than in some foreign country. The practical question is: Are the laws at present upon the statute books accomplishing what they were intended to effect, and do they let in all desirable additions to our population, and exclude all undesirable elements?

If immigrants be undesirable the fact that there is land enough for many times the population which we now have in the United States would be generally conceded to be an inadequate reason for admitting them. All admit that this is so in the case of persons unable to support themselves, and therefore present or future paupers are in theory excluded by the present law. As to whether they are in fact excluded I shall have something to say in a moment.

* Mr. S. G. Croswell, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1897.

But if we assume the paupers to be eliminated, is it true that we want in this country every man who can earn enough to keep body and soul together, or a little more? There seem to be two good reasons for thinking that we do not. First, admitting that wealth produced by manual labor gives a generous opportunity for mental and moral progress, still the greatness of a nation is not measured by the mileage of its sewers, the size of its tenement houses, or the abundance of its food supply. The essence of national greatness is in the intelligence and ideals of the people, and therefore the moral, social and political qualities of immigrants are of more importance in considering whether they shall be admitted or excluded than their ability to perform manual labor. Second, if there is a necessity for more laborers in this country, we can secure all we need without being obliged to take any who are undesirable because unfitted to our social and political life.

Postponing, for the moment, the precise definition of "undesirable," it is obvious that a considerable part of the immigration of the past has been desirable without question. If we exclude any elements, their place can be filled in two ways. It is well known that many industrious and thrifty foreigners no longer turn their attention to this country as a place to which to emigrate, because of the large influx in recent years of immigrants of a low grade of intelligence and standard of living. If we decide that these qualities are undesirable and exclude those possessing them, we thereby bid for a higher class of foreign labor; but even if this bid should not prove a sufficient attraction we can supply the needed additions from our own population. One of the most valuable contributions to the discussion of the immigration question was made by the late and much mourned Francis A. Walker. He showed that, contrary to some popular assertions, foreign workingmen did not come here in the past because Americans despised manual labor, but that the latter abandoned manual labor because of dislike of intimacy with the less intelligent and less progressive foreigners. The immigrants of '46 and '47, being for the most part peasants, turned their hands to the relatively unskilled work. The Americans, or the higher class of previous immigrants, already in those occupations, forthwith began to withdraw from them. In a growing country some of those thus displaced found other pursuits, but as this

process has been going on ever since there have been times when the adults displaced have had difficulty in finding congenial employment. The result has been that these men have not married, or, if they have married, they have refused to increase the size of their families until they had the means to give their children the education and opportunities which could take them out of the lowest social class they saw about them. Herein is one secret of the halving of the American birth-rate. In proportion as still lower and more degraded immigrants come, the process applies to a larger portion of the people already here. In proportion as this process is checked by the exclusion of the least desirable, the birth-rate of the natives and of the foreign-born already here will tend to increase. If this be true, we have found a most important consideration to take into account in dealing with the immigration laws, for we must consider not merely the immigrants but their children and our children. Do we want this country to be peopled by British, German, and Scandinavian stock, historically free, energetic, progressive, or by Slav, Latin, and Asiatic races, historically down-trodden, atavistic, and stagnant? The facts are that over four-fifths of our recent immigrants are utterly unskilled in any employment, while of some races which have been increasing in immigration of late, such as Italians, nearly nine-tenths are laborers.

Mr. Croswell seems to think that the Middle and Western States are handicapped by the lack of manual laborers; but if that be true, why have these very States, and still more the Northwestern States, been crying out most loudly for several years for some further restriction of immigration? Among the States which in 1895 replied to an investigating committee of the Treasury Department that they wanted no further immigration of any kind were Illinois, Iowa, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California.

But, as is said above, the moral, social, and political aspects of the question are far more important than its material side. Let us, therefore, turn our attention to these matters. To find out what sort of citizens we are getting it is convenient to consider them by nationalities, bearing in mind, however, that each individual must be judged on his own merits without race proscription or prejudice. The facts suggest at once the dangers and the remedy.

Immigration during the ten years from 1880 to 1890 amounted to 5,246,613 souls, or over 35 per cent. of the total immigration from 1820 to 1890. At its highest it added over one per cent. to the population of the United States in a single year, while the average during the period from 1886 to 1895 was 435,000 per year. There is nothing especially significant in the fact that the number of arrivals for 1896 was below the average, or that the number is even smaller this year. There has always been in the past a close correspondence between the number of arrivals in this country and the general state of business activity here. The depression of the last four years is undoubtedly the cause of this falling off at the present time, and the immigration act of 1893, which was merely an administrative measure, has probably had but a slight effect, if any, in producing this result. After each panic in our history, immigration has rapidly increased with renewed industrial activity, and great numbers have come only to be thrown out of work when the next depression set in. One unfortunate feature of this fluctuation, which I have pointed out elsewhere,* is that in times of business stagnation the falling off in immigration is largely of the skilled, enterprising and industrious races and individuals, while the coming of unskilled laborers and of those with no occupation is the last to be affected.

Previous to 1870, three-quarters of all immigrants came from kindred races, from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia. In 1880 these countries sent us only three-fifths, and in 1896 only two-fifths, of the total immigration. On the other hand, southern and eastern Europe, that is to say, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia, which in 1869 sent less than one one-hundreth of the total immigration, in 1880 sent one-tenth, and in 1896 over one-half. In other words, a most profound change has taken place in the nationality of our immigration almost while we have been discussing it, and the problems are by no means the same as they were a dozen years ago. Without going into the reasons for this change, it may be observed that they are likely to be even more potent in the future, and that a very different type of character was demanded of those who came here by sailing vessel forty years ago, enduring a long, rough voyage and paying a high rate of passage, from that required in taking a six days' trip in a huge modern steamer, and

* North American Review, August, 1896.

paying a steerage rate frequently as low as $15, and sometimes as low as $9.

That along with much good material we have gotten much which is worthless and a burden, is shown by the fact that in 1890 there were 80,000 persons of foreign birth or parentage supported by the public in the prisons, insane asylums and almshouses of the United States. Roughly speaking, if we take an equal number of the foreign and of the native elements of the population, we find the foreign element furnishes one and one-half times as many criminals, two and one-third times as many insane persons, and three times as many paupers as the native element. In Massachusetts, which does not get the worst elements of recent immigration to any great extent, those of foreign birth furnished in 1895 ten times as many criminals as an equal number of native birth and parentage. And, contrary to much that has been predicted, the second generation who were born in this country furnished five-sixths as many criminals as the foreign born. If we consider drunkenness alone, the foreign born furnished three times as many criminals as the native born. This shows that in the past, at any rate, we have been receiving some elements that tend to lower social morality.

Now, let us inquire from what nations we get these elements, and let us ask at the same time whether there is any test which can be applied which will separate the wheat from the chaff.

If we take the prison reports of Massachusetts (which are the only ones to my knowledge giving full statistics on this matter), and leave out of account the matter of drunkenness, as being likely to obscure the comparison as to intrinsically criminal tendencies, we find a certain progression in the number of criminals per thousand furnished by the foreign born of the various nationalities. Thus Germany gives 3.6 per thousand, Scandinavia 5.1, Scotland 5.8, France 6.1, Ireland 7.1, England 7.2, Russia 7.9, Austria 10.4, Hungary 15.4, Poland 16.0, and Italy 18.2. The native born give 2.7, and the foreign born 5.4, or just twice as many.

Now if we turn to the figures as to the illiteracy of immigrants, which do not vary much from year to year, we shall be startled to find a progression almost exactly parallel to the above progression as to criminality. In 1896 the percentage of illiter-

acy among Scandinavians was less than 2, among Germans less than 3, English 5, Scotch 6, Irish 7, Greeks 26, Russians 41, Austro-Hungarians 45, Italians 55, Portuguese 78. If we consider the converse of the question, namely the proportion of prisoners from the various races who are illiterate, the same result is reached.

We should expect that immigrants relatively ignorant of their language would also be ignorant of other things, *e. g.*, a trade, and such is the case. The progression in this respect is parallel to those already noted,—from Scotland sending us 25.7 per cent. of all her emigrants as professional and skilled persons, to Hungary sending 3.7 per cent. of such persons.

The same holds true as to the amount of money brought by immigrants—those from France, Germany, England, and Sweden bringing the most ($37 to $18), while those from Austria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia bring the least ($7 to $13) *per capita*. These figures do not give the numerical average money brought *per capita*, which would be extremely misleading, but are made up by taking into account the number bringing $1 to $5, $5 to $10, and so on.

It is generally admitted that the races which have largely increased their immigration since 1880 tend to settle in our seaboard cities, and do not, as did their predecessors, go out to settle the new regions of the West. We find in this respect also a progression parallel to those already noted. Thus of Norwegians only 20 per cent. are found in our large cities ; of English, 40 per cent., and so on till we come to Poles and Russians, 57 per cent., and Italians nearly 60 per cent.

We find that the great size of this country is a poor argument for unlimited immigration, in the face of the fact that over seven-tenths of the total immigration last year was bound for the four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. If these people could be spread abroad throughout the country, doubtless the evil effects of their crowding into particular centres might be diminished, but no one has as yet suggested any practicable scheme for doing this, even with enormous expense ; and in the few cases where it has been tried it has proved a dismal failure. If the wishes of the various States as to the nationalities of immigrants desired by them have any bearing on the matter, those races of which we have received the greater

proportion since 1880 will not obtain any great inducement to settle in other parts of the United States. Among the replies of the States to the Investigating Commission, above alluded to, there were only two which expressed any willingness to receive Slav, Latin or Asiatic settlers, and these two were for Italian farmers with money intending permanent settlement.

It will readily be seen that those immigrants bringing the least money are not in a position, for some time at least, to go far from the seaboard, and when they have earned enough to carry them to other sections, if ties have not been formed which keep them on the Atlantic coast, they turn their faces eastward to spend their earnings in their native country, where a few hundred dollars seems a princely fortune. The commissioner at the port of New York states that during the fiscal year 1896 about 20 per cent. of all immigrants arriving had been in the United States before, and I have myself seen manifests of Italian immigrants at the same port which showed that in some cases they had already been in this country four, five and six times.

Too often, however, they drift at once and for all, or for a long time, into our city slums, and there become a heavy tax upon our schools, prisons, police, courts of justice, and public and private charities, and often a menace to the public health. A recent report of the United States Commissioner of Labor shows that those of foreign birth or parentage form 77 per cent. of the total population of the slum districts in Baltimore, 90 per cent. in Chicago, 95 per cent. in New York, and 91 per cent. in Philadelphia. And it appears that of these percentages Southeastern Europe has furnished three times as many as Northwestern Europe in Baltimore, nineteen times as many in New York, twenty times as many in Chicago, and seventy-one times as many in Philadelphia. In other words, the slums of our largest cities are largely a foreign product, and a product of the countries which have greatly increased their immigration in recent years. To return for a moment to a consideration mentioned earlier in this article, the average illiteracy of the inhabitants of the slum districts of the four cities mentioned was for those from Northwestern Europe, twenty-five in a hundred; for those from Southeastern Europe, fifty-four in a hundred, or more than double; while the illiteracy of the native Americans was seven in a hundred.

It appears, therefore, that restriction of naturalization, while a most desirable thing in itself, will not be any bar to the social and political dangers and burdens involved in the presence of the elements just referred to. There are other dangers quite as real as those of the ballot, and burdens quite as heavy as those of foolish expenditure.

Now, if we consider the effect of the laws at present in force, we find that their chief value is in deterring those from coming to this country who might otherwise come; for the actual number debarred and returned under these laws is but a paltry fraction of one per cent. of the total immigration. Under the present law an immigration inspector who wishes to exclude a man whom he thinks undesirable, but who does not come under any other excluded class, is obliged to decide that the man will certainly become a public charge within a year. This he can obviously seldom do, and the man has the benefit of the doubt. If he can keep from applying to the State or local authorities for assistance for a year, or if he can conceal his identity in doing so, he is safe from deportation. The latter method is worked so successfully that in Massachusetts only about one-third of the cases of immigrants receiving public relief can be identified so as to be deported under the laws.

If these statements are true, and the proof is clear beyond dispute, is there any remedy which shall allow us the benefit of desirable immigration, and curtail our hospitality to those from foreign lands as little as possible, but which shall yet bar out the elements which are a source of danger to our state? I believe the most effective remedy yet devised is suggested in the striking parallel we have found in the relation between illiteracy and other undesirable qualities, such as criminality, destitution, aversion to country life, ignorance of occupation and slum tendencies. It should be clearly understood that it is not claimed that the ability to read and write is an evidence of good moral character. But the facts above set forth, and others of like nature which could be adduced if space permitted, go to show that in general the illiterate are undesirable, and that the undesirable are illiterate. It is not to be expected that a test of reading and writing would exclude educated criminals and anarchists. We know how to deal with these gentlemen, as was shown at Chicago and Detroit. But the danger to the state comes not so much from

the few educated cranks as from the mass of ignorant material upon which they can work. If we must admit that some of that material is of American descent, so much the more reason is there for not adding to it from abroad.

The main object is to get some test which can be easily applied without danger of evasion. Undoubtedly, a few desirable immigrants might be excluded under such a law, but that is true of any test, and the educational test seems likely to shut out fewer desirable immigrants than any other, while it does shut the door against those unqualified to ask admission. It should be said, also, that on the one hand such a law would apply only to the less desirable part of our immigration, and would not be a wholesale measure of exclusion—if in force in 1896 it would have excluded about twenty-nine per cent. of the total immigration ; and on the other hand, it is a test with which, by the exercise of a reasonable amount of diligence, the immigrant can comply. The ability to read and write his own language does not seem an unreasonable requirement to make in the case of a man who seeks to enter a democracy like ours. At the entrance to our principal port at which immigrants arrive we have placed a statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. The statue carries in one hand a torch and in the other a book ; and this properly interpreted means not merely that immigrants shall be educated to a higher degree after they get here, but that they should be able to read the fundamental law of the land by the light of liberty's torch in order to entitle them to enjoy the advantages which liberty has produced.

To sum up the results at which we have arrived we may say :

1. If any immigrant be undesirable for social and political reasons, the mere economic gain from additional unskilled laborers is not of paramount importance.

2. Even if it were, we can supply such laborers by the multiplication of our native and adopted population.

3. Immigration of a lower mental development and standard of living tends to check the natural increase of those already in this country.

4. Undesirable immigration may be defined as that which is destitute of resources, either in money or, still more, in ability and knowledge of a means to support itself ; which is generally ignorant ; which has criminal tendencies ; is averse to country

life, and congregates in our city slums; which has a low standard of living and little ambition to seek a better, and which has no permanent interests in this country.

5. Considering immigration by nationalities, there is a closely parallel increase of illiteracy and other undesirable qualities.

6. A reading and writing test will, therefore, exclude the dangerous and unassimilable elements by a certain and uniform method; it requires evidence of a rudimentary education indispensable in a democracy, and it will exclude fewer desirable immigrants than any other test.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

COLLEGE DISCIPLINE.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN, PRESIDENT OF LELAND STANFORD, JR., UNIVERSITY.

It is reported that Bismarck said something like this: "One-third of the students in the German universities destroy themselves by dissipation, one-third wear themselves out by overwork, and the rest govern Europe."

Without insisting on the numerical equality of these three classes, we recognize that something of this sort is true of the college students of America. One part go "to the dogs," one part to the grave, and the rest are the strength of the Republic. It is the art of college discipline to merge the first two classes into the third; to eliminate or reform the idle or dissipated, to transform weakness into strength, and to promote that culture which is power. The men the college should send out are those who have learned the secret of effectiveness. It is the safeguard of republics that in the long run the man outweighs the majority. Enlightened common sense must rule, whatever may be the form of government. It is the function of the university to enlarge the fund of common sense. To this end, primarily, all its powers should be directed.

The American university is changing year by year in its attitude towards matters of discipline. The tendency is to throw on the student, more and more, the responsibility for his work and his conduct. The growth of the elective system in studies carries with it freedom in personal development. The college student is becoming more and more of a man, and that he is treated more as a man is both cause and effect.

In the German system of education we see the opposite extremes in matters of discipline. In the gymnasium the student is under the strictest rule both as to his studies and as to his

behavior. The student in the university is under no supervision in either regard. Hence the period of transition is one of especial danger. Whatever has been officially forbidden has an additional temptation. When forbidden fruit is suddenly made free, it takes a steady head to refuse it on the sole ground that it is bad. For this reason, the progressive increase of freedom in the American university indicates a wiser policy. It is less wasteful, and it is a function of the university to save as well as to make men.

But it can work for virtue best by indirect means. It should give to the student the widest liberty of action, while at the same time it should not be indifferent to the abuse of such liberty. In matters of character, as well as in matters of study, strength must come from self-activity. To be good is a matter of individual effort. To be wise, which is much the same thing, is a condition which must be attained in the same way.

The best way to cure a student of petty vices and childish trickery is to make a man of him. Give him something real to do and he will not fritter his nervous strength away in conviviality or in degrading associations. But to forbid excesses and abuses, putting nothing in their places, cannot be very effective. Not long ago I had occasion to say: "If your college assume to stand *in loco parentis*, with rod in hand and spy-glasses on its nose, it will not do much in the way of moral training. The fear of punishment will not make young men moral or religious —least of all a punishment so easily evaded as the discipline of a college. If your college claims to be a reform school, your professors detective officers, and your president a chief of police, the student will give them plenty to do. A college cannot take the place of a parent. To claim that it does is mere pretense. You may win by inspiration, not by fear. 'Free should the scholar be; free and brave.' 'The petty restraints that may aid in the control of college sneaks and college snobs are an insult to college men and college women. It is for the training of men and women that colleges exist.'"

If, therefore, the college ceases to exercise its authority to lead young men away from paths of evil, it is not because it does not care whither they stray. It is because it believes that better means to the same end exist. It does not abdicate its authority; it withholds it to be used where it will be most effective.

It is said sometimes that the American university cannot teach morality. Wisdom can only arise from one's own experience. The college can do nothing for virtue. Its function is to conduct the classes and let the students take care of themselves. Even the idle and profligate, it is said, serve a useful purpose in the college. The fees they pay make the college stronger and hence better for the wise and the studious. Young men, able but penniless, are supported by the fees the idle pay for coaching, and even if the college does them little good, they get what they pay for.

I do not think this a wise view of the case. The college can do much for wisdom and virtue if it makes them typical of its work. It can strengthen the forces that make for righteousness. Its greatest power is that which comes from personal association. Each college has its own "atmosphere," the resultant of influences of personality. The addition of $15,000 a year to the income of a college is dearly bought by the presence of a hundred loafers. Half the vice in colleges is the vice of corrosion. "A good fellow who is nobody's enemy but his own" cannot go "to the dogs" or "to the devil" without taking others with him. No man can be vicious to himself alone, and the corrosive effects of an unwholesome life are felt throughout the college community. If the good a college does to a man is less than the mischief due to his presence, it is well to get rid of him. This consideration should, I think, be the basis of college discipline. No man should use the university as a place for idle pleasure or for dissipation. If no good comes to him, then he must bring evil to others. Many a man who would have wrecked his life will save it through the influences of earnest men. The development of such influence is the most important feature of the recent growth of the American university. The strength of earnest men is permeating the whole system. The freedom of the elective system has its best feature in the freedom of contact with genuine men. The first of Bismarck's categories is growing smaller in American universities. It is no longer fashionable to be "fast." It is disreputable to grow old before one's time. Let the pleasure lover go to work or go home.

The second class, the "pale student," who crouches over his books burning the midnight oil, "blanches his cheek" and "brings pale death upon him in his prime," is in need of similar

treatment. He, too, fortunately, is passing out of fashion. The prizes are no longer given to him. He is no longer the pride of the teacher, and he ought not to be. The ranks of the faculty are no longer recruited from his class. Culture and anæmia are no longer related. "The color of life is red." An education which does not disclose the secret of power is unworthy the name. The growth of college athletics, whatever its problems and whatever its excesses, is a movement toward strength. Whatever makes for personal force is in the long run an agency toward good morals.

As my opinion is asked as to the practical ways of raising the standard of behavior in colleges, I may be allowed to explain the methods in vogue in the institution under my direction. These methods may not be the best, but they are the best that I know, else I should have taken some other.

The whole matter of the control of students in Stanford University is vested in the hands of a committee of five members of the faculty. This committee has power to act without reporting to the faculty as a whole. The rest of the staff of instructors have nothing whatever to do with matters of discipline. The vesting of this power in the hands of a committee rather than in the faculty as a whole has many great advantages. The small committee can act quickly, consistently and silently. A student dropped from the rolls leaves without publicity, and without the disturbance which comes from dealing with delinquents by the clumsy methods of the faculty. The institution has no rules to be broken. Nothing allowed by the laws of California is forbidden by the faculty. Hence, in general, no punishments are threatened or administered. A student is fit to stay in the university or else he is not. If he make mistakes or commit misdemeanors, he may be forgiven if he have the strength to do better. If his character is bad and nothing can be made of him, the university is no place for him and has no need for his fees.

The general function of the Committee on Discipline is summed up in the following letter of instruction recently issued to the chairman:

"To DR. WILBUR W. THOBURN, Chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs:

"The number of persons seeking the advantages of the University is constantly greater than we can care for. To do the best for those who are

in earnest, the University faculty can waste no time on the idle, dissipated, or undeserving.

"It is a part of the duty of your committee to eliminate unworthy persons from the rolls of the University classes. You have the authority to request the withdrawal of any student whose presence for any reason seems undesirable.

"It is desired that you should exercise this authority not only on those found guilty of specific acts of immorality or of dishonesty, but on any whose personal influence is objectionable. Those who are dissipated, profligate, intemperate, tricky or foul of tongue should be removed, though no specific act of wrong-doing may be proved or charged against them.

"It is desired also that you should look somewhat after the welfare of students who subject themselves to unreasonable privations. An education obtained at the cost of a shattered nervous system is not worth anything, and your committee is given authority to check excesses of zeal for work, as it checks other excesses.

"Signed by the President.

"Dated August 28, 1897."

Another committee, that on "Doubtful Cases," considers questions of scholarship only, and in like manner eliminates those too idle, too stupid, or too weak to maintain their standing, and this without reference to the moral character of the person in question. Usually the profligate student is idle, or at least irregular in his work. Therefore, the action of one committee is usually complementary to that of the other. But the number of "doubtful cases" is usually in excess of those regarded as incurably vicious.

Still other committees look in a general way after the ethics and hygiene of athletics, and of student enterprises in general. The policy in all cases is to act through the students, and not over them; not to meddle with anything which can work itself out aright through student agencies; yet not to be indifferent or powerless when affairs are going wrong.

I am asked to say a word about hazing. This name is applied to a species of ruffianism which owes its continuance from year to year to the power of tradition rather than to any natural desire to do mean or cowardly things. It is difficult to deal with it effectively, for two reasons. The one is that it shades off by slight degrees into the mere practical joke, and the right to play such jokes is dear to the college man. More serious is the fact that hazing is a crime of the night. It is usually performed under conditions of secrecy, and the victim is not often willing to turn state's evidence. With no secret police, and no desire to employ such instruments, the college authorities are usually

powerless to detect the wrong-doer. A general remedy is to get rid not only of the men guilty of hazing, but also of the kind of men who are likely to take part in it. Usually a ruffian is known as such by his character as well as by his acts. If the ruffians are eliminated on general principles, the residue, being gentlemen, will act like gentlemen.

A form of hazing just now prevalent is the "rush." This name is applied to a rough-and-tumble fight, more or less premeditated, between the freshmen and sophomores. The "rush" may be of two sorts, the one an unprovoked attack taking place on the staircases, in passage-ways, or in the class-rooms, or on the streets at night; or it may be a sort of match game on the open field, resulting from a challenge from one class to the other. The first form of rush is intolerable, and could hardly take place more than once in a well-ordered institution. The second has some redeeming features, and is not without its defenders as a "manly sport." It is, however, often dangerous in its violence, much more so than football and other orderly games. In all legitimate games there is some sort of time limit, and some rule as to fair play. Training of some kind is presupposed, and those of frail physique may keep away if they desire. But not so with the rush. Class spirit impels every young man to stand by his associates.

The rush, moreover, is likely to leave an aftermath of guerilla warfare or of attempts at retaliation, and some cases of personal hazing can be distinctly traced to it. In general, any performance of college students which tends to loosen the bonds of personal courtesy has a bad effect. The rush in all its forms makes for rowdyism. Rowdyism is not the worst of vices, but it is a vice, and its influence is always and everywhere opposed to manliness.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

TORPEDO BOATS IN NAVAL WARFARE.

BY BENJ. MICOU, FORMER CHIEF CLERK OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

THE fifty-third Congress authorized six torpedo boats, some of which are now completed, and since then thirteen more have been authorized and contracts for them awarded. This means that a new element of strength, and one of great value, is to be added to our navy. Torpedo vessels furnish the most destructive means of attack known, cost less and can be constructed more quickly than any other modern warships, yet we are in the number possessed at the bottom of the list of naval powers, and will still be when we have completed our present building programme.

We have now but five torpedo boats, the "Cushing," with a speed of 22.48 knots, the "Ericsson" and "Foote" with a speed of some 24 knots, and the "Porter" and "Dupont" which are 26-knot boats. So, when the ones now building go into commission we shall have 21; quite an increase over five, but still very few in comparison with other countries. Taking last year's figures, England has 256, France 244, Russia 185, Germany 155, and Spain 46. Of England's 256, 42 are of the class known as torpedo-boat destroyers, or vessels which, in addition to being equipped for attacking with torpedoes, are specially designed to destroy other torpedo boats. The trial speeds of these 42 boats vary from 26 to 28 knots. England also has 28 torpedo vessels building, designed to attain a speed of 30 knots, and has just let contracts for several others designed to attain a speed of 32 knots.

A torpedo boat is said to have been launched in New York harbor in 1776, but if this be true the history of the craft did not survive the launching, for it does not appear to have ever

been heard from again. A drifting torpedo directed against a frigate, but which missed its aim, is reported to have destroyed a schooner at New London, in 1777, and we know that in 1807 Robert Fulton invented a torpedo and experimented with it, though these experiments led to no immediate practical results.

It was not until our Civil War that the world received its first lesson in this novel and destructive method of fighting. We did not, however, follow up and develop the new mode of warfare we had introduced, for after 1865 the navy stood still for nearly seventeen years. Our people seemed tired of all that related to war and nothing modern was undertaken. In 1882 we did not have a modern vessel, and thirteen single-turreted monitors built in 1862 and 1863, armed with old-fashioned, muzzle-loading, smooth-bore guns, and thirty-seven unprotected wooden cruisers, composed our entire fighting force.

It was in 1883 that we commenced a modern navy. Vessels requiring most time for construction received the first consideration, and those which, no matter how destructive, could be built in a year had to wait until cruisers and battleships were secured. Thus it is that Europe has outstripped us in all that relates to torpedoes.

The torpedo boat is merely an agent for rendering more effective the torpedo, and need of it was felt long before the idea was conceived of designing a boat for this special purpose.

The mobile torpedo, when first invented, was used on a spar attached to a large vessel, but this offered no possibility of attacking an enemy unawares. The attack must always be open, and it was soon discovered that an open attack greatly circumscribed the possibilities of the torpedo. To overcome this difficulty, and increase the scope of torpedo operations, smaller boats were used to which to attach spars, and the steam cutters carried by our larger vessels, being the only small boats available, were pressed into service. It was from such a cutter that Cushing exploded the torpedo which destroyed the Confederate ram "Albemarle" in Roanoke Sound, and the practice continued in our navy of equipping all ordinary steam cutters for torpedo service until within the last ten years. This, however, was only done in the absence of a more desirable boat, for the noise of the machinery and the lack of speed very soon marked the cutters as unsuitable for this class of work.

The torpedoes used during our Civil War were the offspring of emergency. Haste in manufacture and scant knowledge of the science of torpedo construction resulted in producing very imperfect weapons, which sometimes failed totally to accomplish what was expected of them. The chance of such failure was increased by a lack of experience in operating torpedoes and the inadequate appliances at hand for that purpose. These torpedoes, when not defective, were, however, most destructive when skillfully handled, and one writer, Mr. J. F. Scharf, attributes the loss of thirty-one vessels to torpedoes exploded by the Confederates.

The deepest interest was awakened among the maritime nations of Europe in this deadly method of attack, and they began at once the development of the torpedo and all that was necessary to render it a reliable and certain weapon. With better torpedoes and wider experience in controlling and guiding them came consideration of the character of boat best adapted for their use. Such a boat must avoid observation as far as possible and therefore should not be conspicuous. It must offer a poor target to an enemy's guns and therefore should be small. It must escape pursuit and therefore should be fast. Keeping in view these general requirements, Thornycroft built for the Norwegian government, in 1873, the first vessel ever constructed solely for torpedo service. This vessel, which is still in existence, is 57 feet long, has a displacement of 7½ tons, and has made a speed of 14.97 knots. Her present remarkably good condition argues well for the lifetime of this class of vessels. Though she proved highly satisfactory, and met fully all that could be hoped for from the first boat representing a new departure in naval construction, she was regarded for four years as an experiment, and during that time no countries followed where Norway had led. In 1877, though, Russia commenced in earnest to build torpedo boats, ordering as many as 100 during that year, and England built one, the "Lightning," which proving satisfactory, she ordered twelve others. One of these twelve attained a speed of 22 knots. She, however, practically stopped at this point, and for seven years continually decried torpedo boats and stubbornly refused to treat them as worthy of her consideration. In 1884 she only had 19 as against Russia's 115 and France's 50, and it was not until she was driven to it by this activity upon the part

of her neighbors that she entered upon the building programme that gives her to-day more torpedo boats than any other nation.

In naval warfare the powers of destruction and protection have held each other a close race. Whenever the penetration of the projectile has been increased, the armor plate has been thickened or hardened or both. The torpedo is the only weapon that stands unchallenged by the art of defence, and for this reason it is hard to overestimate its value.

Nothing so deadly has ever been introduced into warfare. It offers but two alternatives—avoidance or destruction. In it powers are concentrated that do not admit of defence. The torpedo net, a steel netting arranged to be hung around a ship from spars, is probably more effective than any other defence that has been tried; but these nets are very difficult to handle, impede the speed of the ship, and have been rendered vulnerable by a device attached to the torpedo, and known as a "net cutter."

As with artillery directed against unprotected men, which must be silenced before it becomes ineffective, so it is with the torpedo boat, which must be put out of action before it is inoperative. There is no protection against a torpedo if it strikes its mark and explodes. The most powerful battleship ever built may become its victim as readily as the lightest tug. When the torpedo boats of France became a menace to England, she quickly saw that she could not rely on nets, or any of the devices for defence that had been proposed. There was but one means of protection and that was to hunt down and destroy the torpedo boats of the enemy. This means that she at once directed all her energies to securing a vessel that could be relied upon to run down torpedo boats. She built a number of vessels designed to do this and these have become known as torpedo boat catchers. They all, however, proved utter failures, for as in nature so in naval architecture there are some inexorable laws. One of these is that within certain limits speed is not appreciably affected by size, and to secure greater speed the size of the vessel must either rise above or fall below these limits. To rise above makes the vessel so large as to be suitable only for a heavy battery, and to fall below brings it within the dimensions of a large sized torpedo boat. Though this law was well known as a matter of theory, it took England six years to learn that she could not disregard it in practice, and during that time she

stayed within the prohibited limits, producing the most ignominious failures, and the more marked her failures the more persistent were her efforts to attain speed without constructing a vessel either large enough or small enough to accomplish that purpose. None of the catchers ever proved capable of catching a torpedo boat. The fastest one only made twenty knots under the most favorable circumstances, two knots less than the speed made by one of the first twelve torpedo boats England built. In addition to lacking speed, the catchers were too large to be handled as quickly or easily as the torpedo boats. They were structurally weak and their seaworthiness was often questioned.

It now looked as though England would never solve the problem of protection against torpedo boats. All the valuable time and the immense amount of money she had expended on the catchers had been wasted. Her failures had attracted the attention of the world and it was apparent she would only render herself ridiculous by pursuing further the theory of construction on which these boats had been built. So in 1893, much chagrined and discouraged by her failures, she commenced the construction of a vessel upon an entirely different plan. This time she fell below the prescribed limits which had stood in the way of former success, and produced a vessel which was a large-sized torpedo boat capable of carrying a light battery. This craft was a marked success and exceeded in both speed and seaworthiness the most sanguine expectations. It was the first of the class of vessels now known as torpedo boat destroyers, which have entirely superseded the catchers and have been adopted by the foremost maritime nations. Vessels of this character can be built of great strength and with a seaworthiness that admits of their going anywhere, in any weather, and they have attained a speed of 30 knots and even more.

If no wars await us in the near future, and torpedo boat building is continued as a permanent feature of our navy, we will have gained rather than lost by our delay, for we can take advantage of the experience acquired abroad and avoid the difficulties that have been met and overcome there. Greater delay, though, would be dangerous, for there is always the possibility of war, and at present nothing would justify assuming that we are to have

perpetual peace. Furthermore, there is now nothing to gain and everything to lose by delay, for the torpedo boat has passed the experimental stage and radical changes in its development are no longer probable.

With the thirteen torpedo boats recently ordered in this country, every precaution has been taken to secure the latest improvements, the contractors not being confined in any instance to the Department's plans, but being allowed to bid also on plans of their own. In fact, the proposals of the Department have been general in their nature so as to induce shipbuilders to include in their own plans every modern improvement that competition could suggest. In this way the government has been able to avail itself not only of the knowledge of its own constructors, but also of that of the shipbuilders. This it has not hesitated to do, as is shown by the awards; for in all but the case of one of these boats contracts have been awarded on contractors' plans.

For the ten of the thirteen boats contracted for in October last, the awards were for three different classes of boats, four being for 20-knot, three 22½-knot and three for 30-knot boats. This classification resulted from adjusting the available appropriation to the greatest number of suitable boats procurable, careful consideration, of course, being given to what was needed in view of the almost total lack of torpedo boats of any description and the character of work that would most likely be required of them.

It was very clear from the plans submitted that the shipbuilders had examined carefully the latest boats abroad. The Union Iron Works was awarded the contract for a vessel of the torpedo-boat destroyer type. This vessel, which has been named the "Farragut," when completed, will be similar to the "Desperate," the latest torpedo-boat destroyer built by England, and it is safe to say that the departures by the Union Iron Works from the plans of the "Desperate" are in favor of a more formidable and effective boat. The Bath Iron Works, the successful bidders for the other two 30-knot boats, consulted in the preparation of their plans Professor Byles, of the University of Glasgow, the designer of the swift oceam steamers "Paris" and "New York." This company was so confident of what it could accomplish that it exceeded the requirements of

the law and guaranteed a speed of 30½ knots. The three boats for which contracts have just been awarded in August are all required to make 30 knots.

There is every reason to believe that all these torpedo boats will fulfill expectations. From the days of the old sailing vessels, we have built the best war ships of their respective types in the world, and as our shipbuilders have spared no pains to acquaint themselves with this new type of vessel, it is not probable they will fall below their former record in any particular. We are the superiors of almost all countries in the quality of the engines we build, and the engines are a great consideration in attaining such high speed.

There have been no great wars since the introduction of the torpedo boat, but the performances of this new craft in the wars that have taken place leaves no doubt as to its merits. In the Russo-Turkish war, a Turkish ironclad was sunk in an encounter with a torpedo boat. In the Chilian revolution two torpedo boats attacked and sank in the harbor of Caldera an ironclad ship, the "Blanco Encalada." The strength of the Brazilian revolution lay almost entirely in the "Aquidaban," a second-class battleship, which came in and out of the harbor of Rio at will without regard to the guns from the forts. In fact, these guns were so powerless against her that it seemed at one time that she might render the rebellion successful, although the army ashore was on the side of the government. On the 16th of April, 1893, the torpedo boat "Gustavo Sampaio" attacked and destroyed the "Aquidaban," and this practically ended the war. The torpedo boat was struck during this attack three times in the hull and thirty-five times in the upper works, but sustained no serious damage, and the only person hurt aboard was a cadet, who lost his finger. During the Chinese-Japanese war, Japan enjoyed a great advantage through its torpedo boats. At Wei-Hai-Wei the Japanese with eight torpedo boats attacked the Chinese fleet, so disabling the iron-clad "Ting Yuen" that she had to be beached and abandoned. This was not accomplished, however, without the loss of two torpedo boats. The Japanese made a second attack with five boats and destroyed the Chinese schoolship and a tender without losing any of their vessels.

Because of their destructive character nothing is more de-

moralizing to an enemy than torpedoes, and the moral effect of being equipped for this kind of warfare is not to be despised, especially where the object of a navy is, as it should be, to keep peace. Fear of torpedoes was all that prevented the French from entering the Prussian harbors during the Franco-Prussian war, and the Japanese from going up the river at Yalu. There was, perhaps, no cooler act of courage during our late war than at Mobile, where Farragut, only a moment after the "Tecumseh" had struck a torpedo and gone down before his eyes, shot forward with his flagship directly over the course where he knew the torpedoes had been planted for the destruction of his fleet, signalling, as he went, to the warning from the "Brooklyn" of "Torpedoes ahead," "Damn the torpedoes." Captain Mahan in his life of Farragut, writing of this passage of the "Hartford" over these torpedoes, says "the cases of the torpedoes were heard by many on board knocking against the copper of the bottom, and many of the primers snapped audibly, but no torpedo exploded." Farragut's prompt action restored confidence to the wavering line, but had any one of the torpedoes exploded all would have been over.

Since then, such obstacles as Farragut braved have become only temporary, for devices have been introduced for cutting the exploding cable and hauling up torpedoes, which in a few hours could remove such defenses as protected Mobile harbor. This is but another reason why we need torpedo boats, which are now the only reliable appliances for carrying on torpedo warfare. Another and a more potent reason is that even vessels of this class cannot be built in a day, and when built should not be placed in the hands of raw and inexperienced crews. These boats can carry only a small number of men, the accommodations being necessarily cramped. The service is much harder than ordinary sea service, the periods of rest shorter and more irregular, and the nervous strain almost inconceivable. The mere vibration from a torpedo boat driven through the water at thirty knots an hour is known to have produced sea-sickness among some of the oldest tars. This character of warfare is now conducted on the most scientific principles, and a confidence born of familiarity with handling these crafts and a knowledge of precisely what they can do counts for more than physical courage. This familiarity must come from practice and experience.

Considering the quality and number of other war vessels we now have, the character and extent of our coast and the unprotected condition of our harbors, the efficiency of our navy can be increased more quickly by building torpedo boats than in any other way. The building of other classes of vessels should not stop in order that torpedo boat building should go on, but we cannot afford to neglect any longer this important element of naval strength. Taking recent bids as a basis of estimate, some twenty-five 30-knot torpedo boats or twenty or more torpedo boat destroyers can be built, including their armor and armament, for the cost of a single battle-ship complete.

BENJ. MICOU.

CANADA AND THE DINGLEY BILL.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M. P., CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE United States is a self-engrossed nation. Its progress has been marvellous. The advance from a population of 3,900,000 to one of 72,000,000 in 107 years, the spread of settlement from the Atlantic seaboard border over the broad areas of the Mississippi Valley, and to the far-distant line of the Pacific coast, and the great development in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have been secured at the cost of energetic and devoted application to the work of nation building. The founding and development of States; the careful evolving of political institutions from the plastic materials ready at hand; the settling of the great issue between slavery and freedom on the forum, in the legislative hall and on the battle-field, and the subsequent decision of important questions have left little time and developed scant taste for attention to matters outside of the Union save as they came into immediate contact with American interests.

Facing the northern border of the United States a nation is rising above the political horizon. Its goings forth are modest as yet, but its institutions have rounded into form, and a compact confederation has taken the place of disjointed and jealous colonies. A government formed upon the British model gives to it free and stable institutions and power of cohesion, while the erection of separate provincial governments insures provincial autonomy and provincial control of local questions and interests. A written constitution confers upon the Dominion government its powers, and carefully defines the respective spheres of action of federal and provincial organizations.

In all of its political, social, and business interests this young nation must come into contact with the United States. Perhaps no question having to do with the problems of the future is en-

titled to command closer attention in both of these communities than what the nature of this impingement is to be, and the people of the United States may profitably spend a little time in arriving at an intelligent estimate as to the extent, resources, character, and probable future of this northern neighbor.

Close investigation will inevitably develop some startling facts. Rudyard Kipling styles Canada "Our Lady of the Snows." Canada repudiates the title, and points to the fact that she has a million square miles of arable land, with a climate suitable for the production of the cereals, and that from the products of her own soil she can easily sustain a population of 75,000,000. The great undeveloped wheat-growing area of the continent is in her Northwest Territories, embracing the valleys of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers, the valley of the great Saskatchewan, and more than 300,000 square miles in the Athabasca and Peace River districts of the great Mackenzie basin. Throughout this district latitude does not fix the location of summer isotherms, and isothermal lines curve sharply to the northwest west of Lake Superior. At Prince Albert, upon the Saskatchewan, wheat is less liable to injury from frost than in the wheat districts of Manitoba, and the same is probaby true of the districts that invite cultivation in the Peace and Athabasca River valleys. The opening of spring, the blooming of spring flowers, and the bursting of the buds of deciduous trees are just about simultaneous at Ottawa, St. Paul, Winnipeg, Fort Dunvegan, on Peace River, in latitude 56.40, and even still further north, on the Laird River, and the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 60. Next to the Mississippi, the Mackenzie is the greatest river upon the continent. It is the outlet of great inland seas, having a coast line of 4,000 miles, and an area equal to that of the great lakes on the northern border of the United States. This vast basin, with its outlet in the Arctic Ocean, though much inferior in agricultural capabilities to the Canadian region south of it, is estimated, after careful consideration of the testimony of explorers, geological survey parties, missionaries, and Hudson Bay factors and employees, to contain 300,000 square miles suitable for wheat, 400,000 suitable for barley, 650,000 suitable for potatoes, and 860,000 suitable for pasturage; and of the 1,260,000 square miles contained in the basin, 400,000 square miles only comprise the treeless barren grounds over which vast herds of the cariboo and musk ox roam.

As exploration of the vast territory possessed by Canada progresses, its resources and value become more apparent. The interior of Labrador has been found to contain vast forests of valuable spruce. All the lakes of the far north teem with whitefish, and other valuable varieties. The rivers are stocked with salmon. Hudson Bay, a great Canadian *mare clausum* 900 miles long and 600 miles wide, contains great piscatorial wealth. On the head waters of the western affluents of the Mackenzie River is an auriferous region 150,000 square miles in extent. On the upper waters of the Yukon, in Canadian territory, the placers of the Klondike and other streams have yielded the first installment of their fabulous wealth. On the west side of the Rocky Mountains, a metalliferous region 1,300 miles long and 400 miles wide is rich in gold-bearing rocks, while north of Lake Superior and in the region surrounding the Lake-of-the-Woods great wealth of the precious metals is being developed. The older Provinces are rich in agricultural resources, timber, minerals, and fisheries.

The Canadian Northwest seeks emancipation from the burden of heavy freight rates to the Atlantic seaboard. The Hudson Bay Company has demonstrated the practicability of the navigation of Hudson Straits. The only question is as to the length of time these Straits remain open. A careful exploration is being made this year by the Canadian government, and if it be found, as is claimed, that navigation is practicable for four or five months in the year, the great wheat-growing areas of the Canadian Northwest will find a new avenue to England, and the wheat fields of the Peace River and Saskatchewan Valleys will be as near European markets as those of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

A striking illustration of the facilities possessed by Northwestern Canada for internal communication is furnished by investigations made in connection with a project for reaching the Yukon mineral district by short lines of railway, and navigable stretches on a course known as the Harvey Route. By this proposed line, Moose Factory on Hudson Bay will be reached by a railway line of 250 miles from Missanabie on the Canadian Pacific Railway ; thence by deep sea navigation down Hudson Bay 1,200 miles to the head of Chesterfield Inlet; thence by railway 175 miles to the navigable waters connecting with Great Slave Lake; thence by steamer route 1,400 miles to the mouth of the Mack-

enzie River, and thence by railway 50 miles to Porcupine River, a navigable tributary of the Yukon.

These statements, necessarily brief and in outline, may, it is hoped, rouse the curiosity of the reader, and lead to more extended investigations of the character and capabilities of the Great North Land, which, over a generation ago, William H. Seward declared was destined to become the Russia of America.

The geographical, ethnological, and physical conditions pertaining to the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada are of such a character as not only to invite intimate commercial and business relations, but to give to these relations such strength that hitherto the efforts of hostile fiscal legislation have not availed to destroy the commercial intercourse existing between the two peoples. The volume of business, of course, has been very seriously affected by legislation. The exports of Canada to the United States have remained nearly stationary since 1866, when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was abrogated, but still transactions of great volume are engaged in. To the careful observer, indeed, the extent of these transactions furnishes a striking suggestion as to what their volume might be in case of uninterrupted commercial intercourse. The geographical and trade affinities between the two countries are of the most striking character. The Maritime Provinces of the Dominion form naturally a geographical and commercial part of the seaboard of the American Union. Ontario and Quebec are closely drawn by geographical conditions to the Middle and Eastern States. Manitoba and the great Canadian Northwest naturally gravitate to the Mississippi Valley, and, if legislative impediments did not intervene, would find their commercial centres in St. Paul and Chicago; and British Columbia is drawn by natural conditions in the direction of more intimate commercial relations with the American States of the Pacific slope.

As to the desirability of close commercial relations, a careful examination of the question leaves no room to doubt that such a condition of matters would be equally advantageous to both sections. If commercial barriers and fiscal restrictions between States, or between groups of States, in the Union would not be desirable, neither can it possibly be shown that such restrictions could be beneficial to any interest involved when applied to a group of States which, though north of the American

boundary line, form a natural part of the geographical whole to which the American Union belongs.

The provisions of the American Tariff Bill which became law on the 24th of July last, when contrasted with the tariff policy of the Dominion, must suffer by that contrast as regards the liberality of the respective measures. From the following epitome of the trade conditions of Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, the last for which full returns have been received, it will be seen that the United States furnished Canada more than one-half of her total imports, and enjoyed access for manufactures and other dutiable goods into her market at a low average rate of duty, and had entry for a most satisfactory list of free goods.

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS; RATES OF DUTY, AND PERCENTAGES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES FOR THE YEAR 1896.

Total imports for consumption in 1896	$110,587,480
Total exports the produce of Canada	121,013,852
Total amount of duty collected upon imports	20,219,073
Percentage of duty on total value of goods imported—dutiable and free	18.28
Percentage of duty on total amount of dutiable goods entered for consumption	30.00

	From United States.	From Great Britain.	From all other countries.
Imports into Canada for consumption	$58,574,024	$32,979,742	$19,033,714
Percentage of total imports	53	28.08	18.92
Imports on free list	$29,472,378	$8,613,568	$5,261,730
Dutiable imports	$29,101,646	$24,366,179	$13,771,934
Percentage duty on entire amount of imports	13.26	22.31	26.75
Percentage duty on dutiable imports	26.25	30.02	36.97
Amount of duty collected on imports	$7,767,992	$7,358,514	$5,092,567

	To United States.	To Great Britain.	To all other countries.
Exports Canadian produce from Canada	$14,448,410	$66,690,288	$9,875,154
Balance of trade	$14,125,614 In favor of the United States.	$33,710,546 In favor of Canada.	$9,159,560 Against Canada.

This statement warrants the assertion that the Canadian fiscal

policy is marked by moderation in the percentage of duties levied, and that the results prove that the United States was not discriminated against, but that on the contrary it has a standing in the Canadian market more favorable to its interests than either Great Britain or other foreign countries.

An analysis of Canadian trade returns shows that of the enormous export of American products to the Dominion, a considerable proportion consists of manufactured goods. Of the free list of $29,472,000, $5,380,000 were manufactures; aside from the portion of unenumerated goods amounting to $2,200,000, of which $500,000 probably consisted of manufactures. The import of dutiable manufactures from the United States the same year amounted to $21,500,000, inclusive of estimated amount of unenumerated goods classed as manufactures amounting to $750,000, making a total of $27,380,000, in round numbers, of manufactures imported into Canada from the United States in 1896. The total imports of Canada from Great Britain for the same year for consumption were $32,979,000, and the amount of manufactures imported from England was little, if at all, in excess of the amount imported from the United States. This statement warrants the assertion that Canada is the best customer that the United States possesses for the product of her mills and factories; and it will perhaps awaken reflection in the mind of the American statesman to be informed that when Canada seeks to place the products of her own labor in the American market in exchange for this enormous amount of manufactured goods, one-fourth of which comes into Canada free of duty, and the balance of which pays an average duty of less than 27 per cent., she is graciously permitted to make the exchange upon condition that duty is paid at the rate of $2 per thousand feet on lumber; 100 per cent. on barley; 27 per cent. and upwards on cattle; $30 per head on horses and mules; $1.50 per head on sheep; 45 cents per bushel on malt; 45 cents per bushel on beans; 70 per cent. on butter and cheese; 50 per cent. on hay; 75 per cent. on onions, and other agricultural and animal products in proportion.

A comparison between the amounts of importation from the United States and from Great Britain of certain classes of dutiable goods, will be suggestive as to the items in which the United States seems to command an advantage over England in

the Canadian market. A few of the chief items presenting strikingly this contrast are given:

IMPORTS INTO CANADA FOR THE YEAR 1896 OF CERTAIN CLASSES OF DUTIABLE GOODS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND FROM THE UNITED STATES.

	Great Britain.	United States.
Bicycles, tricycles and parts thereof	$134,876	$916 225
Books, periodicals, etc	219,012	507,308
Brass and manufactures thereof	41,388	264,147
Clocks, clock movements, etc	6,345	85,788
Carriages of all kinds	3,287	308,127
Copper and manufactures thereof	8,238	69,227
Electric apparatus, etc	6,581	294,806
Drugs, dyes, chemicals, etc	247,831	603,927
Fertilizers	1,162	42,194
Gold and silver, manufactures of	67,892	222,036
Gunpowder and explosives	23,939	112,186
Inks	19,641	55,881
Iron and steel, manufactures of	2,351,518	5,630,499
Jewelry of gold, etc	38,628	231,265
Leather and manufactures thereof	113,567	1,037,431
Marble, manufactures thereof	4,742	68,266
Metal and manufactures thereof	61,288	231,006
Musical instruments	19,854	208,504
Paper and manufactures thereof	254,072	672,448
Post-office parcels and packages	72 828	269,955
Twine, all kinds, and manufactures thereof	61,288	179,193
Tinware	4,316	58,682
Watches and parts thereof	6,738	246,853
	$3,769,031	$12,315,954

It is evident from the foregoing statement that the Dominion of Canada furnishes a field for the introduction of American manufactures which is worth cultivating, and the fact should impress itself upon the American manufacturers that this field, which is close at hand and promises, if properly cultivated, rapid expansion of business, can be fully retained only upon conditions of mutual advantage. The leaders of the Liberal party, which came into power in June, 1896, have always desired to promote more liberal trade relations between the two countries. At the very opening of their overtures in that direction they were met by the Dingley bill. If it is supposed that Canada will continue to furnish a free list for American manufactures, consisting largely of drugs, dyes, chemicals, nets, seines, lines and twines, metals, iron and steel and manufactures thereof, and other articles, to the extent of some $6,000,000, and a market for American dutiable manufactures to the extent in round numbers of $21,500,000 at a moderate average rate of less than 27 per cent., and will submit to having its own importations into the United States, sent in

exchange for these products, taxed as under the provisions of the Dingley bill, the reckoning is made without the consent of the host. The adverse balance of trade of $14,125,000 a year existing under the Wilson bill, and the aggravated conditions likely to result from the Dingley bill, will in that case demand a solution upon one of two lines—one of which the American government must select—either the increase of our exports to the United States to an extent commensurate with our imports from that country, and on conditions as favorable as those upon which American imports are received into Canada; or a diminution of our imports from the United States through sharp and effective discrimination in favor of the mother land.

Last year the Canadian balance of trade against Great Britain was $33,750,000. This is Jubilee year. Overtures have been made for the consolidation of the Empire. The principle of fair play would undoubtedly give to England better conditions in our markets than she has hitherto enjoyed, and the application of the same principle to our relations with the United States would imperatively demand very radical changes in the American fiscal system as relating to ourselves.

During the fiscal year of 1896, while we gave the United States, as before stated, a free list of $29,472,000, we received from the United States a free list of less than $20,000,000. This amount the Dingley bill has cut down by transferring from the free to the dutiable list forest products, hides, wool, and minor articles. The result will be that our free list under the new tariff will, in all probability, fall considerably below $5,000,000. If it is supposed that Canada will rest content to give a free list of $29,500,000 in exchange for one of $5,000,000, that anticipation will hardly be realized.

An impression prevails in the United States that Canada is dependent upon that country for a market for its agricultural, animal, mineral, and forest products. It is true that the mineral products of Canada do find a market almost exclusively in the United States. Our forest products were marketed for the year 1896 in different countries in the following proportions:

British Empire	$12,530,000
United States	13,528,000
All other countries	1,117,000

Canada, prior to 1890, imposed an export duty upon logs de-

signed for American sawmills. In 1890 logs were exempted from export duty in consideration of a reduction of the lumber duty to $1. No objection would now be made to the free export of sawlogs and of pulp wood for the use of American mills, if the lumber duty were placed at $1 per thousand feet. The export of sawlogs and pulp wood, which has reached $3,000,000 per annum and will rapidly increase, might justly be considered a fair compensation for free lumber, and beyond question a $1 American import rate upon lumber with no Canadian export duty on logs and pulp wood would give to the United States the best of the arrangement.

In agricultural products, and animals and their products, the condition of the trade between the two countries is not such as is generally supposed. Since 1866 these products have been subjected to duties more or less heavy upon entering the United States. This the American farmer has been made to believe was necessary for his protection from the cheap products of the soil of Canada. The parties in favor of a protective policy who were the real beneficiaries of the measure, but who would be in a hopeless minority on a popular vote, secured the co-operation of the American farmer by ringing all of the changes upon the alleged necessity for this protection, which has proved almost entirely a delusion. If the Canadian farmer is denied access to the American markets for products, the surplus of which both countries are marketing in England, the theatre of competition between the two countries will merely be transferred from the United States to the English market. In fact, the practical result of the American agricultural duties has been to force the Canadian farmer into this competition in England, and to teach him that he is quite able to compete with his American brother, and in some instances he has achieved most decided successes. Indeed, the application of the extreme protective policy to farm products by the United States has proved in some instances a blessing in disguise to the Canadian, by emancipating him from dependence upon that country. This fact is most strikingly illustrated in the lines of hog products and cheese. Being excluded from the American market by heavy duties upon pork and swine, the farmers and packers of Canada set about ascertaining what grade of goods would best suit the English taste, with a determination to shape their business in such a way as to meet that

taste. The result is that Canadian bacon and hams so far lead the American product in the English market that, during all of the present season, hogs have been worth at railway stations throughout the Province of Ontario on an average twenty-five per cent. more than in the stock market at Buffalo or Chicago, and the business of furnishing meats to England is growing with phenomenal rapidity. In the cheese market the Canadian cheese maker has largely supplanted American cheese in Great Britain, and the exports of that article for the fiscal year 1897 have reached the sum of $15,262,000; $15,232,000 of which goes to Great Britain. With the ambition and courage springing from successes already secured, Canada now reaches forth for the same vantage-ground in beef, butter, eggs, small fruits, and other farm products. The Canadian producer will be met by the good-will of the English consumer, who will give him the preference, other things being equal. To render the success of this movement more probable the government has embarked in the business of aiding to furnish cold storage at creameries, on railroad trains, and on steamship lines, so that meats, butter, eggs, poultry, and other perishable articles can be laid down at English and Scotch centres in prime condition.

The trend of business is very well illustrated by the trade returns of 1896 as applied to agricultural products, and animals and their products. In that year our export of agricultural products, the produce of Canada, to the United States was $3,233,000; our import of agricultural products from the United States entered for consumption was $3,262,000 on the dutiable list and $5,263,000 on the free list—a total of $8,526,000, which included raw cotton, and unmanufactured tobacco to the extent of $4,108,000. During the same year our export of animals and their products to the United States, the produce of Canada, amounted to $3,341,000, while our imports of animals and their products from the United States for consumption amounted to $851,000 on the dutiable list, and $2,873,000 on the free list—an amount of imports in this line in excess of our exports to the United States of $383,000. This effectually disposes of the claim that Canada is dependent upon the United States for a market for animals and their products, and for agricultural products, the truth being that under the influence of repressive American tariff rates the trade has been forced away from the United States,

and the period of our complete emancipation from that country in these two lines is near at hand.

The export of agricultural products and of animals and their products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain for the year 1896 were as follows :

Export of agricultural products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain, 1896	$9,551,316
Export of animals and their products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain, 1896	32,523,071
	$42,074,387

It would of course be advantageous to Canada to obtain access to the American market for barley, beans, vegetables, live stock, and various other items of farm products, but if debarred from such entry the Canadian farmer can simply turn his attention to the production of other articles suitable for the English trade, and perhaps on the whole he will be nearly as well off as he would be with an open American market. At the present time there is good ground for the assertion that the Canadian farmer is in a better position than is the farmer of the United States.

It was anticipated that the reciprocity section of the Dingley bill would contain provisions opening the way for entering upon negotiations with the Executive and the Senate of the United States for a broad and liberal reciprocity treaty. When the reciprocity provision was inserted, after the bill had been reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee, it provided :

"For the transfer during such period (five years) from the dutiable list of this Act to the free list thereof, of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural products of such foreign country or countries, *and not of the United States.*"

Representations were at once made to the Conference Committee, to the President, and to the Secretary of the Treasury, that the natural products of Canada and of the United States were the same so far as Canada was concerned, and that under the provision above quoted Canada was barred from even attempting to enter upon negotiations for a reciprocity treaty that would cover a single natural product of the country. The provision was nevertheless retained, and now Canadian statesmen will ruminate upon the question whether the United States government is to be understood as shutting the door in the face of Canada, and telling her to be gone, and to cease from pestering men who have more important matters to attend to, with

senseless twaddle about better feeling and more liberal commercial relations.

It seems probable, in view of the fact that intimate trade relations between Canada and the United States would obviously be so highly advantageous to both countries, that, acting under the mistaken idea that the American market is absolutely necessary to Canada, repression and high duties have been resorted to for the purpose of convincing the Canadian that if his country desires the great advantages which an immense market close at hand would confer, it must surrender its political autonomy and come into the American Union. If this motive has dictated the policy pursued, the fruits are certain to be diametrically opposite to the result it has been sought thereby to attain. No more potent influence than the Dingley bill can be called into action for the purpose of rendering harmony, good will, and, much more, political union impossible. The Anglo-Saxon does not respond readily to coercive measures. The average Canadian can have no knowledge other than theoretical as to the advantages in a commercial or material sense that political union would confer upon him, for the period of commercial intimacy and broad liberal trade relations between the two countries passed away thirty-one years ago, and he has had no object lesson to impress his mind with the advantages to be derived from continental free trade. As to the political benefits arising from political union, he is sceptical beyond the power of conviction, believing that his own form of government, founded upon the British model, is the best that exists upon this continent. Any idea that the Dominion can be starved into an aspiration for different political conditions is utterly chimerical.

The Liberal leaders of Canada desire most cordial and friendly relations of a social, political, and business character with the United States. They are prepared to meet that country half way in the liberal arrangement of duties and adjustment of commercial relations. They sincerely desire to make use of the influence of Canada for the purpose of promoting better relations between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family. They do not believe that political union is essential to the promotion of the best interests of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the American continent. They do believe that all the commonwealths springing from the English stock, and speaking the English language,

may with advantage to themselves and to humanity at large act in concert; and that no diversity of interests exists of a character that need in the slightest degree interfere with the consummation of such a relationship between the British Empire and America. We ask American public men to consider carefully the conditions that confront the United States and Canada as concerns their relations with each other; to meet us in a spirit of friendliness, and to remember that their great superiority in wealth, population, and power gives to them such advantage in position and influence that they can afford to treat us with generosity, with the well-grounded assurance that the fruits of such a policy will in the future be abundant and satisfactory.

JOHN CHARLTON.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE UNION LABEL.

BY STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

In an article published in a recent number of this Review Miss M. E. J. Kelley sets forth the value and importance of the device of the union label as an instrument for improving the conditions of work among laborers. Like all its advocates, she approves of it as a means for insuring the production of goods under circumstances favorable to the health and comfort and proper wage-remuneration of artisans. She believes that its adoption tends to abolish the miseries of the sweat-shop, tenement-house production, the employment of children, danger of infection from contact with disease, and all other undesirable proximities. Seeing in the union label a working instrument available for such excellent uses, she naturally lauds it and hopes great things from an increase of its use by manufacturers of every kind. Some misgivings, however, as to other purposes to which the label is put seem to flit like thin clouds over the sky of her hopes, and to darken the prospect, though she makes but light account of those in comparison with its array of benefits. She seems not to be aware that the real value of the label in the eyes of its supporters and users lies not so much in alleged benevolences derivable from its general adoption, as in its force as a weapon to bring business and business men under the control of trade unions as representing working men. This is quite in accordance with the general assumption of many, if not of most artisans, of some of the newspapers, and of a large body of the public, that the working classes would be better managers of business, if they could once really get hold of it, than are the men who create, extend, and dominate all larger concerns, as a matter of fact; their sincere belief being that if all who are not capitalists could sequester the property of those who are, they both could

and would apply it to the general profit and benefit better and more effectually than do the greedy appropriators of opportunities who now misarrange the resources of the world to their own selfish aggrandizement alone. With that end in view, they prize the union label as an effective weapon to bring more business under the control of the working classes. The real virtue of the label in their eyes is that it is a fighting instrument in the hands of trade unions to advance their own power and secure their own ends. It is not, as Miss Kelley avers, a substitute for the strike and the boycott, but it is a device to make the boycott more efficient, wider in its range, and more easily applied. All other advantages which it may possess are secondary to its coerciveness in this direction. A little examination of the methods used by its promoters will show how essentially warlike its intentions and purposes are.

In the first place, the union label would have no force at all if it were used, as its advocates pretend, simply to indicate that the goods to which it is attached have been made under conditions suitable to the well-being of the workmen. Not one consumer in a thousand would ever buy an article for such a reason. The consumer buys because he wants the thing he purchases, and because he is satisfied with its quality and price. He no more thinks of asking how its maker lives than he thinks of asking about the living of the farmer of whom he buys his wheat, or the condition of the men who grew his sugar or tea. Such inquiries reach too far beyond the possible circle of business activities to be prescribed to any great extent. One has too much to do to keep one's own conditions satisfactory to oneself to ask about the concerns of people who make his soap and shoes and hats and starch and nails and bicycles and boats, nor could any society or union, or group of societies or unions, make sure beyond a very narrow circle that all kinds of goods were produced under conditions the best for their producers. If they did do this, the supervision itself would be so expensive as to make a serious addition to the price of the goods. It would put them out of the reach of ordinary buyers, who can only afford what they buy when rates are low. In fact, as matters now stand, it is stoutly asserted by men who have personally examined the facts that union labels have been found on tenement-house made cigars and sweat-shop clothing. And it is plain that until work-

men are all enrolled and drilled to supervision far beyond what the ordinary American citizen would like or allow, it will not be possible to control the conditions of his production beyond a narrow limit. All vouchers for any such proceeding are, therefore, on their face suspicious, and require extensive and accumulated proof of their truth. The union label, as such, is but a poor and easily eluded guarantee, calculated to deceive only those who wish to be deceived.

But the union label used as a weapon of war to extend and enforce the boycott is quite another matter. Then its efficiency becomes at once aggressive and visible. The trade unions adopt it and agree to boycott all shops selling goods without the label attached. They then appoint committees to go about and examine the goods of various retailers in every city. They inform the retailer that certain makes of his goods are without the label, and that his name will be listed and notices of his dereliction sent to all their unions if he persists in selling them. He is, of course, alarmed at such a prospect, as he well knows its meaning to be that a large body of customers will be warned against buying at his shop. He wishes to keep goods salable to all, and he rushes off, therefore, to buy goods having the label attached. The makers of unlabelled goods are then left in the lurch, and thus are boycotted into asking the unions for permission to use the label. The unions reply that the label will be sold to all shops which employ only union men to do their work. The union then prescribes the rate of wages, the number of hours of work, and as many other details as it sees fit, and at last graciously consents that the firm may use the label. The result is all very well for the union and their members. The retailers have been forced into offering only union-made goods to the public, thereby ensuring that only union men shall be employed to make goods.

But how about the other nine-tenths of workmen who, according to Mr. John Graham Brooks,* are not union men? They are to be shut out from work and thrown out of employment by the union label. Shops that employ them are estopped from selling the goods they produce, because the label is only permitted to union-filled shops. Manufacturers must, therefore,

* Mr. Brooks stated, without contradiction, that in this country only one workman in fourteen was a union man, which also is confirmed by Mr. Samuel Gompers.

refuse work to all but union men, must employ the union men at whatever cost, must raise the prices of goods on their customers to meet the additional expense, and thereby cut off from buying all poorer classes of customers who can no longer afford the goods at enhanced values. Doubtless, this effective slashing to right and left will ensure, with a vengeance, "favorable conditions to the makers of goods"—the cost being only that nine-tenths of workmen are prevented from getting work at all and are thereby impoverished, while perhaps five-tenths of consumers are prevented from using goods by increased prices.

Talk about the rich being made richer and the poor poorer. You have it here in all its naked clearness, except that this effect is produced not by the dreadful capitalist, but by so-called fellow-workmen. They grind the faces of the poor, on both sides, to a very sharp edge. One-tenth seek to confiscate to themselves, by the assistance of the public, the whole living of the other nine-tenths, on the ground that then they will be able to do their work under favorable conditions. Some such result would not be surprising, seeing that it is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

If the object of this boycott of the workmen were to coerce them into joining the unions, it would be intelligible, though still unfair, as all have an equal right to liberty and a living. The unions, indeed, would thrive and grow rich and powerful, but at the expense of unwilling members. In any case, individual liberty is threatened; the right of men to make free contracts with each other is barred.

That the main intention of the union label is to serve as a weapon to enforce the boycott is made evident by the circulars and letters of one of the strongest trade unions, "The United Hatters of North America." They say:

"In May, 1894, we issued a circular calling attention to eleven *non-union or scab* concerns* at Danbury, Connecticut, and requested organized labor to assist our unions to bring this unfair (*i. e.*, non-union) and wealthy combination to terms. . . . We would most earnestly appeal to you to help us in our fight against these employers of scab or non-union labor, and ask as a special favor that you appoint committees to visit the retail hat dealers in your locality, and inform them that they are not obliged to purchase hats from people who handle goods of foul or non-union shops, or in other words are not entitled to use the union label."

* In trade union language everything is "scab" when it is not altogether union. Every free and independent workman, every shop which employs men indifferently, whether they are union or non-union, is scab. To the trade unionist the most of the world is scab.

Many firms are boycotted by name in this circular, and no claim is made that they did not pay good wages, nor that their hats were made under improper conditions, nor that they were oppressive to their workmen. The sole and only alleged ground of their proscription is that they employed scab or non-union labor —that is, some of the nine-tenths of laborers who did not belong to the unions.

Again, in like vein, their circular says: "Members of labor organizations should urge retailers in their localities to insert in their orders that all hats, both soft and stiff, must have the union label in them, or they will be returned." Since the union label means only that the hats are made by union men, no hats though made under all proper conditions by non-union men could get the label in any case. It is clear, therefore, that the union, rather than "proper conditions" of manufacture, was the object of supreme attention. Having a like motive, the secretary of the Beer Drivers' Union warns a hat dealer, who buys hats where he chooses, that "so long as you patronize a scab hat firm we cannot stand by you, because we as union must stand by unions." To the same purport we read the letter of a Denver firm, saying that they are able "to guarantee every hat sold, and that they are of union make," and claiming patronage on that account. Other letters sent out guarantee that a certain hat company "is now a union concern, employing union men, and *consequently* entitled to use the union label of the United Hatters of North America." Envelopes of this organization also carry the exhortation: "Ask for hat with union label. Do not wear the product of non-union labor."

Further testimony as to the boycotting intention of the union label is found in the by-laws of the United Hatters of North America, printed in January, 1896, which say:

"Local associations must affiliate with central labor unions, trade assemblies, or other central labor organizations.

"(Sec. 2.) One-half of the per capita tax or monthly dues levied by said central bodies shall be paid by the National Association."

Still another witness is an official contribution of money by the United Hatters of North America to the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn to assist the Central Labor Union of New York in boycotting a certain firm which employed scabs.

We have also the printed address of the president of the

United Hatters, and remarks in print of their secretary, who complained of the action of a Danbury society that "it placed the national body in a peculiar position, for they would have to boycott firms who would run union factories if the union would let them." In other words, the label supporters would do all in their power to drive out of business those who had not previously adopted the label, whether willing at present to do so or not.

The same is true of other unions. Some are not so powerful yet as the hatters, but their aims are the same. The Garment Makers Union, the Typographical Union, the Bakers, Shoemakers, Ironmakers, and many others are pushing the compulsory use of the union label by the same methods for the same purpose. They each and all aim to control manufacturers through retailers to the end that none but union-made goods shall be sold. They intend thereby to prevent any men from getting work in their trades excepting union men, and meanwhile they make no provisions for such an enlargement of the unions as should include all good artisans in any trade. In fact, they scarcely contemplate any increase beyond such as would simply replace the losses of unions by death, not in any way endeavoring to keep up with the natural expansion of the community. That their action is perpetually crowding to the wall a large majority of workmen, the most helpless of their class, they do not heed, so long as their own class does the crowding. If it were the action of capitalists they would decry it as a great crime, but, being their own, they commend it to the public with enthusiasm. So much difference does it make whose bull has gored the ox!

For ourselves, we believe their methods to be injurious to themselves, to their fellow-workmen, and to the public. We believe them to be prolonging the poverty from which we all alike wish to escape. We believe them to be of the nature of a civil war between two portions of the great industrial army, and, like all wars, only destructive of humanity's interests.

Such objects and practises, of course, tend to so serious a restriction of trade that jobbers and retailers would welcome any release from the tyranny that embargoes their right to buy and sell whatever customers may wish to purchase. Consumers also are now limited in their choice of goods, since many excellent goods are not offered because they lack the union label. Free and independent shops, where formerly non-union men could

get a living, are now forced to become union shops and to employ union men only, whereby many excellent workmen are deprived of a livelihood in spite of the laws and of the rights belonging to men inalienably. Skilled, competent, and faithful employees must be discharged at the mere word of these self-made censors who are striving to improve the condition of the workmen (we have their word for it), in all they do.

And to show how the label works, we have only to note that it raises the price of goods so much in the production of certain goods that it can only be used on the better qualities whose buyers are able to pay more, and not at all on the lower qualities where a rise of price would cut off consumption.

The finest and best goods are made to a considerable extent without the union label in free and independent shops, while the lowest-priced goods are rarely, if ever, made in union shops. By the best use of improved machinery and methods of economy in manufacture, the shops which employ both union and non-union men are able to cheapen the cost of production while maintaining a good earning capacity for a reasonable amount of labor on the part of their employees, and the surrounding conditions of their non-union shops are withal as good as the best.

In view of these facts it is idle for Miss Kelley to assert that "the union label is constructive and not destructive." It can only construct by destroying. Idle also is her remark that "it builds up the fair (*i. e.*, union) employers' trade, instead of tearing down the unfair (*i. e.*, non-union) employers' business as did the boycott," since the label works only by boycott. Idle also her allegation that "it will improve the condition of the non-unionist or scab, as trade unions have improved them otherwise." That is, by keeping them out of work, driving them from their homes, breaking up shops that employ them, and the like. Who was it that made the phrase—"Improve them off the face of the earth"?

What subterfuge also is it that leads Miss Kelley to say that "the trade union never urges its label upon an employer, nor does any employer apply to a union for the use of the label till he is confronted with a demand from a sufficient number of customers to make it worth his while to have it placed in the goods that he has for sale." *Sancta simplicitas!* His "customers" are the retailers whose shops have been visited by committees of

unionists and whose goods have been examined by men who tell them that "it isn't necessary to buy goods without the label," with all that phrase implies. "Demand from customers," indeed! It is the same euphony as when one is said to have resigned an office from which he really was dismissed. Miss Kelley also avers that "before the union label can be of consequence, there must be a purchasing public interested in creating a demand for it." If the label had waited for that, it would have waited till the millennium. But it did not, and does not wait. It demands to be used on penalty of war against those who will not use it.

Miss Kelley herself seems to have some inkling of its real force when she says: "Its universal adoption would of course bring its special advantages to an end"—as if the universal adoption of fitting improvements in the condition of producers (the label's alleged intention) would bring such special advantages to an end. What it would do would be merely to bring its power as an instrument of the boycott to an end.

These things make it clear that the unions are the object of all this care and organization, that the real intention is to destroy the scabs or non-union men who are at least nine-tenths of all the workmen, that no means will be refused that assist in that one deadly purpose, and that every producer who does not yield to the demands of the unions will be ruined if the unions can ruin him, quite irrespective of his justice, honor, good treatment of men, scale of wages, conditions of shop, and all the other verbal demands of the union label organization. What the public, then, is called upon to do is to support the unions against the scabs, that is, the free, independent workmen; to back the authors of strikes, boycotts, representing less than one-tenth of all workmen, against the other nine-tenths of those who are willing to work as honestly and as faithfully as the best for wages which employers are able and willing to pay. The public is invited and urged to make itself a partner in all the boycotts the unions may declare against employers, and to take sides against the majority of workmen for the sake of the minority.

And this is by no means all. The unions are reaching out by compulsion, in the use of the union label, through all business to bring it to their terms. Already there are twenty *national* unions engaged in enforcing its use. In September last

the United Hatters voted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, comprising 600,000 members, which gives them immense additional power. With a disciplined army of advocates so numerous and very active, it is easy to see that they wield a power capable of bringing extreme pressure to bear upon retailers, and through them upon manufacturers in almost every domain of business. They form, in fact, a vast dominating trade union trust, which by its pressure can dictate to every great manufacturing body what men they shall employ as laborers, to the retailers what goods they shall sell in their shops, and to all workmen what work they shall be permitted to do or not to do, according to their will. It will be seen at once that such comprehensive powers throw into the shade all that is arrogated by any other trust, whether it be the Standard Oil, Tobacco, Sugar, or whatever trust is most spoken against by the enemies of such aggregations. None of these aspires to manage any business but its own at any rate, and not one reaches to the power of life and death which lies in the hands of those who control the employment of laborers and dictate as to who shall and who shall not have a chance to earn his bread. And when one knows beforehand that this last power will be exercised after the accustomed violent fashion of unions towards all but its own members, by cutting off free or independent workmen on every side, watching their movements, picketing shops where scabs are permitted to work, persuading, terrorizing, spying, and, in fact, performing all the acts of war upon outsiders, one may well hesitate to throw his influence in favor of furthering the aims of an organization so harsh and exclusive towards men of its own kind.

It should be remarked, too, that the violent outcry of working men against the trusts of capitalists must have little weight with those who see in the union label nothing less than an attempt to organize the same sort of combination in their own interest. Their attempt appears to be to stifle the competition of laborers with themselves, as capitalists extinguish it in their own ranks. They are trying to limit production to what union men can produce, setting aside a larger body of the laboring class. They are trying to prevent all production below a certain rate of wages which they wish to prescribe, not heeding the needs of workmen who cannot be employed at such rates because

they are not worth them. They wish to prevent a fall in the price of goods, forgetful of the fact that such declines bring goods within the reach of multitudes who otherwise could not purchase at all. They are ready to coerce all vendors who shall sell other goods than those of their approval. They would limit production as the coal barons are said to do; would limit selling as the Tobacco Trust is accused of doing; would monopolize the labor supply as Italian padrones are blamed for doing; would starve some kinds of workmen as cloakmakers were accused of doing; would close non-consenting factories, which the Standard Oil Trust was reprobated for doing; would cut off the public from various brands of desirable goods, which no trust ever even attempted; would finally control many enterprises for which they furnish neither the plant, the capital, nor the brains, and in which they neither take the risks nor devise the policy.

Surely it is asking of the public more than any trust ever demanded, that it should lend its support to help the union label to a power so general and irresponsible and so clearly opposed to the welfare of a large body of citizens whose interests are vital to the public good. No other trust ever asked of the public support for itself alone on the grounds of its public benevolence.

If the trade unions had proved to be half as wise as they are active and aggressive, if they had been as kind to their fellow-workmen as they have been cruel, if they had looked to the general welfare as carefully as they have to what they fancy to be their own, if they had endeavored to be as useful as they were powerful, one might indeed regard every advance made by them with pleasure and advocate its further development. But, with their past unruly history, it is indeed a grave matter to give force to so drastic a supervision as the union label puts into their hands exclusively. Its general adoption would go far to make them masters of the business community. Its support by citizens at large would be little else than a surrender of the whole working class to their imperious orders. Its prevalence would bring under their rule the ever servile body of politicians looking for votes, until at last the government itself would scarce be able to do otherwise than pass trade union laws and register trade union decrees. That this result would be good either for the community at large or for the unions themselves we who

have observed their history may be permitted to doubt. Working men are not equal to everything any more than philosophers. We are not ourselves opposed to trade unions in themselves, operating in their own proper sphere of mutually assisting and co-operative societies. Therein they have done and are doing much good. They inspire, encourage, and stimulate their members. They develop their reasoning powers and mutually educate each other. They lend the force and courage of co-operation to those who singly are weak and unprotected. They substitute bodies of organized and disciplined citizens, always an improved and better class, for fragmentary and scattered mobs of individuals. They have caused many excellent laws to be passed for the protection of the working man. They have developed many good leaders whose work has been an addition to the welfare of the state. We do not wish to suppress them, nor to dispense with their counsel and co-operation. We believe most heartily that everybody knows far more than anybody, and that all classes together are far wiser than any one class, even if it be called the best. We therefore view with pleasure the efforts of the union to further the progress and expand the horizon of the community.

But with all this, we do not view with pleasure the efforts of unions to set up within the state another organization of compulsion. We do not believe in organizing one body of citizens against others, to compel them by fear of loss and starvation to obey the will of self-made despots. We reprobate their efforts to enlist the assistance of all their friends in an attempt to give them power to dragoon the business world into obedience to their behests. Were they wiser than Solomon, this still would be dangerous. But, as they are only half instructed in business concerns, such authority could only result in unspeakable disaster from which they would be the first and greatest sufferers.

If the union label simply set itself to carry out its claim of guaranteeing that the goods to which it is attached were made under satisfactory sanitary and other conditions, it would be easy for any manufacturer to get the right to use it who should show conformity to proper requirements, and this could be readily ascertained by the advocates of the label, though it would still enhance the cost of goods, and according to their claim they make it their business to do just this, if nothing else. But that would put all good manufacturers on a level and tend speedily to ele-

vate all work done, so that it would benefit the union little, if at all. Therefore, the label body devotes itself to quite another object, as we have shown, namely, simply to find out whether union men do the work, or non-union men. If they were to permit goods made under howsoever excellent conditions, but at less cost than union goods, to be sold at the same counters at cheaper rates, the careless public would always buy the cheaper, and so fail to support the unions. High prices have never been a public craving, and never will be. To support producers in fine style has never been the professed purpose of buyers. To make laborers happy may be the object of benevolence, but business has other and severer aims, and must so long as life itself is a struggle for existence. How well the union label people manage their side of the competitive struggle is shown from the fact that they give a boom to the first baker who uses their label, that their wives insist on the label in garments they buy, that unions have induced Montana to require the label on all public printing, that the Utica Common Council required labels on all iron-moulding done for public works, that a cigar maker in New York was stopped from selling his goods because his prices were too low to suit the unionists, that a manufacturing house up the Hudson was crowded out of business because it would not make terms with the union. In all this one observes that scant regard is paid by the unions to any interest except their own. They have no right to claim as a general benefit what is after all only a special one, and that one their own.

Now if the unions, instead of devising a union label to increase the effect of the boycott by forcing retailers to buy union-made goods at higher prices on penalty of ruin if they sold other goods, would devise a label which should mean superior goods for less money, which would ensure the customer that he was getting his money's worth in quality and finish, they would not need to go to the expense of sending committees round to examine every retailer's stock for their label. The community would be eager enough to buy such articles and the unions would thrive upon the skill and honesty of their members, rather than on their brutality and arrogance toward their fellows.

A union label which should mean that the interest and well-being of laborers in general had been studied and secured, would have in its favor not only the one-tenth of union men, but the

nine-tenths of non-union men—but for that we may wait many years, since in it there would be no profit for any special class, no money for its promoters, no power for its advocates, but only general benevolence and fair play for all.

Now of what we have been saying this is the sum:

First. The union label is mainly a distinctive device for enforcing boycotts and making them more effective.

Second. Its object is to increase the power of trade unions and to force all to submit to union authority.

Third. Its asserted purpose—to insure good conditions among working men—is mere pretence, since the label is not allowed to all manufacturers who can prove their conditions to be satisfactory, but only to those who employ none but union workmen.

Fourth. The circulars of its advocates harp on the employment of union men only and say little about their vaunted "good conditions."

Fifth. The claim of the label to the support of good citizens is, therefore, unwarranted, unless good citizens ought always to support trade unions and repudiate free and independent workmen.

Sixth. The general success of the label would result in raising the prices of goods, reducing the employment of free workmen, curtailing the liberty of contract between employers and employed, injuring many skilled and useful non-union laborers, and give to the unions a new and wide power in the community equivalent to a real tyranny, a most un-American and dangerous enlargement.

Seventh. It would seem, therefore, to be better that the community should oppose the use of the label and refuse to buy the goods on which it appears, preferring to favor the nine-tenths of laborers who are not union men to the one-tenth who are, because the one-tenth are seeking by the label to abridge the rights of the others in the common pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

THE COMING SEA-POWER.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

MOST well-informed people have a pretty clear general idea that the present is an era of unexampled naval activity throughout the civilized world; that great fleets are building everywhere; that the ships composing them are of new types, representing the highest development of naval architecture and the most exquisite refinement of the art of naval armament. Doubtless, a much smaller number of persons are aware that a new factor of imposing proportions has come into the general situation; that the newest member of the family of civilization is with rapid strides reaching a status of actual and potential sea-power with which the older nations must henceforth reckon most seriously.

It is, however, questionable whether any one not intimately conversant with the current history of modern ship-building, or not qualified to estimate properly the relative values of actual armaments, can adequately conceive the vast significance of the prodigious efforts which this youngest of civilized nations is successfully putting forth toward the quick and sure attainment of commanding power on the sea.

In order to estimate accurately the significance of the current naval activity of Japan, it is requisite to trace briefly her prior development as a maritime power.

The foundation of the Japanese navy was laid by the purchase of the Confederate ram "Stonewall," built in France in 1864, surrendered to the United States in 1865, and shortly afterward sold or given to Japan. This ship was soon followed by another of somewhat similar type, built at the Thames Iron Works in 1864–1865, now borne on the Japanese navy list as the "Riojo," and used as a gunnery and training ship.

From that time to the period of the Chinese war the naval

growth of Japan was steady, and, considering her very recent adoption of Western methods, rapid.

At the beginning of that war Japan, though possessing a very respectable force of cruisers and gunboats, mostly of modern types and advanced design, had no armored ships worthy of the name. The old "Stonewall" had been broken up, the "Fu-So," the "Riojo," the "Heiyei," and the "Kon-Go," built from 1865 to 1877, were obsolete, and the "Chiyoda"—the only one of modern design and armament—was a small armored cruiser of 2,450 tons, with a 4½-inch belt, and no guns larger than 4.7-inch calibre.

The unarmored fleet, however, on which she had to rely, was, for its total displacement, equal to any in the world. It embraced three of the "Hoshidate" class, 4,277 tons and 5,400 horse-power; two of the "Naniwa" class, 3,650 tons and 7,000 horse-power, which had been considered by our Navy Department worth copying in the "Charleston," the "Yoshino," 4,150 tons and 15,000 horse-power, and about fifteen serviceable gun-vessels from 615 to 1,700 tons. All of the cruisers had been built in Europe, but most of the gun-vessels were of Japanese build, and represented the first efforts of the Japanese people in modern naval construction.

Among the results of the war was the addition of several Chinese vessels to the Japanese navy, including the battleship "Chen Yuen," of 7,400 tons and 6,200 horse-power, and the "Ping Yuen," armored coast defence ship, which had been captured by the unarmored cruisers of the Mikado.

At the end of the war Japan had forty-three sea-going vessels, displacing in the aggregate 79,000 tons, of which seven serviceable ships, with total displacement of 15,000 tons, were prizes.

The navy in commission at this writing embraces forty-eight sea-going ships, of 111,000 tons displacement, and twenty-six torpedo boats. The five sea-going vessels, of 32,000 tons total displacement, which have been added since the war, represent the most advanced types of model naval architecture, and include two first-class battleships of 12,800 tons each, the "Fuji" and "Yashima."

The ship-building programme now in process of actual construction is calculated to produce by the year 1903 a total effec-

tive force of 67 sea-going ships, 12 torpedo-catchers and 75 torpedo boats, with an aggregate displacement of more than 200,000 tons.

To the navy in commission or available for instant service, already described, Japan now adds, in plain sight under actual construction in various stages of forwardness, a new fleet vastly superior in power and efficiency to it.

Here I desire to say that the word "progress," in its conventional sense, does not adequately indicate the naval activity of Japan. The word implies continuity, by more or less even pace, in one of two directions, or in both; one direction is an increase in tonnage, with but little or no improvement in efficiency; and the other is a marked advance of new ships in all the elements of offence, defence, staying power and economy.

The first condition of progress is represented by the present activity of most nations who are sailing along evenly and with self-approval in fancied superiority. The second condition is represented by Japan, who suddenly appears as a cyclone in a smooth sea of common-place progress.

Japan is not only building more ships than any other power except England, but she is building better ships in English shipyards than England herself is constructing for her own navy. While other nations proceed by steps, Japan proceeds by leaps and bounds. What other nations are doing may be described as progress, but what Japan is doing must be termed a phenomenon. She is now building:

(1.) Three 14,800-ton battleships, which are well advanced at Armstrong's, Thompson's, and the Thames Iron Works, respectively.

(2.) One battleship of about 10,000 tons, commencing at Armstrong s.

(3.) Four first-class armored cruisers of 9,600 tons displacement and twenty knots speed; two at Armstrong's, one at the Vulcan Works, Stettin, Germany, and one at Forges et Chantiers, France.

(4.) Two 5,000-ton protected cruisers of about twenty-three knots speed; one at San Francisco and one at Philadelphia.

(5.) One protected cruiser of 4,300 tons and about twenty-three knots speed at Armstrong's.

(6.) Four thirty-knot torpedo-boat destroyers at Yarrow's.

(7.) Four more of similar type at Thompson's.

(8.) Eight 90-ton torpedo boats at the Schichau Works, Elbing, Germany.

(9.) Four more of similar type at the Normand Works, France.

(10.) Three 3,000-ton protected cruisers of 20 knots, three torpedo gunboats and a dispatch vessel, at the Imperial Dockyard, Yokosuka, Japan.

(11.) The programme for the current year embraces a fifth armored cruiser of the type previously described (9,600 tons and 20 knots) to be built also at Yokosuka.

This is Japan's naval increase actually in sight. Excepting the ships building at Yokosuka, the whole programme has come under my personal observation.

Comparison with the current progress of other powers discloses the fact that Japan is second only to England in naval activity, being ahead of France, much in advance of Germany, and vastly in the lead of Russia and the United States. It must also be borne in mind that the new Japanese fleet comprises throughout the very latest and highest types of naval architecture in every respect of force, economy and efficiency.

The spectacle of Japan surpassing France and closely following England herself in naval activity is startling. Considering the shortness of the time which has elapsed since Japan entered the family of nations or aspired to any rank whatever as a power, it is little short of miraculous. Yet it is a fact, and to my mind it is the most significant single fact of our time. Nations do not display such energy or undertake such expenditure without a purpose.

It can hardly be maintained that Japan aims her vast preparations at the United States; at least not primarily. The pending Hawaiian affair has given rise to some irritation, but its importance has been systematically exaggerated by the English press. It cannot, in any event, go beyond the stage of diplomatic exchanges. Japan will, doubtless, receive from the United States sufficient assurance that the rights of her subjects in Hawaii will be protected in case of annexation, and thus far she has asked no more than that. She is certainly entitled to no less.

The object of the English in encouraging Japan to make a

bold front against the United States was and is, like all their objects, purely commercial. They hoped to stir up in the Japanese mind an ill-feeling that would prevent the award of any more contracts to American ship-yards, and even this characteristic stratagem is not likely to have more than a temporary effect.

Thus I think it may be assumed that Japan's immense naval preparation is not made with the United States in hostile view; certainly not mainly.

Assuming these conditions to be beyond dispute, and considering that the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway will at once make Russia a great Pacific power, politically and commercially, her naval situation in those seas must become a matter of prime importance; perhaps not of equal importance with that of the United States now, but at once sufficient to challenge the best efforts of her statesmen.

Having all these facts in view, and being in a position to judge with some accuracy of the significance and value of preparations which came under my own observation during a recent tour of Europe in my professional capacity, I could not help remarking the vast difference between the naval activity of Japan and that of the other two first-rate Pacific powers, Russia and the United States. The existing situation in Russia and the United States, relatively speaking, can hardly be called more than the merest perfunctory progress, whereas the activity of Japan is really marvelous. If she were simply meditating another attack on China alone or unsupported, no such fleet as Japan is now building would be needed; certainly not the enormous battleships and the great armored cruisers. It must therefore be assumed that Japan's purpose is the general one of predominant sea power in the Orient.

Japan may, and probably does, meditate a renewal of her efforts to establish a footing on the Asiatic mainland. Possibly, she may have in view the ultimate acquisition of the Philippine Islands. But, whatever may be her territorial ambitions for the future, it is as plain as an open book that she intends, before she moves again, to place herself in a position to disregard and defy any external interference. This may be the true meaning of Japan's extreme activity in naval preparation at this time.

I may say without violation of confidence that a Japanese gentleman of distinction not long ago remarked in conversation

on this subject that "while Japan was forced by circumstances to yield much at Shimonoseki that she had fairly conquered, she still secured indemnity enough to build a navy that would enable her to do better next time!"

In view of all these facts the question at once arises: Are Russia and the United States prepared or are they preparing to meet such conditions, and to maintain their proper naval status as Pacific powers? My answer to that question, based on observations of Japan's naval strength already in sight and on what I know of her intended programmes for further increase in the immediate future, as compared with the relative conditions of Russia and this country would be in the negative.

Just now Russia is trying the experiment of reliance on her own Imperial dockyards, while the United States has halted completely. The Russian dockyards are efficient, as far as they go, and turn out good work, judging from such specimens as I have seen. But their capacity is not adequate to the task that is presented by the situation which I have delineated. No other nation relies wholly on its own public dockyards for new naval constructions. England, with public dockyards almost equal in capacity to those of the rest of the world combined, builds over 65 per cent. of her displacement and 97 per cent. of her horse-power by contract with private shipyards and machine-shops. France, with very great dockyard facilities, builds a large proportion of her hulls and machinery by contract. The same is true of Germany, Italy, and the United States. But Russia has no great private shipbuilding facilities, and there are no visible signs of the immediate development of resources of that description.

Japan, on the contrary, though she has some facilities of her own, is drawing upon the very best resources elsewhere to be found; she is drawing on the shipbuilding power at once of England, France, Germany, and the United States. Not only that, but more than that; the vessels Japan is building in the shipyards of England, France, and Germany are superior to any vessels those nations are building for themselves, class for class.

Hence, viewing the situation from any point at will, the conclusion of any one qualified to judge must be that, in the race for naval supremacy in the Pacific, Japan is gaining, while Russia and the United States are losing ground.

It requires little prescience to discern that the issue which is to settle that question of supremacy as between the powers may not be long deferred.

Though Japan's naval activity is primarily significant of a purpose to secure general predominance in Oriental seas, and though, as I have suggested, there is no immediate reason for, or prospect of, trouble between Japan and the United States involving naval armaments, yet, in the broad general sense of dignity on the sea, our country can by no means safely ignore or be inattentive to the progress of our Oriental neighbor toward the rank of a first-class sea power in the Pacific Ocean. The completion of her fleet now building will, inside of three years, give Japan that rank, and the future programme already laid out will accentuate it. The superior quality of Japan's new navy is even more significant than its enormous quantity. She has no useless ships, none obsolete; all are up to date.

Meantime, the attitude of the United States seems quite as supine as that of Russia. It is not necessary to go into minute detail on this point. Suffice it to say that, taking Russia, Japan, and the United States as the three maritime powers most directly concerned in the Pacific Ocean, and whose interests are most immediately affected by its command, Japan at her present rate of naval progress, viewed with relation to the lack of progress of the other two, must in three years be able to dominate the Pacific against either, and, in less than ten years, against both.

I have heard the question raised as to the character and quality of the Japanese *personnel;* I have heard the suggestion that, magnificent as their material may be, their officers and men are not up to the European or American standard. It is not my intention to discuss this phase of the matter. But it is worth while to observe that, if the Japanese officers with whom we are in daily contact as inspectors of work we are doing for their government are average samples, they have no odds to ask of the officers of any other navy whatsoever as to professional ability, practical application and capacity to profit by experience. And it should also be borne in mind that they have had more and later experience in actual warfare than the officers of any other navy, or of all other navies. While all other navies have been wrestling with the theoretical problems of war colleges, or encountering the hypothetical conditions of squadron evolutions,

fleet manœuvres and sham battles, the Japanese have been sinking or taking the ships, bombarding the towns and forcing the harbors of their enemy. I do not know how others may view this sort of disparity in experience, but in my opinion it is the most portentous fact in the whole situation, and because of it no navy that has not done any fighting at all has the slightest license to question in any respect the quality of the *personnel* of the Japanese navy that has done a good deal of extremely successful fighting.

On the whole the attitude of Japan among the powers is in the last degree admirable. Her aspirations are exaltedly patriotic, and her movements to realize them are planned with a consummate wisdom, and executed with a systematic skill which nations far older in the arts of Western civilization would do well to emulate.

CHARLES H. CRAMP.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE September number of this REVIEW devoted some fourteen pages to an article by Mr. James Gustavus Whiteley on the diplomacy of the United States in regard to Central American canals. The article is, substantially, a plea for our adherence to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and, as such, it must be acknowledged to be, perhaps, the most effective argument on that side of the discussion which has yet been published. It is worth while, therefore, to examine the points made by the writer, and inquire what weight they ought to have with the present administration. It has been, undoubtedly, the disposition of the Republican party during the last thirty years to regard the treaty either as having been extinguished by lapse of time or as deserving of abolition by a declaration on our part that we will be bound by it no longer. In other words, the treaty has been pronounced either void or voidable, and, in the latter case, it has been urged that the proper proceeding to annul it ought to be promptly taken. A different view of our duty or interest in the premises was indicated by our State Department during the two administrations of Mr. Cleveland. Will Mr. McKinley adopt the opinions of his Republican forerunners or those of his Democratic predecessor touching the vital question whether a canal cleaving the Nicaragua Isthmus shall be controlled exclusively by the United States, or whether, in pursuance of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it shall remain forever under the joint control of this country and Great Britain?

I.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty contained no denunciation clause, but, on the contrary, declared itself to be of perpetual obligation. For this reason the British Foreign Office has proceeded on the

assumption that the treaty is still binding, notwithstanding the repudiation of it by Secretary Frelinghuysen in his well-known dispatch of May 8, 1882, to Mr. Lowell, then American Minister at the Court of St. James's. In order that the present position of the question may be clearly understood, it is necessary to set forth distinctly the purport of that dispatch, which, it seems to us, is given but imperfectly by Mr. Whiteley in his article. It will be remembered that Lord Granville, throughout the correspondence on the subject, which had taken place in 1881-82, proceeded on the assumption that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is permanently binding on this country, and that the rights of Great Britain in relation to the whole North American isthmus are defined in that instrument. It was, of course, the eighth article on which he relied, all the rest of the treaty being admitted on both sides to refer exclusively to a particular canal contemplated in 1850, not long before which date certain privileges had been granted by the Nicaragua government to an American company which hoped to secure the whole or a part of its capital in London. The eighth article provided that "the governments of the United States and Great Britain, having not only desired in entering into this convention to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communication, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama." It was, undoubtedly, a mistake to hold, as Mr. Frelinghuysen originally did, that the treaty, even if acknowledged to be still obligatory upon the parties with regard to certain matters, does not, when rightly interpreted, compel the United States to recognize in Great Britain a joint right of protectorate over the waterway projected and partly constructed by M. de Lesseps at Panama, or, we may add, over the Nicaragua Canal, now projected by an American company. According to Mr. Frelinghuysen, the eighth article of the treaty on which the British claim of joint control is founded, contemplates only those "interoceanic communications, whether by canal or railway, which are *now* (1850) proposed to be established by the way

of Tehuantepec or Panama." The Lesseps canal had not been thought of in 1850; much less had the present Nicaragua Canal company; these could not, therefore, it was claimed, have figured among the modes of communication which the treaty had in view. This point was not well taken. As a matter of fact, the explicit reference in Article 8 to communications already projected in 1850 is a supplementary, but by no means exhaustive, explanation of the preceding sentence, wherein the parties, desiring "to establish a general principle, agreed to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communication, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America." Unquestionably, if the treaty remains binding at all, the general principle thus distinctly enunciated must be held to cover the Lesseps canal, the Nicaragua Canal now projected, or any future waterway. Equally difficult of maintenance seems another position originally assumed by Mr. Frelinghuysen, that the British government, never having set up any pretensions to a joint guarantee of the Panama Railway, which was an enterprise of later date than the treaty, had thereby admitted that such subsequent undertakings were without the purview of the Clayton-Bulwer convention. Surely it cannot be seriously urged that, because Great Britain neglected to enforce a treaty privilege in the case of the Panama Railway, in the operation whereof she was but slightly interested, she must be held to have waived all rights in relation to water communication, which would be to her a matter of vital concern. No! Unless the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty can be shown to have lapsed, or to be voidable at the option of the United States, Article 8 will probably be found a formidable obstacle to our denial of the British claim to exercise a joint protectorate over any waterway cut through the American isthmus, and, consequently, over the Nicaragua Canal now projected by an American company.

II.

It was in his dispatch of May 8, 1882, that Mr. Frelinghuysen, quitting the unsatisfactory positions just outlined, proceeded to aver, first, that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had lapsed, having been framed for a specific object, which had long ceased to be capable of accomplishment; and, secondly, that it was voidable at the option of the United States, having been long violated by

the other party to the contract. It is with respect to the second contention that the argument seems to us to rest on solid ground. The first assertion, namely, that the treaty had lapsed, could not be maintained, had Great Britain, upon her own part, observed the obligations imposed upon her by the treaty. For, while it is true that one aim of that convention was to facilitate the construction of a particular canal across the Isthmus of Nicaragua under a concession granted to an American company, it is equally certain that another purpose was to obtain from Great Britain a relinquishment of the projects of annexation implied in an assumption of a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast, as well as in the occupation of Greytown and divers other points on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. So far as the text of the treaty actually ratified is concerned, the British government agreed not to claim or exercise sovereignty over any part of Central America. Here was offered a valuable consideration, and, had it been forthcoming, the eighth article of the treaty, which is general in its scope and concedes to Great Britain rights in connection with the whole American Isthmus, from Panama to Tehuantepec inclusively, would still be unquestionably valid, notwithstanding the first seven articles, relating to a particular canal scheme, have become inoperative through the lapse or supersession of the privileges granted before 1850 to an American company. We cannot say, therefore, that the agreement set forth in the eighth article has lapsed, for the interest it was intended to subserve is a continuous interest. The article in question distinctly recites, we repeat, that the two governments, "having not only desired to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, hereby agree to extend their (joint) protection by treaty stipulation to any other practicable communication." We consider it plain that so long as the consideration offered by Great Britain was forthcoming, the compact embodying this broad principle could not be said to have become inoperative through the mere passage of time or by the failure of the specific project contemplated in the first seven articles of the convention.

Although, however, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had not lapsed in the legal sense of the word, when Mr. Frelinghuysen suggested that it should be so regarded, we have no doubt that he was right in saying that it had long been rendered voidable at

the option of the injured party by the act of Great Britain. The promise to forego the exercise of sovereignty in Central America, which was the consideration moving us to assent to the eighth article, if not to the rest of the treaty also, has never been carried out by the United Kingdom; on the contrary, it has been, and now is, flagrantly violated. Scarcely had the treaty been ratified when Sir Henry Bulwer filed a declaration in our State department that, according to the understanding of Her Majesty's government, the treaty did not apply to the British "settlement" in Honduras. Mr. Clayton answered that he so understood the treaty, though he must not be supposed, he added, to affirm the British title to that settlement. Now, these declarations have never been ratified by the treaty-making authorities, and, so far as they imply anything counter to the text of the treaty, they are utterly destitute of power to bind us. That Mr. Clayton did not protest against Sir Henry Bulwer's assumption was owing to the fact that the "settlement," of which the latter spoke, was a very different thing from the present "crown colony" of British Honduras. The British settlers in those parts were, originally, mere tenants of the Spanish Crown, under limited grants which reserved sovereignty; and after the revolution in Central America, the rights appertaining to dominion must be deemed to have passed from Spain to a Spanish-American republic. We repeat that if Mr. Clayton acquiesced in Sir H. Bulwer's assumption, it was because the so-called settlement of British subjects in the Belize was not then, nor was for years afterwards, supposed to involve any claim of sovereignty, being based on rights to cut wood and establish saw mills within a carelessly defined territory. It was taken for granted in 1850, and for years afterward, that all the powers of civil and military government within that area belonged to the South American republic which had succeeded to the political rights of Spain. We need not recapitulate the steps by which this tolerated settlement of woodcutters was gradually transformed into a crown colony, over which the exercise of British sovereignty became open and absolute. British Honduras now embraces nearly 14,000 square miles, or double the area of the State of Massachusetts, and, moreover, is continually growing at the expense of Guatemala, the boundary on that side being undefined. In other words, it constitutes precisely the entering

wedge, which might carry the British colonist with his projects of annexation into the heart of Central America, and which it was one object of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to remove.

It was not until 1862 that the decisive step was taken whereby the "settlement" of British woodcutters in the Belize was erected into a crown colony. The step was taken, it will be observed, at a time when our government, overwhelmed by the anxieties and burdens of a tremendous civil war, could not be expected to heed, or, if heeding, to protest against, an infringement of treaty obligations in a matter which, however important in itself, must then have seemed insignificant compared with the threatened existence of the nation. Then it was, however—in 1862—that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was unequivocally broken by one of the parties, and it follows that from that moment the whole compact was voidable at the option of the United States. That right of option was exercised by Secretary Frelinghuysen when he declared the treaty henceforth void and of no effect.

Mr. Frelinghuysen's declaration would have disposed of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty but for the fact, which Mr. Whiteley does not fail to note, that Mr. Cleveland, on two occasions, namely, in 1888 and in 1894, recognized the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as still binding on both parties, by invoking that convention for the purpose of averting any interference on the part of Great Britain in behalf of the Mosquito Indians. It is that retreat from Mr. Frelinghuysen's position which renders it indispensable that the present Administration shall announce clearly and speedily its attitude with reference to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Does it agree with President Arthur's Secretary of State that the convention was rendered voidable at our option in 1862 by Great Britain's assumption of sovereignty in British Honduras, and that the right of denunciation thus acquired was duly and definitely exercised by Mr. Frelinghuysen in May, 1882? If such, indeed, be its view of the matter, the contrary opinion implied in the correspondence of our State Department during the two Cleveland administrations cannot be too quickly disavowed.

III.

We have said that we consider Mr. Frelinghuysen's averment that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was rendered voidable at our option by the action of the British government in the matter of

British Honduras not only "ingenious," as Mr. Whiteley would describe it, but as incontrovertible. Let us assume, however, that, technically, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is, in international law, what its terms declare it to be, perpetually binding on the United States. Does it follow that, in the interest of the national expansion, which will acquire enormous momentum in the twentieth century, we ought not to burst the bond? Is it morally justifiable for one generation to stifle and handcuff another, which, in respect of political and economical conditions, may be separated from it by an immeasurable gulf? To such an exercise of anticipatory repression it must be possible to plead, in the forum of international equity, a statute of limitations. The swaddling-clothes of an infant commonwealth should not be suffered to strangle a nation in its manhood. Such was the conviction of our fathers. Never was there a treaty more obligatory from the moral viewpoint than that concluded between the Continental Congress and the French government, because the consideration offered was the assistance indispensable to the achievement of our independence. Nevertheless, not twenty years had passed after the signing of that convention when our fathers repudiated its obligations because they believed them irreconcilable with the true interest of the nation. On its face and in its essence, the Jay Treaty with Great Britain was incompatible with the treaty made many years before with France. Again, it may be said with truth that treaties, sacred as they are, are no more binding upon us than is the Federal Constitution. Now, not only the whole Federalist party, but a large proportion of Jefferson's friends, and, what is more to the point, President Jefferson himself, considered the purchase of the Louisiana Territory of very doubtful constitutionality. Nevertheless, President Jefferson made up his mind to purchase the Territory because he believed in the maxim *Salus reipublicæ suprema lex*, and because he held that the pledges of self-restraint entered into by one generation, ignorant of future exigencies, ought not to tie the hands of its successors. In the history of every nation capable of a superb development, the time has come when it has ruptured the withes imposed upon it by treaty. Where would Germany be to-day if Frederick the Great had adhered to the compact by which Prussia had bound herself to the father of Maria Theresa? The unity of Italy would still be unaccomplished had Victor Emanuel respected in

1870 the treaty made with Napoleon III., which bade the former leave unassailed the sovereignty of the Pope in Rome. How many treaties has England broken in the course of her splendid progress toward a world-dotting empire? From the international viewpoint, the position of the United States in 1850 differed by almost the whole diameter of actual and aspirational being from the acknowledged and prospective situation which they occupy to-day. The change, indeed, may be described by Mr. Whiteley as only a "development," but as truthfully may it be said that the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus was but the development of a polity started many centuries before upon a few hills beside the Tiber. But was the rule of political conduct, nay, was the text of treaties, which had shaped the political course of Rome when, as yet, she aspired not beyond the territory between the Po and the Straits of Messina, to govern her international action when her vast transmarine possessions, and the incidental interests and duties, compelled her to police the Adriatic and to uphold the Roman peace throughout the Mediterranean world? So there was a time, some fifty years ago, when the interests of Great Britain in North America might be reasonably compared by statesmen with ours. Such a comparison to-day would be absurd. Our Pacific States are already equal in wealth and population to many a European kingdom, and are increasing at a rate that must soon place them on a level with Spain, if not with Italy. Will it be said that the thinly-peopled settlements in British Columbia give Great Britain an equal claim in the forum of public equity to a control of the Isthmus waterway, which will give marine communication to our Pacific and Atlantic States?

It is as true of nations as it is of individuals that, when we are men, we should put away childish things. Among the baubles that satisfied or amused our national childhood may be reckoned the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. On general principles of national development, the time would now have come to cast it aside, if it had not been already rendered voidable at our option by an act of the other party, and if that option had not been exercised in 1882 by Mr. Frelinghuysen.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

TO ABATE THE PLAGUE OF CITY NOISES.

BY JOHN H. GIRDNER, M.D.

In an article on "The Plague of City Noises," published last year in the North American Review, the writer called attention to the injurious and exhausting effects of city noises on the auditory apparatus, and on the whole nervous system of those obliged to live in a closely built and densely populated city. City noises were divided into six classes, and the fact was briefly noted that a large proportion of the noises in each of these classes were entirely unnecessary and ought to be suppressed in the interests of the health and comfort of the people. The formation of a society was suggested whose business it should be to make a systematic study of city noises, to point out those found unnecessary, and, by co-operating with the city authorities, to secure such legislation and enforcement of the same as would suppress them, and to endeavor in every way to create a sentiment in favor of the reduction of the din and confusion in our streets and houses.

The reception accorded to these views and suggestions by the press and public was a surprise. Hundreds of editorial comments were made on the article all over this country and in Europe, in both the lay and medical press, and scores of private letters were received from all sorts and conditions of people throughout the United States. Almost without exception the press everywhere, and especially the medical press, agreed with the contention that the noises of our modern cities are not only a source of great discomfort, but are largely life-shortening and health-wrecking in their effects, and that a vast number of the most annoying of them are entirely unnecessary and ought to be stopped. Letters of thanks for calling attention to this plague were received from sufferers, who urged the organization of the society which had

been suggested, and offered moral and material support if work should be continued in this line.

The discussion thus aroused has set people thinking on the subject, and has created a sentiment against noise which has already resulted in good. In fact, it may be truly said that a beginning has been made in the work of educating the people to have more regard for the public health and comfort in the matter of unnecessary noise. The Board of Aldermen of New York City passed an ordinance making it unlawful to haul iron or steel beams or rails through the streets of the city unless the same were so loaded as to prevent them from jarring against each other, and a fine of twenty-five dollars was the penalty for its violation. On May 6, 1897, the first arrest was made for violating this ordinance, and the magistrate promptly fined the prisoner twenty-five dollars. Since that day, one sees all beams and rails drawn through the streets wrapped at the ends with old carpet or burlap to deaden the sound. I mention this case to show how easily and effectually unnecessary noises can be abolished if the Aldermen will pass proper ordinances and the police will enforce them. The difficulty in the past has been that people have not appreciated the fact that the continual roar and din in which dwellers in large cities are obliged to live is essentially health-destroying. They have been painfully aware of the discomfort it causes, but they have not realized that city noises are irritating and exhausting to the whole nervous system, and that they are a potent factor in lowering the tone and resisting power of the human mechanism, and play an important part in producing neurasthenia or nervous prostration, and other affections of the brain and nervous system. It is not alone the purer air and change of scene, but also the peace and quiet, of the country that restore health and vigor to all, and especially to invalids and convalescents.

It is little more than a hundred years since the people and their law-makers fully appreciated the immense importance to the public health of thorough house and municipal sanitation. To-day, no care or expense is thought too great to provide proper sewerage, drainage, cleanliness, etc., in our towns and cities. Garbage, dead animals, etc., are not removed from the streets only because they are unsightly, and produce unpleasant odors, but because they are dangerous to health. We contend for the re-

duction of city noise on precisely the same grounds—not alone because it is a source of great discomfort, though that in itself would be sufficient cause, but because it menaces the general health. City legislation has been woefully inconsistent. For instance, it is unlawful for any person to conduct a business within the limits of New York City which sets free unpleasant odors. Glue factories, fat-rendering establishments, and all other industries which contaminate the air with foul odors, have been closed or driven from the city limits regardless of the pecuniary interests of their owners—not because unpleasant orders are, *per se*, detrimental to the public health, for they are not, but because such odors outrage one of the five senses, viz., that of smell. Yet practically nothing has been done to protect the sense of hearing against unnecessary and obnoxious sounds, which not only produce great discomfort, but are actually destructive to health. It is not contended that all noise can be suppressed, any more than that all unpleasant odors can be abolished. They are to a certain extent necessary evils of life in a large city. But if the same care and thought were exercised by city authorities to suppress and control the noise-makers as have been expended in suppressing and controlling the odor-makers, the health and comfort of city dwellers would be greatly improved.

Some have fallen into the error of supposing that noise means enterprise, and that the city or town which produces the greatest din in proportion to the number of its inhabitants must of necessity be most rapidly advancing in modern civilization. Whatever else advancing civilization may mean, it certainly means an ever-increasing respect on the part of each individual for the rights, health and comfort of all the others. Churches, hospitals, public and private charities, etc., should not be the only evidences of Christian civilization in our cities. The Kingdom of Heaven on earth is peace and quiet within, and this peace and quiet ought to be reflected in our method of conducting our daily occupations, and the business of our cities should be done with the least possible amount of noise and distraction.

In the best circumstances, city dwellers must always suffer in health and comfort from noise, just as they must always suffer from lack of the purest air, even under the best possible sanitary conditions. But any one who makes a careful study of city noises will be astonished at the very large number which are

wholly unnecessary, and the abolition of which would in no way interfere with the rights or business interests of those who make them. The noise-makers may be divided into two classes. The first and by far the larger class make unnecessary noise thoughtlessly. They have never had their attention called to the fact that they cause annoyance to others by making noises which are unnecessary; and education and the creation of a sentiment is all that is required to make them as careful to respect the rights and comfort of others in the matter of noise as they are in other respects. A personal experience illustrates what I mean. As I was riding in a street car recently, a respectable-looking young man sat beside me, and for twenty blocks he whistled a sharp, idle, inane whistle, which was manifestly annoying to half a dozen of his fellow-passengers. The car suddenly lurched round a curve, and his foot came lightly in contact with my own. He immediately turned, lifted his hat, bowed to me, and said, "I beg your pardon, sir," and went on whistling. This young man had learned from custom and habit that it is very bad manners not to apologize for even unintentionally jostling another person, but he had not learned that it is very unjust and unkind to others, and therefore bad manners, to torture them with unnecessary noise.

It may be said that the above is an unusual case, and that but few are so rude as to whistle in public places. Well, let us study the so-called fashionable set, those who are generally supposed to have attained to the high-water mark of æstheticism, refinement and all the graces of modern civilization. Go to a fashionable reception or afternoon tea if you want to hear unnecessary noise. My lady's drawing-room is a pandemonium of shouting women. You have no choice but to shout if you wish to converse on these occasions, and the success or failure of one of these functions seems to depend largely on the din which the guests are able to create. These are, however, private pandemoniums, and can be avoided. They only torture those who participate in them. Then even the church people contribute their quota. In these days of innumerable clocks and watches, the ringing of church bells in large cities is simply barbarous, and their painful and injurious effect on the sick and afflicted, the tired and weary, who cannot escape from them, is like anything but the neighborly service of the good Samaritan, who was so warmly commended

by that Master whose doctrine the churches exist to teach. Attention is called to these instances of unnecessary noise, to show that noise-makers belong to all classes, and that the so-called refined and religious are often as neglectful of the rights of others, in this respect, as the rude and uneducated.

The railroads of New York City are the greatest single source of noise in the streets in which they are operated, and for half a block on either side. The elevated road is the worst offender of all. Conversation in a street through which it runs is practically impossible, owing to the roar and rattle of the passing trains, and it seems impossible that any one should ever be able to sleep in a room anywhere near it. Sleep under such conditions cannot be obtained until the nervous system has become accustomed to this all-night roar. And here attention should be called to a mistaken notion held by some to the effect that because city dwellers have become accustomed to the roar and din which go on around them at all times, and because some of them are able to sleep in rooms adjacent to the elevated road or other din producer, noise is therefore not injurious to them. They have become accustomed to noise, it is true, but the habitual tippler has likewise become accustomed to alcohol, so that he can drink large amounts without showing signs of intoxication. But the noise in the one case, and the alcohol in the other, are certainly producing deleterious effects on the systems of their victims. In other words, it is injurious to sleep where a continuous succession of discordant sounds is poured in on the auditory apparatus.

When one considers the long list of those who have been maimed or killed outright by the cable and trolley cars in Greater New York, it seems almost puerile to complain of their clanging gongs, but as nerve irritators these hold a front rank. The useless bells which jingle from the collars of the horses drawing the horse cars are especially annoying to many persons. These bells were instituted when the space between the car-rails was not paved, and the horses' feet on the soft earth made no warning sound. Now, however, these spaces are all paved, and the clatter of the car horses is sufficient warning, just as the clatter of the horses' feet of private carriages and wagons is all that is necessary to warn pedestrians of their approach. These bells should be abolished.

There is another unnecessary noise connected with surface

cars which is not only annoying, but is an impertinence to passengers. I refer to the gong in each car, which the conductor is obliged to ring every time he is paid a fare. It is an outrage, after a passenger has paid his passage, to have his auditory apparatus irritated and transformed into a register for the car company, so as to be a spy or detective on the conductor.

Rubber gaskets properly placed under the rails of the elevated roads, and the substitution of electricity or compressed air for steam as a motive power, would greatly lessen the noise which these roads now make. But, in any event, the din created by the elevated and surface cars must always remain in the list of unnecessary noise. It can be entirely abolished by placing the roads under ground. Some idea of the relief to the auditory apparatus which would be experienced if the main car lines of the city were placed under ground can be had by recalling the enormous improvement in the appearance of the streets after the electric wires were placed in the subways and the unsightly poles were removed from the curbs. The network of wires and poles outraged our sense of sight, and the roaring, rattling car lines outrage our sense of hearing. There is this difference, however, that, while the poles and wires were annoying to the sense of sight, they were not detrimental to health, whereas the car lines at once offend the eye, inflict pain upon the ear, and, above all, through the noise they make impair the general health.

The second class of noise-makers seem to take a fiendish delight in creating as much din as possible. They go through quiet residential streets at all hours of the day and night, yelling and shouting, ringing bells and blowing horns, and in a thousand other ways needlessly disturbing the peace and quiet of the neighborhood; taking apparent pleasure in racking the feeble nerves of the sick and invalids, and destroying the sleep of tired and weary brains. Fines and imprisonment are the only means of teaching such people to respect the rights, health and comfort of others.

Horses and wheeled vehicles produce by far the greatest amount of the noise in city streets. Asphalt pavement in all streets is, therefore, a *sine qua non* in reducing noise. Wheels roll over this pavement in silence, except when they pass over an iron manhole cover, when a sudden, unexpected ear-splitting sound is sent forth which can be heard for two blocks, and in

residential streets, especially at night, is one of the most annoying of street sounds. This source of nerve-irritation is wholly unnecessary. If these manhole covers were made to fit their frames, and were then asphalted like the rest of the street, the pavement would be continuously smooth, and no sound would be emitted when a wheel passed over one of them. Rubber tires also greatly reduce the noise and rattle of carriages. I doubt, however, if any Alderman could be found with courage even to suggest an ordinance requiring that all carriages, of every kind, used on the streets of New York should have rubber tires. Yet the enforcement of such an ordinance would reduce street noise enormously, and would be very far from a hardship to the owners. For I am informed, by one of the leading city manufacturers of wagons and carriages, that rubber tires increase the life of a vehicle one-fourth, and reduce the cost of repairs one-half. In any event, the individual pecuniary loss such an ordinance would cause to this class of noise-makers would never approach that suffered by the odor-makers, whose factories were shut up within the city limits.

The sounds caused by the impact of horses' feet on the pavement seem destined to remain in the list of necessary noises until automobiles entirely supplant the horse. Horseless carriages and wagons, with rubber tires, on properly constructed asphalt pavements, are noiseless, and would be an ideal means of locomotion in city streets. The noise made by horses' feet is not, however, so irritating and painful as many other street sounds of less volume, for the reason that these sounds are produced at regular intervals as the animal walks or trots, and the ear becomes accustomed to their recurrence. All necessary noises are the more bearable because we know that in their making something useful is being accomplished. It is the unlooked-for and unnecessary sounds which do the greatest harm ; for to the actual nervous shock of the sufferer is added the irritating sense of a wrong done him.

What valid argument can be adduced to justify the continued existence of the innumerable cats which infest our streets and yards ? That people will go on year after year having their sleep destroyed and their tempers perturbed by the nightly caterwaulings of these useless pests is beyond explanation.

There are the useless postman's whistle, the shouting pedlars

and hucksters, the yelling "rags and bottles" man, the horn-blowing scissor-grinder and four-in-hand driver, with scores of other noise-makers too numerous to mention, who keep up a continuous din of distracting, nerve-wrecking sounds in our residential streets, utterly regardless of the fact that they are causing pain, discomfort, and positive injury to sick and nervous women and children, who cannot escape the torment they cause. It would be no hardship or pecuniary loss to any of these people if they were compelled to conduct their business in a quiet, orderly manner. I have often felt the absurdity of giving the nurse orders to "keep the patient quiet, and the sick room free from noise," when the din from the street below made such a thing impossible.

My contention for less noise is based on the experience and observation of nearly twenty years' practice of my profession in New York City. And I am satisfied that the irritation caused by the din in which we live to-day is essentially health-destroying, and plays no unimportant part in producing disease of the brain and nervous system, and delaying the recovery of the sick. This question of noise is not confined to physical well-being; it is also one of morals. It is wrong to inflict needless pain and discomfort on others, no matter which one of the senses is made to convey the painful sensation. The plague is steadily getting worse. New York can grow only in one direction, and practically the same street space must be used for the daily activities of an ever-increasing population. Complaints and comments against useless noise by individuals will accomplish little. These are sporadic efforts, and their authors are lucky if they escape being called "cranks" by careless and indifferent officials. A careful study of this plague, and of the methods of abating it, is what is needed, and then a concerted effort to make the people's servants, the city officials, take such steps as will abate it. The idea is not to punish or persecute, though some examples are necessary, but to educate; for all classes are involved in this crime.

The very existence of a properly organized and properly conducted "Society for the Prevention of Noise" would be a constant reminder to the thoughtless, and a standing menace to the vicious, noise-makers, and would in time create a sentiment in favor of peace and quiet, and educate people to respect the rights of others in this matter, just as the Society for the Prevention of

Cruelty to Animals has taught all classes to abstain from unnecessary cruelty to the lower animals.

It would be extending the Golden Rule into a new field of social life. There is unquestionably a strong and wide-spread feeling against the noisy and distracting conditions under which we live at present, and an earnest desire on the part of a majority for improvement. But what is everybody's business is nobody's business. Some such organized effort by earnest men and women as I have suggested would serve to crystallize, concentrate and make effective the general desire for less noise.

JOHN H. GIRDNER.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

BY THE HON. RICHARD P. BLAND.

For years past the gold standard advocates have proclaimed from time to time that the silver question would die out. This was the oft-repeated assurance before and after the Chicago Convention. Every effort was made to stamp out what they were pleased to call the "Silver Craze." But when State after State held its convention, especially in the Mississippi valley, and in the East and South, it was made manifest that the Democratic party would pronounce, in no uncertain way, in favor of the full restoration of the coinage of silver.

Upon the silver question the Chicago platform gave no uncertain sound. That was the paramount issue in the Presidential election last year. Upon that issue the Democratic party polled six and a half millions of votes. Notwithstanding this fact, it was repeated again and again, immediately after the election, that the end of the silver heresy had come. But wherever Democratic conventions have been held this year the Chicago platform has been endorsed. Indeed, the people are more active, if possible, in support of the free coinage of silver now than they have been heretofore. Recruits to the cause are being made every day. No more is the cause of silver dying out than are truth and justice dying out; as well make the proclamation that liberty is dying out, that patriotism is dying out, that sympathy for human poverty and suffering is dying out, or that the avenging hand of God is paralyzed.

The gold worshippers sit down in an imaginary graveyard, and in their dreams the spectres of millions of silver ghosts startle them from their reveries, and in their excitement they cry out, "The silver question is expiring!" But they never forget, meantime, like the boy in the story, "to keep up a constant

whistling to arouse their courage." We can assure them that these ghosts will meet them in the Presidential "Philippi" of 1900.

One of the many evidences of the perturbed state of mind of our gold friends is the eagerness with which they seize upon the temporarily increased price for the farmers' wheat to argue that the farmer must now be prosperous and happy; that he no longer looks for the restoration of silver as a necessary means of maintaining the price of farm products. They hail the apparent improvement of the farmers' condition as the forerunner of coming prosperity for all. However, we must remind them that this verifies our contention, "that to the extent the agriculturists prosper so may we expect the country generally to prosper." Up to this hour, however, it has not been usual, in these parts at least, to see farmers driving in coach and four, nor do they, as a rule, wear silk hats or tanned shoes. They feel and look just as they have felt and looked for many years past. It is true the failure of the wheat crop in other countries has, for the time being, strengthened the wheat market, and just now our farmers are getting a price for their wheat just about sufficient to pay the cost of its production.

This state of things ought not to be simply temporary, and dependent upon the accidental failure of crops in other countries. Farm products, as well as all other products of labor, ought to command such a price as would pay the cost of production and yield a profit besides, not merely as a temporary blessing, but as a lasting boon.

The farmer knows that the present price of wheat is but temporary; that although we may have a monopoly this year, so to speak, of the market for breadstuffs, yet this monopoly is liable at any time to be broken by abundant crops in other countries.

There are many other things in this connection that the farmer understands. He is aware of the fact that the tariff baron has a monopoly created for his special benefit by the Dingley tariff bill; he knows that the trusts and "combines" protected by the restrictions of this law can and will rob the farmers and laborers so long as the law remains upon the statute books; he knows also that the transportation lines are seeking measures at the hands of Congress to enable them to maintain their prices by permitting them to pool and combine; he understands further that

with the prevailing monetary system the plutocrats of the world, who own most of the gold now in use, are seeking to get control of all the known gold mines, so as to enable them the better to control the monopoly of money. This gold monopoly is also a creature of law, and the law can destroy it by the restoration of the free coinage of silver, thus giving a new and competitive supply to our monetary volume. In this connection, and illustrating what we mean by a competitive supply of money, we may compare gold and silver as a monetary supply to corn and wheat as a supply for bread, and quote from the St. Louis *Republic*, of September 1st, the following :

"Some of the more optimistic bulls in the market have gone so far as to predict that the price of corn will go as high as wheat before the end of the year. This seems unreasonable, from the fact that corn is largely dependent upon wheat for its standing. The moment it begins to approximate the price of wheat, just that soon people who are using corn for economical reasons will switch over and begin using wheat. The demand for corn flour will cease if corn rises to anywhere near the price of wheat. The crop estimate this year is 1,800,000,000 bushels, a decrease of 4,000,000 bushels, with the stock of old corn on hand about the same as last year."

Thus bimetallism finds its analogue in the sources of bread-supply. Wheat competes with corn and corn competes with wheat. If we have a scarcity of one there is likely to be a supply of the other sufficient to meet demands. So with gold and silver. Gold has had the monopoly for years, not from natural causes, but through statutory enactments. Under bimetallism the two metals compete, the one with the other, thus relieving the monopoly of money. The scarcity of the one metal could be made up from the supply of the other. Not so with the monopolies as now existing under the gold standard and under the protective tariff laws, and all systems of trusts and combinations. What little profit there may be at the present time in the farmers' wheat is swept away when he comes to purchase his sugar at trust prices and other supplies from other trusts and combinations.

No tariff bill can protect the farmer so long as he must look to the foreign market to consume his surplus, and to fix the price of his products. The more gold we drain from the countries to which we export our farm products for sale, the lower we drive prices in those countries, and necessarily the less gold the farmer gets for his export.

The free coinage of silver here would give a competing monetary supply and destroy the gold monopoly. All the silver money we coined and put in circulation would lessen the demand for gold the world over. It would lower the purchasing power of gold, or, what is the same thing, increase the purchasing power of labor and the products of labor, as measured in gold. Rising prices for labor and for production would set the wheels of industry in motion, giving employment to labor everywhere, thus enabling the people to purchase and consume our products. Prices would be maintained, not by limiting the supply of production, whether such limiting resulted from natural causes or from restrictive legislation. We contend that this would be brought about by the restoration of silver. The coining of silver at our mints would be the same as the adding of so much gold to the world's money. This is so because we are a part of the world, and the greatest nation of all; having a greater need for money, we would have a greater demand than all Europe for gold and silver. Our coined silver would do duty as money the world over, for the reason that it would take the place of the gold of other countries we would likely draw here for uor use.

We have heretofore been assured by the advocates of the gold standard that we had sufficient gold for all monetary uses; some went so far as to insist that we had more money than was necessary. Now we are told by the gold press that good times are near at hand. They exaggerate the story from Alaska and point to the frozen shores of the Klondike and the Yukon as the place whence we are to draw immense quantities of gold, rivalling the outputs of Australia and California, and with this increased supply of money business is to be increased the world over. We have told them from the start that our own silver mines were rich enough to accomplish all this, and had our advice been heeded and silver restored years ago, good prices would have been maintained and prosperity secured to our country for generations to come; there would have been no necessity to depend upon the uncertain prognosis of the wild rumors that come to us as to the abundance of gold in the British possessions.

It is a cruel policy to the American people to legislate against their own product—silver—to disgrace and debase that metal, and the only effect of that policy is to destroy our own wealth at the bidding of the power and wealth of other countries.

There are other questions, however, cognate to the silver question, that must receive consideration in the discussion of the present political situation, some of which we have already alluded to. The single gold standard is not only a monopoly of money, but it is used as a means to perpetuate and control other monopolies. While the gold standard advocates will contend that low prices are a good thing, we must be permitted to say that in reality they desire low prices for all the people except themselves. We have observed that all the monopolies are advocates of the gold standard; that all the trusts and combines, the stock gamblers, grain gamblers, all who seek to control the distribution of property for their selfish ends, belong to the gold standard class; that tariff barons are advocates of the gold standard, and that they are persuaded that the prices of all things, except what they produce, should be low; and that they even seek by every means within their power to secure legislation, the effect of which is to maintain their prices by giving them a monopoly of the market. All trusts and combinations, whether formed under the protection of the tariff, or from the amassing of enormous wealth in the hands of the few (and by this power controlling the markets), or whether by means of pooling and similar arrangements, have for their object the maintenance of the prices of things controlled by monopolies. They all aim at high prices for their property or for the things that they have to sell, and at low prices for the farmers and laborers of the country who produce the raw material. The restoration of the free coinage of silver would, therefore, have a tendency to place the prices on a common level by breaking up the gold monopoly and destroying the power of trusts and combines. Good prices maintained by the restoration of silver would affect all alike; it would not be class legislation, but, on the contrary, it would effect a more even distribution of the products of labor.

The promoters of the single gold standard advocate a monetary policy that compels low prices; but they refuse to conform to the results of their doctrine. They organize pools and combines to maintain the values of things in which they are especially interested.

The force of law, the power of wealth, the instrumentalities of trusts and combines are used unmercifully to keep up prices for the rich. Thus the farmers, as well as all other laborers and

producers, are made the helpless victims of a contracting standard of money. Bimetallism would support good prices for all alike, thus removing to a great extent the incentive or cause for class legislation, the unlawful and immoral practices referred to, in order to maintain prices.

It is useless for the gold standard advocates, in the face of the facts and arguments above stated, to pretend longer that low prices are a good thing, or that we have a sufficient amount of money now in circulation, or that the gold standard is not the creature of monopoly and in its turn the promoter of monopoly.

The silver question is, therefore, the paramount issue in our politics, for it means the restoration of the government to the control of the people, that it is no longer to be made the mere instrument by which certain classes are to prosper at the expense of the masses.

The question of international bimetallism is in the same condition as heretofore. That is to say, while good in theory, so to speak, from the standpoint of those who advocate it, yet as a practical proposition there has never been anything in it, except that it has had the effect of delaying action on the part of our government. No doubt, many who advocate international bimetallism, and who believe we ought to await the action of other countries, are sincere in their professions and theories; yet, as a matter of fact, the controlling influences that have brought about international conferences and dominated their proceedings and deliberations, have been adverse to bimetallism of any kind, national or international. The plea for international bimetallism has been used as a criminal in court would use an affidavit for a continuance, when his only object was delay and not justice. The scheme has worked well by amusing the people with hopes of the restoration of silver, while the single gold standard advocates, especially the great banking houses, have been busily engaged in the work of coercing one weak nation after another into the policy of adopting gold monometallism. Thus, pending the consideration of international bimetallism, Austria adopted the gold standard with other countries in Europe; then came India, which, under the coercion of the English government, suspended the free coinage of silver in 1893; and this country, responding to the same influences, suspended the purchase of silver under the Sherman act. A

committee of bankers from Japan, some three years ago, visited this country to investigate the subject of silver and gold, and from here they went to Mexico and elsewhere with the same view, so it was said. The result is that, under the advice of the bankers, Japan has put a limit upon the coinage of silver. Press dispatches from Mexico inform us that the great bankers of Mexico are contemplating urging upon their government the suspension of the coinage of silver, and the bankers of Europe, working through their agents throughout Central and South America, are exerting every effort to accomplish that purpose in the South American States. While we are delaying and amusing ourselves with efforts to bring about an international agreement, the only agreement that we see as the result is the concerted action of great banking houses in the world to conquer one nation after another and to force upon them the English monetary system.

Had we acted years ago by restoring the free coinage of silver, we would have settled the question for the world; or had the people at the last election voted for bimetallism, Japan and other nations would have gone on coining silver free, India would have probably opened her mints by this time, and perhaps France and the Latin Union; the whole tide would have been turned in favor of bimetallism. Hence the importance of this nation's acting at the earliest moment possible.

Our commercial power and demands for money exceed those of all Europe combined. The United States holds the key to the situation. We can unlock the vaults and set free the silver of the world. In other words, we can break down the dam that now confines silver by permitting that metal to flow freely into and out of our mints. We can thus establish an international bimetallism that will assure free circulation and glad acceptance to both gold and silver as money throughout the commercial world.

It needs a great, free and independent people such as ours, with our immense territory and resources, a population of over seventy millions—probably nearly eighty millions, and soon to reach one hundred millions—of industrious, enterprising citizens, to take the lead in undoing a great wrong for which in the main, at least, we were responsible. That we will do so in the future, and in the near future, all the indications go to point out as a certainty.

The silver question, therefore, as it pertains to this country and the world, is more pressing than ever, and must be settled, and settled rightly, before any lasting prosperity, or any hope of permanent prosperity for our great country, can be enjoyed by our people.

The effort now being made to divert attention from this subject because of a little spurt in business activities occasioned by the failure of crops abroad will soon be dissipated.

The vain hope of an enormous yield of gold in Alaska, as relied upon by the gold standard advocates, will prove a delusion. It is not at all likely that any great quantities of gold can be dug from that inhospitable region, even if gold may exist there in great quantities, as the difficulties of mining it are so great; therefore, no reliance can be placed upon that source of supply.

Our hope and safety is in the opening up of our own rich mines of silver, that the world may be blessed with a full volume of money, derived not from British gold alone, but also from the great silver product of the American continent.

To sum up the question. We must break up the gold monopoly, or the monopoly occasioned by the gold standard, by the restoration of the free coinage of silver. In accomplishing this, we will also, in a great measure, if not entirely, remove from further obstruction to trade and business the trusts, combines, pools and syndicates, now fattening upon the labor of the people of this country.

"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever persuasion, religious or political," is one of the grand political maxims given to us by Thomas Jefferson. The advocates of the free coinage of silver aim at conforming to those principles and so bringing this government back to the control of the masses of the people that it may be conducted for their benefit—that is to say, for the benefit of all alike. The cause is just and will prevail.

R. P. Bland.

INDIA'S CASE FOR SILVER.

BY A. S. GHOSH, PROF. OF ECONOMICS, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

EXPERIENCE has taught us that the monetary policy of a nation which, because of its industrial activity or the size of its population, is an extensive user of the precious metals, often produces effects, for better or for worse, far beyond the zone of its political power and influence. During the first fifty years of this century the total production of silver in the world was about 27.6 times that of gold, whereas during the next twenty years, owing to the enormous gold discoveries in California and Australia, the "weight ratio" of silver production to that of gold fell to about 5.3; yet, during all that time the Latin Union was enabled by its bimetallic system to maintain an unvarying ratio of 15½:1 throughout Europe. Again, in 1873, the course of Germany in demonetizing silver caused the suspension of the Latin Union, and thereby accelerated the fall in the value of silver. Finally, in 1890, the enactment of the Sherman Act in the United States produced the immediate effect in India of raising the exchange value of the rupee from 1s. 4½d. to 1s. 8d.; and conversely, in 1893, the closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver led to, or at least hastened, the repeal of the Sherman Act in America, and helped to accentuate those conditions which nearly brought about Mr. Bryan's election last year.

At the present moment, then, the two countries which are most vitally concerned in the solution of the silver question are the United States and India. To the former it is a question of general prosperity and happiness, and of national advancement; to the latter it is a question of life and death. It will, therefore, be interesting and profitable to the great American people, perhaps, to study the position of India in the matter, and to understand what co-operation she may be expected to give if Senator

Wolcott's mission be attended with success; otherwise, if Mr. Bryan be able to fulfill in 1900 the hopes he has raised; or to anticipate what India may do, even single-handed, in sheer desperation, if the present famine is prolonged, as it now threatens to be, beyond human endurance.

Let it not be supposed for an instant that the closing of the mints of India was the act of the Indian people, or even of the Indian government. It was the act of the home authorities in England, the supreme controllers of the destinies of India. For the last twenty years the continuous depreciation of silver had entailed on the Indian government a continuous loss in remitting the home charges, an amount which varied from £16,000,000 to £19,000,000 per annum. Fresh taxations, loans, the appropriation of funds intended for other purposes—in fact, every makeshift to which an embarrassed government could resort—had been tried with little avail, when about the time of the Brussels Conference the Indian government in despair implored the home authorities to permit it to enter into some arrangement with the United States, where the Sherman Act was still in force, to establish a more stable equilibrium between gold and silver. But England remained deaf to the cry of the Indian government. It was said that the cry for silver was but the cry of interested American mine owners—notwithstanding the fact that the British Empire alone contained more silver than the capitalized value of all American silver mines, because there were in India silver hoards amounting to 1,300,000,000 ounces! In consequence the home authorities compelled the Indian government to close the mints as an alternative. This was done at a stroke of the pen, and without notice to the people. It was one more sacrifice to the golden calf of England's monometallism.

Now, the people of India have been accustomed from time immemorial to hoard their savings in silver, the system of banking being hitherto unknown in the country. Their usual plan is to convert rupees into bangles, armlets, bracelets and other simple ornaments which require little workmanship. In times of distress, and so long as the mints were open, as for instance during the famine of 1877, these ornaments were taken to the village silversmith, who gave full value for them, weight for weight, in rupees, deducting a small commission for his labor. These ornaments were ultimately taken to the mints, but in the interim

they often passed current as legal tender money, both parties to each transaction knowing that they could be converted at the mints into rupees at any moment. The government, however, closed the mints in 1893. In consequence, the Indians find that what they had hitherto looked upon as practically legal tender money is now no more than a mere commodity—a commodity for which there is but a limited demand, especially at a moment of universal distress. It is indeed difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the resulting loss to the Indian people, for many economic factors must necessarily enter into such an investigation; but we are in a position to form some idea of the magnitude of this loss by means of a simple arithmetical calculation. Taking gold as a common denominator, the bullion value of silver is now only 24d. per ounce, whereas the value of a coined rupee is about 1s. 3½d., which gives a rate of 40¼d. per ounce of the silver in it. Hence, the difference between the face-value and the bullion-value of the rupee is as 40¼ to 24; that is, the bullion-value is only three-fifths of the face-value, which fact implies a loss of two-fifths, or 40 per cent., to the people of India in selling their silver hoards for coined rupees. But owing to the recent rapid fall of silver and the grave apprehension and uncertainty felt as regards its future position, the silver dealers in India are charging at least an additional 10 per cent. (besides their usual commission) to cover all risks. Hence the total loss to the people of India is about 50 per cent. of their savings. This is a question of such momentous importance at a time of national calamity that it will be necessary to revert to it again.

This, then, is the present condition of affairs in India—half the savings of her people confiscated by the closing of the mints and her exchequer impoverished by the loss in exchange. Let us now consider what it would be if silver were restored to its former value or thereabout (the mints being reopened *ipso facto*), and, consequently, if the exchange value of the rupee improved proportionately.

In remitting the home charges the Indian government loses every year a sum varying from 100,000,000 rupees to 150,000,000 rupees, according to the amount of those charges and the current rate of exchange as compared with the former value of 2s. per rupee—the sum total of loss during the last three years (*i. e.*,

since the closing of the mints) being 392,000,000 rupees, or an average of 130,000,000 rupees per annum. Hence this amount would be saved to the taxpayers of India were the rupee to be raised again to 2s., or a somewhat less amount if the rupee did not rise quite so high. Let us consider the details of this calculation. The home charges may be reckoned at a yearly average of £17,500,000, and the rate of exchange at an average of 1s. 2½d. per rupee for one financial year. With these figures we shall consider the saving in each of the three following cases, viz., if the rupee rose to 2s., to 1s. 9d., and to 1s. 8d., respectively:

£17,500,000 @ 1s. 2½d. per rupee = Rs. 290,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 2s. " " = Rs. 175,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 1s. 9d. " " = Rs 200,000,000
£17,500,000 @ 1s. 8d. " " = Rs. 210,000,000

Hence the saving:

(1.) @ 2s. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 175,000,000 = Rs. 115,000,000
(2.) @ 1s. 9d. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 200,000,000 = Rs. 90,000,000
(3.) @ 1s. 8d. = Rs. 290,000,000 — Rs. 210,000,000 = Rs. 80,000,000

But this is not the only possible saving to the Indian government. Apart from the home charges, there are two other items of expenditure which entail a heavy loss on the Indian government owing to the fall in exchange. The salaries of the 72,000 British troops stationed in India are paid in pounds sterling, and not in rupees. Hence, the resulting loss to the government is about 11,343,000 rupees (for the financial year 1894–95), or, say, 10,000,000 rupees in round numbers. Moreover, all British employees of the Indian government, whether civil or military, whose salaries are reckoned in rupees, receive a compensation from the government for any fall in exchange below 1s. 9d. The resulting loss to the government amounted to 12,392,750 rupees in the year 1894–95, or, say, 11,000,000 rupees. Hence, the total loss in India, that is, apart from the home charges, is about 21,000,000 rupees per annum. Consequently, a restoration in the value of the rupee would save this amount to the taxpayers of India. As a sufficient allowance has already been made in reducing this amount, and as the maximum value of the rupee has been taken at an average of 1s. 9d., we need not consider any other variation in the amount, but treat it as roughly constant for our argument.

Hence the total annual saving to the Indian government in each of the three cases mentioned above is the following:

(1.) = Rs. 115,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 136,000,000
(2.) = Rs. 90,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 111,000,000
(3.) = Rs. 80,000,000 + Rs. 21,000,000 = Rs. 101,000,000

Now let us consider what amount of taxation might be remitted if this saving were effected. In the financial year 1894–95 the total Indian revenue was 951,874,000 rupees. Of this sum the three items which usually press most heavily upon the tax-payers, especially the poorer and the lower-middle classes, are the salt tax, the income tax, and customs. The net amounts obtained from these sources, after deducting the costs of collection, were in 1894–95:

Salt tax	Rs. 81,670,000
Income tax	Rs. 17,780,000
Customs	Rs. 36,800,000
Total	Rs. 136,250,000

Salt Tax.—In India salt is a government monopoly, as it was in France before the Revolution. The effect of the monopoly is to raise the price to the consumer some 2,000 per cent. above the free market price. This is a heavy burden on the poorer classes, whose daily meal invariably consists of a handful of rice, or some other grain, flavored with a little salt. The government preserves its right to this monopoly by the most stringent laws, as was also done in France before the Revolution. The writer has personally met with a few cases where some famine-stricken people utilized a little salt scooped out of the sand on the seashore after the tide had receded, in order to cook some wild vegetables gathered from the jungle. For this crime a fine of two rupees was imposed by the magistrate, or a short term of imprisonment as an alternative—the latter being joyfully preferred by the delinquents as being at least a guarantee against starvation. The government, however, has agreed to repeal this tax when its finances are in a less distressing condition.

Income Tax.—This is a tax on incomes from all sources at the rate of 4 pies in the rupee (*i. e.*, in the same proportion as 5d. in the £) on incomes between 500 rupees and 2,000 rupees per annum, and at 5 pies in the rupee (*i. e.*, as 6¼d. in the £) on incomes of 2,000 rupees and above. This tax is understood to be only a temporary measure, rendered necessary at present by the critical financial condition of the government. It presses very

heavily on the lower-middle classes because of its low incidence.* Even if this tax were retained, but its minimum limit of incidence altered to an income of 1,000 rupees per annum or thereabout and the rate increased on a sliding scale for the higher limits, the same amount of net revenue might be obtained, because the cost of collection is proportionately greater in the case of small incomes than of large. If, however, the former change be carried out without the latter, the remission of tax would almost amount to 8,000,000 rupees.

Customs.—This is a duty on *all* imported goods at an average rate of 5 per cent. of their value—except certain commodities which come under sumptuary laws, and which are reckoned at a higher rate. If the latter alone were retained and the new custom duties repealed, so that the *status quo* of 1893–94 were restored—because the change is declared to be caused by the present embarrassment of the government—the net revenue derived would be (as in 1893–94) about 15,385,000 rupees, *i. e.*, there would be a remission of 21,415,000 rupees.

Hence, to sum up, the remission of taxation desirable is—

Salt tax (totally)	Rs. 81,670,000
Income tax (partially)	Rs. 8,000,000
Customs (partially)	Rs. 21,415,000
Total	Rs. 111,085,000

It will therefore be seen from the list of total possible savings to the Indian government in the three cases mentioned above, that:

(1.) In the first case, the saving would be effected completely, with even a margin of about 25,000,000 rupees, which might advantageously be employed in irrigation and other works as safeguards against future famines.

(2.) In the second, the saving would just be effected.

(3.) In the third, the remission suggested above would cause a deficit of about 10,000,000 rupees. This amount, however, could be made up by a suitable variation in customs (*e. g.*, by retaining a few goods used solely by the upper classes), or even by means of the suggested graduation in the higher limits of the income tax.

It will consequently be apparent that a restoration in the

* No evidence to prove the general poverty of India could be stronger than the fact that this tax realizes only 17,780,000 rupees in British India among a total population of 221,000,000.

value of silver would be highly beneficial to India. Some are, indeed, inclined to argue that, notwithstanding the present heavy burden upon the taxpayers of India, the depreciation of silver is really to the advantage of the country, inasmuch as it helps to develop her infant industries by acting as a protection. Now, it must be noted that the chief productions of the country are agricultural, whereas the industries thus benefited are manufactural, and therefore very small in comparison with the rest. Also, these industries are almost exclusively worked by English capital, and therefore primarily benefit Englishmen at home, or Englishmen in India who return home with their savings. This capital, no doubt, gives some employment to Indian labor, but that benefits only an infinitesimal portion of the whole population. Moreover, this protection does not benefit the consumers of the goods protected, because, according to the laws of economics, the prices of these goods manufactured in India are raised in proportion to every rise in the prices of similar goods which are imported. Finally, even granting this argument of protection to be sound in itself, it can only be applied to a free country and not to one in the position of India, which, as a dependency, has to meet a heavy tributary burden in the shape of home charges.

It will accordingly be admitted that the proposed restoration in the value of silver is absolutely to the advantage of India. But how can this restoration be brought about? I would venture to maintain that the United States and France, the two countries which are the most earnest and the most powerful advocates of this cause, are quite able by joint action to restore silver to its former value, provided they receive some co-operation from other countries. England need not give up her gold standard—if she still loves it not wisely but too well. Hitherto, she alone has blocked the way and acted as the dog in the manger; but the time is at hand when she will be compelled to yield some co-operation to the cause of bimetallism, even in the interest of her own Empire; nay, even in furtherance of that selfishness in the blind pursuit of which she has brought things to such a pass in the most populous portion of that Empire. But she is not asked for much; she is only requested, in the event of a bimetallic agreement between the United States and France:

(1.) To offer facilities for a greater use of silver in the British Isles, and

(2.) To reopen the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. The former she may easily do by:

(*a.*) Making silver legal tender to a higher amount than 40s., say to 60s. or 80s.

(*b.*) Making silver an alternative basis for notes, and, if necessary, by lowering the present minimum value of notes from £5 to (say) £3 or £1.

(*c.*) Compelling the Bank of England to hold at least one-fifth of its reserve in silver (which it is at present legally empowered to do).

(*d.*) Giving more play to silver by withdrawing from circulation the half-sovereign, a coin which entails a substantial annual loss on the nation by its greater wear and tear and the facility it affords to the practice of dishonesty, besides having the disadvantage of being easily lost by its owner.

As for the reopening of the Indian mints, if the proposed international agreement helps to maintain the free coinage value of the rupee at a higher rate than 1s. 4d.—which undoubtedly it must—then it would obviously be to the advantage of the Indian government to adopt this measure. It is, indeed, true that it is not to the interest of London bankers and their allies that the present state of things should be changed, and recent events have shown that every loss of the starving taxpayers of India is their gain. Now that the mischief of closing the Indian mints has been done, and the people of India have suffered, some irreparably, and the result aimed at has been reached, viz., the shrinkage in the volume of the Indian currency, it passes all human understanding to know why the authorities still take less than the full legal value of the rupee (1s. 4d.) in the sale of India Council bills. During the first six months of this year the stringency of the Indian money market was so great that banks in India were refusing to give loans at 10 per cent., even on government securities, and consequently the authorities might have sold India Council bills to English bankers who had to make remittances to India at even a small premium above the legal rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee. But during all that time these bills were offered at an average rate of 1s. 2½d. per rupee, thereby conferring a clear profit of over 10 per cent. on English bankers as a free gift, at the cost of the famine-stricken people of India. Whether this fact argues the incompetence or the callousness of

the authorities, is immaterial ; it is at least one more proof that the interests of India are ever sacrificed on behalf of every class in England which has any influence with the authorities.

But the time is at hand when this shall no longer be possible. The Indian famine is not yet over, nay, it is worse than it ever was before. The number of people engaged in relief works has swollen to 4,000,000 per day, and the rains have again failed this year. There is general disaffection in India, bursting forth here and there into open hostility. If the famine and the plague had not come, perhaps the people would not have realized to the fullest extent the significance of the closing of the mints. These, however, are the very misfortunes which have compelled them to bring out their hoarded savings to reconvert them into rupees; and for the first time they have realized that, without their knowledge, the government has reduced those savings to half their original value. As yet the people have taken no action ; their leaders have not yet taken up this question. But the time is fast approaching when they will, and the news will spread from bazaar to bazaar, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, that while the government was avowing to help them in their misery, it was confiscating without their knowledge half their wealth. The Indian people do not argue ; they believe implicitly what is told to them; consequently they will learn that the government which they have so long deemed to be parental, and in their simple tongue have called *ma-bap,* is but a step-parent.

Eminent Englishmen have challenged the world to gainsay their proud vaunt that England was, like a second Providence, ever watching over the destinies of the 300 millions of India with a transcendental altruism without parallel in the history of righteous and capable rule ; that the guardianship of India was committed to England for divine purposes, and that she ruled over that country for the sake of the Indians first, and for revenue and reputation and power afterwards.* We have long been in search of the lineal descendants of the Pharisee who went up into the temple to pray, and we must now confess that the rightful claimants to that proud heritage of ninteeen centuries have at last made good their claim. England, however, is not called upon to exercise her usual magnanimity, generosity, and righteous-

* The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1897.

ness—these she may well reserve for more fitting occasions ; but she is requested to consult the interests of her own Empire, which are even now in peril. If she refuses to act now that she has the assistance of two great nations like France and the United States, she may be compelled in a few months to reopen the Indian mints single handed, when the present dark clouds on the Indian horizon threaten a storm of unprecedented fury. This is no false alarm ; for the position of the Indian government is indeed critical. Lord George Hamilton, of course, declared in the House of Commons a short time ago that the credit of the Indian government never stood so high as it does now ; but the proof of the grave uneasiness felt about India, notwithstanding his denial, lies in the fact that whereas last year's 3 per cent. India loan was snapped up in the London market at 103, this year's 3½ per cent. loan had to be offered at 97, instead of at 120, which would be the proportionate amount.

So, then, it is to the interest of England to accept the willing co-operation of her neighbors and to reopen the Indian mints. If, however, notwithstanding every entreaty, she proves false to her own and the world's interest, then she may learn to her cost that other nations can act without her, and may see the very thing come to pass in retribution which she has so long opposed. If she still continue to block the way, if Senator Wolcott's mission fail and the Indian mints remain unopened, then the last hope of India must lie in Mr. Bryan. If three years hence his efforts are crowned with success, which necessarily they must be if nothing is done meanwhile to solve the great question, he will perhaps find the gold worshippers of Europe, headed by England, waiting in trepidation in his antechamber to entreat an international agreement. That will be the hour of his triumph, and in the anticipation of it the three hundred millions of India will wish him God-speed with all the power of their stricken hearts.

A. S. Ghosh.

THE REJUVENATION OF THE JEW.

BY THE REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES.

"BEYOND belief," all will say "that aught in nature can exist unless it performs the function assigned to it in nature's economy." If anything lives, it follows that it is performing its function. For failure to do so means decay and death. The laws that obtain in the material world, obtain with equal force in the domain of things spiritual. The Jew still exists. He must be performing some function. History attests that it is rather spiritual than material. There is no decay or death in it. And since in nature nothing is wasted, but everything is utilized, transmuted, and invested with new powers, new life, let us look for the same miracle in the world-story of the Jew.

Cymri, Britons, Saxons, Danes, Normans have in England been transmuted into Englishmen. They live with new powers, new life, in the people whose restless spirit has won such victories in peace and war, whose enterprise ploughs distant seas and founds empires in erst unknown lands.

The wild tribes that roamed German forests, and hurled back Rome's legions in defeat and extermination in the Teutoburg wood, have to-day become crystallized into the nation whose wonderful strides towards commercial world-supremacy astonish and win admiration. Where great rivers for centuries deposited slime amid ocean's sand-banks some "wretched ichthyophagi" wrestled with nature, forced back the wild sea, drained the swamps, and birthed the great Dutch nation, whose beggars of Brederode in the Calenberg mansion one April night began the grand fight against the edicts of Philip and the Inquisition. Her warriors broke Spain's pride, her seamen all but made her queen of the seas, and her people to-day stand exemplars of sturdy independence, industry, and simplicity.

And does not this great country of the United States show similar transmutation of races and the resultant new powers, new life, which make her a young giant destined to write a deathless name on the scroll of history?

Yet England and Germany, Holland and the United States have of themselves benefited the world but materially. Whatever benefit of a spiritual nature they have conferred upon humanity has been simply the conversion of savages to the religion and the ideals of the Semite, not of the Aryan. Their spiritual achievements have been but to spread over the earth a book called the Bible, which was written by Jews, and the teachings of Jesus, who was himself a Jew.

On the other hand, from the days when King Arthur ruled, or Varro lost his legions; from the day the races of the Scheldt and Meuse first fought the elements, and Icelanders first saw "Greenland's icy mountains"—and for how many ages before these events!—the Jew existed, separate, watching, suffering, hoping—always hoping! Was he, is he, simply an abnormality of nature? Did he have, has he, no function to perform? True, his blood has mixed with all nations; from the days of the Hebrew woman who married a Tyrian, and whose son "came to King Solomon and wrought all his work"; from the days when the prophet Joel thundering his charge against Tyre and Sidon, those great seaports of antiquity, exclaimed, "The children also of Judah and Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians," even to the present day, when trace of Jewish blood is found in many a family, especially of the aristocracy. But as a nation he has remained, and he still remains, separate and distinct. Is it a result of human agency, or has a Power invisible and invincible so willed it? His own law-book tells the Jew: "Ye shall be holy for Me, for I the Eternal am holy, and I have severed you from the peoples that ye should be Mine."*

His victories have been but partly material. He has shown himself time and again endowed with the powers of mind to win renown as merchant or as scholar. He helped the Moor, if indeed he did not often teach him, to light for Christian students their torches of learning whose gleams dispelled the dark ages. His sons were in the following of Columbus, and if late research be true, it was a Jew and not Queen Isabel who supplied that navi-

* Lev. xx. 26.

gator with funds for his great voyage. Certainly they helped Vasco da Gama. Certainly it was Behaim, aided by Roderigo and Joseph, who in 1480 invented the astrolabe. And equally certain it is that in modern enterprise the sons of the Hebrew are among the earliest settlers in African, Australian, and American wilds.

But his chief victories, his noblest victories, have been spiritual. The book and the teachings most loved, and most cherished, and most honored by modern civilization are the book and the teachings already referred to—the Book of the Jew, and the teachings of the Jew.

And now the most wonderful fact confronts us, a fact before which his past victories almost pale. This ancient nation, old when every modern nation was born, is becoming invested with new powers, new life, new youth. It is impossible not to see the signs. The process of his regeneration may have been slow, or may seem to have been slow, to us who are living at the moment of his apparent rejuvenation. It is some two hundred and fifty years since England opened her doors to him. It is a hundred years since France declared his equality. In the rest of Europe, and even in this country, liberties have been but slowly yielded to him. The revolution of 1848 did much for him. The fight for rights in England was won at last, though not half a century has passed since the House of Commons opened to him the portals of its historic hall. Two hundred and fifty years! What are two and three hundred years to a race whose history counts years by the thousand?

During this quarter of a millennium, the Jew has been slowly gathering strength. Strange to say, it was a hostile act which first demonstrated his inherent vitality and proved his rejuvenescence. The hostile act was the abduction of young Mortara. The Jewish world was thrilled by the outrage. Anglo-Jewish, Franco-Jewish, and German-Jewish indignation was echoed by American-Jewish protest, and the sympathetic meetings, speeches, articles, and resolutions told the Jewish race throughout the wide world that the scattered nation had but one national heart, and that the life-blood as it pulsed in the old world or in the new was as healthy and vivific as ever.

The practical result was the organization of the Jews in the great countries. France took the lead by founding the *Alliance*

Israelite Universelle, with which is identified forever the name of Cremieux—the same Cremieux in whose hands France herself reposed such sacred national trusts a few years later. England followed, with its Anglo-Jewish Association, Germany with its *Allianz,* and the United States with its Board of Delegates.

These societies watch Jewish rights, and when occasion arises they use the regular channels of interference through the governments of the countries of their adoption ; witness the action of the Berlin Conference in connection with Roumania and her treatment of her Hebrew population. They attempt the championship of the oppressed Jews throughout the world, and endeavor to ameliorate their lot. Their vigilance is ceaseless. Within the last few weeks the good offices of this government have, upon representation of one of these societies, been exercised on behalf of Hebrews exposed to religious persecution in the land of the Shah. They form by means of their committees a ready means for joint action in any emergency ; and just as they supplied ready material of skilled brains to guide the awful exodus from Russia fifteen years ago, they stand ready at an hour's notice to organize in order to grapple unitedly with any problem affecting their race.

Noble as is all this work, yet nobler is their educational effort.

They support schools from the West coast of Africa to the distant East, wherein boys and girls are taught in the most approved methods by trained teachers. I doubt if the Christian world is even aware of this activity. Perhaps the best way to show the enormous work thus attempted, and indeed accomplished, will be to present a list of the schools supported by the "Alliance."

Location.	Directing and teaching staff.	Servants.	Number of pupils.	Paying pupils.	Apprentices learning trades.
Aden	6	1	102	61 boys	7 boys
a. Aleppo	6	1	128	55 "	21 "
b. "	4	1	70	29 girls	.... ..
a. Adrianople	12	3	260	121 boys	24 boys
b. "	10	2	484	174 girls	20 girls
c. "	..	..	869	195 boys	....
a. Bagdad	8	2	238	132 boys	21 boys
b. "	4	2	64	42 girls	34 girls
a. Beyrout	4	1	108	38 boys	7 boys
b. "	3	1	100	26 girls	10 girls
Bottosani	11	..	329	.....	.....
Bourgas	Girl school opened October, 1896.				

Location.	Directing and teaching staff.	Servants.	Number of Pupils.	Paying Pupils.	Apprentices learning trades.
a. Broussa	5	1	115	53 boys	.....
b. "	4	1	64	38 girls	.....
a Caiffa	6	2	141	51 boys	9 boys
b. "	3	1	82	30 girls	.....
Cairo	8	2	217	209 boys	.....
Chio	3	1	62	27 boys and girls	
a. Chumla	5	1	131	0 boys	9 boys
b. "	5	1	120	0 girls	12 girls
Constantinople :					
a. District of Balata	8	2	263	94 boys	12 boys
b. " "	6	2	325	75 girls	8 girls
a. " Kuskunjuk.	8	2	257	100 boys	.....
b. " "	7	3	227	106 girls	.....
a. " Galata	7	2	197	93 boys	42 boys
b. " "	8	3	330	88 girls	45 girls
c. " "	4	2	144	9 boys	.....
a. " Haskuey	9	2	327	141 boys	.....
b. " "	9	3	409	141 girls	61 girls
" Haskuey Asile	1	..	46	10 "	.....
" Haskuey Conorte	5	2	260	140 boys	.....
" Haydar Pacha	5	2	129	98 "	.....
a. " Ortakuey	..	..	Closed 1896; boys		
b. " "	6	2	176	73 girls	15 girls
a. Damas	6	2	201	121 boys	33 boys
b. "	9	3	297	130 girls	13 girls
c. "	14	2	446	281 boys	.....
a. Dardanelles	5	1	139	63 boys	.....
b. "	3	1	130	64 girls	.....
Fez	6	1	133	45 boys	.....
a. Jaffa	8	1	160	45 "	8 boys
b. "	7	1	167	32 girls	.....
Jerusalem	..	..	147	55 "	102 "
a. Magnesia	5	1	160	66 boys	9 "
b "	2	1	85	35 girls	.....
a. Mogador	4	1	96	31 boys	.....
	..	..	Girls' school (small subvention).		
Monastir	8	2	205	120 boys	.....
Pergamus	4	1	80	65 "	.....
a. Phillipopolis	8	1	393	0 "	12 boys
b. "	10	1	487	300 girls	14 girls
a. Rustchuk	6	1	221	0 boys	.....
b. "	6	1	150	0 girls	.....
a. Salonica	13	2	384	56 boys	100 boys
b. "	12	3	293	154 girls	13 girls
Samaroff	5	1	124	85 boys	17 boys
a. Smyrna	11	2	301	51 "	56 "
b. "	9	2	330	75 girls	40 girls
c. "	10	2	507	10 boys	.....
d. "	5	1	106	44 mixed	.....
a. Sofia	17	3	853	0 boys	22 boys
b. "	7	..	365	114 girls	20 girls
a. Toussa	8	2	274	77 boys	6 boys
a. Tangiers	9	2	462	146 "	.....
b. "	6	1	234	126 girls	.....
a. Tatar Bajardjik	7	1	186	0 boys	17 boys
b. "	7	2	265	0 girls	.....
a. Tetuan	8	1	276	126 boys	.....
b. "	8	1	242	73 girls	13 gilrs
a. Tripoli	4	1	119	6 boys	22 boys
b. "	2	1	40	2 girls	.....
a. Tunis	26	6	1,025	100 boys	27 boys
b. "	12	3	579	60 girls	20 girls
c. "	4	2	331	7 "	.....
Varna	5	1	85	0 boys	.....
Yamboli	3	1	105	0 "	.....
Pravar	..	..	....	.....	5 boys

In Paris the Alliance supports a preparatory school for boys, 42 inmates. Four years make a course, with professors of Hebrew, French,

Spanish, literature and diction, history, geography, mathematics, physical and natural science, writing, drawing, singing and gymnastics. There is also preparatory instruction for twenty students.

In Jaffa the Alliance supports an agricultural school which has 104 pupils, who receive a thorough course in scientific and practical farming, vine culture, etc.; and, finally, the Alliance maintains a farm school at Djedlida, near Tunis, where eighteen young men receive farming education.

Total expenses, 802,043 fr. 10 centimes. Boys' schools, 51; girls' schools, 27; "*Ecoles maternelles*," 2. Number of pupils, 18,100.

The Anglo-Jewish association subsidizes some of its work, but supports schools in English possessions besides. In addition to these "Pan-Jewish" organizations—Pan-Jewish because the Alliance of France has branches in most countries of the world from Turkey to Brazil, and subscriptions from Shanghai to Chicago, while the Anglo-Jewish association has branches in all countries under the British flag, from Canada to India—the Jewish communities in the great countries of the world are organized religiously, either under their own auspices, as in England, or under government auspices, as in France. In the United States, only the Reform-Jews are organized, but it is doubtful if they count 100,000 adherents out of the possibly 750,000 Hebrews in this country.

A further and remarkable evidence of the "Hebrew stock," as Washington terms it in one of his happy letters, becoming endowed with new life, is the creation of such societies as the *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) and *Shoveve Zion* (Returners to Zion).

These societies also have branches in various countries. Their object is, chiefly, colonization of Palestine by forming agricultural settlements. Since 1881 over twenty colonies have been founded by various enterprises other than these societies. The founders had to learn by experience, and many would have sunk in the morass of failure but for the help of Baron Edmund de Rothschild of Paris. Now, they are practically successful, and their products, wine, soap and honey, are for sale in this country.

Colonization in Palestine has received an undoubted impetus through the failure of such attempts here. A new attempt is now being made in Salinas Valley, 118 miles from San Francisco. It is under the leadership of M. Ephraim Deinard, a scholar of wide repute, but no agriculturist. The *American Hebrew* of July 16 remarks:

"We hope that they will meet with success; we sincerely trust that

they will prove the exception in the long list of colonies that have been started west of the Alleghanies in the past fifteen years. We cannot but fear, however, that it starts under very poor auspices, for experience is a wise though costly teacher, and sad experience advises against colonization. All of the colonies thus far planted, barring only Alliance and Woodbine, have been so many sink-holes, in whose preparation valuable time and energy have been spent, and in whose depths has disappeared all the money given by willing hands and hearts, anxious to prove by their deeds their faith in the regeneration of the Russian Jew through agriculture. Most of these attempts at colonization have not left even a surviving farmer."

One of the results of the present rejuvenation of the Jew is that the same time and energy would again be as cheerfully given, and willing hands and willing hearts would as cheerfully contribute, to any movement to better the condition of any Hebrews subjected to sufferings.

Now comes the attempt to harmonize or concentrate some of these movements attending the rejuvenation. A new word has been created to describe it and its aims. It is "Zionism." As Mr. Rosenberg, for some time president of the New York branch of the Hoveve Zion puts it:

"Zionism, under the pressure of Russian persecution and European anti-Semitism, has grown into a movement in which both spiritual and temporal forces largely join in intensifying its momentum and gaining for it an ever-increasing adherence among the intellectually and religiously cultured element of civilized Europe. . . . To lift up this practical work of colonization from its philanthropic nursery, to pave the way for a more rousing and effective agitation of the cause everywhere, to better organize and unify with one another the various societies, associations, clubs or other bodies having Zionistic tendencies or objects, to centralize the scattered, disunited forces of the movement, and to give them unity of purpose, aim and direction—this is what the Munich congress is expected to accomplish, or, at least, to compass."

This congress was held in August, in Basle, not Munich.

It is a sign of the times, and of extreme importance in the story of Jewish rejuvenation. Many Hebrews favor it. Some oppose it. The two reasons for opposition may well be mentioned.

The first is because it is identified with Dr. Hertzl, of Vienna, a Zionist, who considers that the Hebrews should obtain Palestine by purchase, and who is said to have peculiar ideas in social economics.

The second reason is, because it is thought that any attempt of Zionism to achieve the creation of a Jewish state must create doubts of Jewish patriotism in the land of adoption or present residence. The first objection does not concern us, except to re-

mark that the prophet's "not by money shall ye be redeemed" is considered answer enough to Dr. Hertzl's proposition, and as for social economics Judaism does not favor any disturbing idea therein. The second objection is more important, but it disappears when the question of a Jewish state is rightly understood.

The creation of a Jewish state, or the restoration of Palestine to the Hebrews, looked forward to by Jew and Gentile alike, is to be achieved on lines announced by the Bible, the sole source for the Hebrew's hope and for the Christian's expectation in this connection.

It is to be brought about by joint action of the Great Powers. "Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles and set up my standard unto peoples, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nourishers and their princesses thy nursing mothers." It is to be effected as a measure of justice and righteousness. "Zion shall be redeemed as an act of justice, and her captives by righteousness."

Though some Hebrews will settle in Palestine from sentiment and because of its recognized commercial importance by reason of geographical situation, yet other Hebrews are expected to remain in other lands. "And their seed shall be known among the Gentiles and their offspring in the midst of peoples. And I will sow them among the peoples, and in places afar off they shall remember Me."

These Hebrews in other lands will owe no duty to Palestine which can in any way clash with their duty to the country of their adoption. For Palestine can exact only spiritual loyalty. She will have no temporal aspirations beyond her well-defined borders, "from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates." She will have no possessions, no colonies in any other part of the world; and therefore no Monroe doctrine can ever affect her. Her children in other countries will know that she claims no temporal power. Hence, even as Catholics in all countries can be, and are, good citizens in the land of their adoption, the Hebrews can be, are, and will be equally good citizens. They will even be more free than Catholics from any imputation upon the sincerity of their citizenship, since they never will have any head who, while claiming spiritual loyalty, can claim temporal power outside Palestine's borders.

True, the powers may seek arbitration at Zion, even as to-day they seek arbitration from a King of Sweden, a King of Belgium, or a President of Switzerland, because those countries are surely disinterested. But this will be but a further fulfilment of Bible ideal, when "many people shall go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, . . . and He will teach us of His ways and we will walk in His paths, for out of Zion shall go forth Law, and the word of the Law from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among nations and shall rebuke many peoples. And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The abolition of war and the substitution of arbitration is a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

The orthodox, or Bible Jews, say that when, at the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, they were ordained "a kingdom of priests," it meant that they were to minister to the spiritual wants of God's other children, in whose midst they must therefore necessarily live, and in contact with whom they must logically be. Hence, the orthodox Jews pray for restoration, knowing that in the restoration to Palestine all mankind, and not the Jew alone, will be benefited, and many of the Reform Jews, all the best minds among them, wish this restoration also. Yet let it be said that there are some Reform-Jews who do not believe in the restoration. But then there were some Hebrews who blamed Moses for taking them out of Egypt!

Before summing up, there is one other observation to make. It is that in England and America two parties have sprung up of some significance; the one is "Young Anglo-Jewish," the other is "Young American-Jewish." The former is called "The Maccabees"—name indicative of sacrifice, energy, effort for the preservation of Judaism's holiest interests; the latter is called "The Judeans"—name indicative of identification with those same interests. Both are composed of the brainiest young men; and where youth moves, especially youth animated by high ideals, much may be expected.

Here, then, we find organized in every way the race which has given in our own day such brains in statesmanship as Beaconsfield to England, Cremieux to France, Lasker to Germany, Rothschild in finance, Hirsch in enterprise, Jessel in jurisprudence, Sylvester

in mathematics. And this race existed, organized, vivific, ages before the great nations of to-day had birth. Its great temple was built, its psalmists had sung, its prophets had preached noble ideals before Remus leaped the walls of Rome, and before the Olympian games were ever contested. It has been subjected to treatment enough to crush the life out of any nation not endowed with more than human attributes. It lives to-day, not at all decrepit, not at all weak. It is younger that ever, if youth means strength, energy, and wild, impetuous love for what is good and beautiful. It is stronger than ever, for it has the strength born of experience. Shall there be, can there be, no future for such a race? There must be. And if the chief theatre of this future shall be Palestine, and in that future "all the families of earth shall be blessed," what will it be but the fulfilment of the old promise to Abraham?

Italy has been reborn. Old France died and new France lives, far more vigorous than of yore. England exists anew, greater, stronger, and nobler, by reason of her new empires fringing every ocean. Germany, revived, now treads the stage of history with grander force than ever. It would be no miracle if Palestine lived again, and from the hills of Judea were again wafted teachings, thoughts, ideals, parables, to lift man spiritually. So to lift man is the function of the Jew. For that he has lived; for that he puts forth the signs of rejuvenescence.

Do we need proof that he has no thought of selfishness, but thinks only of mankind's weal? We will find it in prayers which he has been saying for so many centuries, on the most sacred days each year, yes, and on every day. Remembering that prayer means man's confidential communion with his God, well can we believe that what we quote voices the inmost thought of the Jewish heart:

"We hope in Thee . . . to establish the world for Thy Kingdom; and may all mankind call on Thy Name, to turn all the wicked of Earth to Thee . . . when to Thee every knee shall bend and every tongue swear allegiance." "Iniquity shall close its mouth and wickedness shall vanish like smoke . . . O instil reverence of Thee upon all Thy works . . . let all make one united band to perform Thy will with a perfect heart" . . . May not the whole world answer, "Amen?"

H. Pereira Mendes.

SOME IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE JUBILEE.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

CERTAINLY the world has never seen such a procession as that which traversed the streets of London upon the 22d day of June in commemoration of the blessings showered upon the motherland under the reign of Queen Victoria. Nor has the history of man anything so surprising as that a little island should hold sway over one-fourth of the population, and one-seventh of the entire surface, of the globe, with thirty parliaments scattered throughout the world, all under the ægis of her crown. Nothing in fiction seems more incredible; nevertheless, the solid fact is before our eyes. This procession brought it home to all. Here one woman, the Queen, was preceded and followed by representatives of subjects owning her sway, who number more than three hundred millions, men of many races from many climes, white, brown and black.

Nor is the world likely to see anything like this again. After viewing such a spectacle no one can question that our English-speaking race is the spreading, colonizing, conquering race of the world, for it is not to be lost sight of that the other branch of that race has not been idle during the sixty years under review. The rapid expansion of the British Empire is paralleled by that of the Republic. The narrow strip along the Atlantic coast occupied by less than fifteen millions of people in 1837 has crept onward to the Pacific, and the fifteen have increased to seventy-two millions. The vital difference is that while the American commonwealth remains compact and united under one central government, the British is scattered over the face of the earth, with thirty practically independent governments, each legislating for its own area. Our race has the earth-hunger and the ability to develop, civilize, and rule. Wherever it goes, it establishes

government by law, free speech, free press, free education, and "executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." It is rapidly creeping over the best portions of the earth.

The most weighty feature of the Diamond Jubilee was admittedly the attendance of the eleven premiers from the self-governing colonies. The most important results are to flow from this. Indeed, one startling result has already come, for up to the time when these premiers appeared upon the scene in the old home, the position of the colonies was subordinate; to-day they are on an equality with the home country. The people of Canada and Australia have to thank their representatives for having at one bound established their equality forever. One and all of these men have sounded this note with the greatest clearness. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, having been first to arrive and speak, is entitled to the credit of first proclaiming the doctrine. In his speech in reply to the welcome given him at Liverpool he said: "We claim that treaties which are opposed to us cannot stand. If they do I have only this to say, that the position will have to be considered *in toto*, a new problem will have to be solved. Either Canada will have to retreat or Britain will have to advance." At the Imperial Institute reception he repeated this truth, saying: "Sir, the colonies were born to become nations. It has been said that, perhaps, the time might come when Canada might become a nation of itself. My answer is simple. Canada is a nation. Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a Sovereign Power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at the present day." He subsequently stated that while he loved England, Scotland, and Ireland, the first place in his affections was naturally for his own *nation*, Canada. Every premier followed this lead, and finally Lord Rosebery at the National Liberal Club reception to these important men, responding to the toast of the colonies, begged to discard the word "Colonies" altogether as denoting that these free communities were still in *statu pupillare*, and he substituted the word "Empire," a suggestion which was greeted with great cheering. The leading Conservative organs, from *The Times* and *Standard* down, have accepted the change. It is clear to all that the colonies are, and must

hereafter be, recognized as the equals of the parent. Henceforth the colonies acknowledge only the suzerainty of Britain, as Egypt or Roumania owns that of the Sultan. We must credit the poet, Kipling, with having struck the note which all these men sang :

> "Daughter am I in my mother's house,
> But mistress in my own."

The American cannot fail to note how completely the revolution of 1776 is justified by recent events. The British liberties which Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Jay, Adams stood for, their constitutional rights as Britons, and their claim that taxation without representation was tyranny,—all these are the commonplaces of to-day, as the inalienable right of the British colonies under the British Constitution. This is the registration and final settlement of a condition which existed before, but which had never before been frankly acknowledged.

It must not be supposed that this step forward involves a loosening of the ties which have hitherto bound the colonies to the motherland. On the contrary, there is every indication that the bond between them is to grow even stronger in consequence. The colonies are free to go ; the movement for a federated Australia is encouraged by Britain, but the example of Canada under federation proves that the attachment to the motherland becomes stronger as the government of the colony becomes more powerful. It is no legal bond now which holds, but bonds of affection. Whether the English-speaking communities divided by vast oceans can permanently exist and retain even a nominal allegiance to Britain is yet to be tested ; but it is evident that as the sway becomes more and more merely nominal, it becomes much easier to maintain it than if it were real. It is hard to displace the sentimental. For the future, the allegiance of the free colonies to the parent land is practically similar to the allegiance of the British people to the monarch whose sway is likewise so purely nominal. The king can do no wrong because he is not allowed to do anything in the way of governing. As long as Britain is blessed with a monarch approaching the present sovereign lady in qualities of head and heart, who follows the example she has set, the bond of genuine affection will keep the monarchy in place. A George the Third or George the Fourth would bring about its prompt but peaceful abolition. In

like manner, it seems that the nominal tie between the free colonies and Britain will outlast almost every contingency except that of an attempt upon the part of Britain to exercise any real control over them in the matter of government. As Queen Victoria has placed the monarchy in the best possible position to survive, so the statesmen of the colonies and of Britain have placed the relations between the colonies and Britain in the best possible position. The Briton is a prudent, wise and sensible man who knows how to adapt himself to circumstances.

The question of closer union between Britain and her "Comrades"—a fitting word which we owe to Sir Henry Irving, and which was also greeted with much cheering—came also to the fore during the Jubilee, but no result was achieved. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's idea of a Federal Council was voted impracticable. There was some intimation that under certain circumstances the colonies might contribute to imperial defense, especially to the navy. But if this be done, it is evident that the amount will only be nominal in each case, and a very difficult question must be met, to what extent the contributors shall be allowed to control the movements of the navy in time of war. As the relations between the parts is one of sympathy and affection, and essentially sentimental, it will be exceedingly difficult to transmute the sentimental into anything practical of a hard and fast nature involving stated pecuniary obligations. For every note struck proved that the colonies are in nowise minded to participate in any common object without having adequate representation and power. It is probable that the good sense of the British people will soon realize that the more closely or tightly they attempt to draw the bonds, the weaker and less trustworthy the bonds must become, and they will conclude that they had better let well enough alone for the present.

After Australia has confederated, an offensive and defensive alliance between Canada and Australia on the one hand, and Britain on the other, would be natural, as they are members of the same race, and especially as they occupy to each other the relation of parent and children. This alliance would leave each an entirely separate nation as to its tariff, naval and military forces and internal policy, and unite them only for certain specific objects bearing upon imperial safety.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier of Canada, was the foremost

figure in the whole Jubilee proceedings, next to the Queen herself, and this chiefly because of the threat Canada has made against the United States to introduce preferential tariff conditions in favor of Britain. If Mr. Chamberlain, the principal home figure of the government in the Jubilee, and some of his ablest colleagues who are not likely to be deceived, fully understand that the action of Canada was merely intended to influence the United States to advance in the direction of meeting Canada's needs and desires in the new tariff, they were wise enough not to air their knowledge. It would have been as impolite as impolitic for them to do so.

The masses of the people of Britain do not follow foreign affairs, which are left in the hands of the few governing men of both parties. The public remains satisfied that the policy of the country in foreign affairs is to be continuous, whichever party is in power, and therefore it is impossible to direct their attention to what is going on. They have little idea, for instance, that Canada had been begging at Washington for reciprocal tariff laws with the United States and had been repulsed. The United States exports manufactured articles to Canada, and Canada exports to the United States timber, coal, barley and agricultural products. As it has hitherto been held impossible for Canada to admit the manufactured articles of the United States upon more favorable terms than those granted to Britain and European countries, President Harrison very justly described the situation by saying that "Canada could offer us nothing to trade with." Thus repulsed, Canada attempted to create a diversion by offering preferential treatment to Great Britain, alleging that she did so in return for Great Britain's admitting her products free, which no other country did except New South Wales. Had Canada then felt herself in a position to accord such preferential treatment to imports from the United States, it is probable that an adjustment between the two countries would have taken place, and nothing would have been heard of the present law which accords preferential treatment to the manufactures of Great Britain. As she failed to obtain the desired American market, she is now trying to make a counter demonstration with the market of Great Britain, which is doomed to failure, because nothing but the market of her giant neighbor can bring her even a moderate degree of prosperity.

Previous to the Jubilee no one thought it possible that Great Britain would cancel her treaties with Belgium and Germany in order to meet the demand for independence made by Canada. These treaties secure the two countries named against any discrimination in tariffs; their products gain admission to all the colonies upon the same terms as the products of Great Britain. Now the necessary notice has been given to terminate these treaties, and we are to see the manufactures of Great Britain entering Canada under duties twenty-five per cent. less than those exacted from other nations, including the United States. It is a grave step. The new Dingley tariff taxes Canadian products entering the United States, but it is clear that further action in reply to the discrimination now established will be required. Here is our neighbor, Canada, deliberately electing to admit the products of Great Britain at lower duties than she proposes to exact from the United States, while the United States treats Canada in precisely the same manner as other nations. The products of Canada are not discriminated against. We tax her imports precisely as we tax similar articles from any other country. The question arises: Are we meekly to suffer our products to be discriminated against by our neighbor, while we accord her equality? The proper response would probably be to prohibit Canadian imports passing through the United States territory in bond, and a law adding to the duties upon Canadian imports into the United States a percentage equal to any preference given by Canada to British manufactures. At present the manufactures of Great Britain pass through Maine into Canada paying twenty-five per cent. less than similar articles passing from the United States direct into Canada. President McKinley may be safely trusted to consider this new attack, and to take the necessary steps to repel it. In electing to ally herself commercially with a European nation instead of with her neighbor upon her own continent, Canada has made a grave mistake. Least of all nations can she afford to inaugurate a war of tariffs with her natural ally, to whom she must gravitate if she would not decay.

The surprising point is that not one line has been written nor one word spoken in Britain upon the vital feature of this momentous change, which is that by it the colonies of Great Britain obtain complete control over their fiscal policy. Hitherto

they have been included in the tariff treaties of Great Britain; now they are permitted to act alone as independent nations. In short, the treaty-making power has been conferred upon them, as far as commercial relations go. Canada is now in a position to visit Washington and propose a change from preference given to the British to preference given to the American product. She is free and independent. What the parent country does in treaties henceforth affects the parent country alone. This attitude Canada has long desired to reach, notably in the case of the International Copywright Law. When the market of the British Empire was exchanged for the market of the United States, Canada demurred, as will be remembered, and protested against the Canadian market being treated for by any party but Canada herself. Now, there is no question of her right. The step which Britain has taken cancelling her treaties with Belgium and Germany, which denied that right to the colonies, settles the matter. Those who know the position of Canada, and especially those who have studied Mr. Goldwin Smith's remarkable and final book upon the question of its commercial relations, know full well that the present preference given to British manufacturers can amount to little, and that no market but that of the United States can be made worth much to Canada. It is only a question of time, therefore, when one of the political parties there will raise the cry, and succeed in carrying the policy, of reciprocal intercourse with its natural market. Free trade between the United States and Canada is not far distant, and Premier Laurier may fairly be credited with winning one of the greatest triumphs of modern statesmanship. He has accomplished more in one short week for his native land than all her statesmen during their lives. Not since Lord Durham's report, which culminated in the Dominion, has anything been done for Canada so great as thus securing for her the undoubted right to make her own commercial treaties, a right which must now become, of course, the right of every other self-governing colony. Britain is soon to find that this preferential idea in the case of Canada is a two-edged sword which can be used to cut the United States slightly now, and Britain seriously by and by. When next Canada appears at Washington, and it will not be long till then, she will indeed have "something to trade with."

The winning of complete independence and equality by the

communities which have hitherto been known as colonies, and their promotion to the rank of nations, with the treaty-making power for preferential fiscal relations with other nations, is the one overshadowing result of the Jubilee. The consequences to flow from it are portentous. It makes an epoch in the history of colonization.

Second to this is its effect upon the home rule idea.

There was but one discordant note throughout the whole Jubilee proceedings. From every one of the colonies and dependencies of Britain came the same loyal and devoted note of patriotic and enthusiastic affection; but from one portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and that an integral portion of the United Kingdom itself, there came the note of discontent. Ireland stood apart. As a political move this, undoubtedly, was well, for no occasion could possibly arise which would give Ireland an opportunity to bring home to her governors and to the world the solemn truth that the reign of Queen Victoria had not been satisfactory to her. "Strange," the American says, "that while the fact has been proclaimed at every banquet, with universal acceptance, that the secret of the loyalty to the Empire of the far distant peoples lay in their having been allowed to govern themselves, after their own fashion, it is not immediately seen that home rule for Ireland must . . . . produce like results!" Ireland was the skeleton at the feast, but although no official of the government took notice of the lesson which its presence taught, it must not be inferred that it was not seen and its presence keenly felt. Next to the equality of the colonies, which this Jubilee sealed, may be placed the triumph of the home rule cause for Ireland. Mr. Balfour, the leader of the House of Commons, some time ago intimated that Ireland was at last to have a measure of local government, and his able second, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, since the Jubilee, has gone to much greater lengths in the same direction. The measure will be different in name and form from that of Mr. Gladstone, but the Irish hereafter will have freedom substantially to manage their own affairs. It is safe to prophesy that sixty years hence at any jubilee similar to that which has just past, Ireland will be found as loyal as Scotland, for she is soon to receive what the far-seeing Gladstone saw she must obtain and desired to give her. The substance though not the form will be

given by the Conservatives, but history is to award to Mr. Gladstone the credit of first recognizing in the case of Ireland that

> "When force and gentleness play for a Kingdom
> The gentle gamester will the sooner win."

The British Empire could not exist a day but for the effect of the home rule federal system, which proves that the freest government of the parts makes the strongest government of the whole.

The absence of Mr. Gladstone from the Jubilee proceedings was generally noted and commented upon freely in tones of regret, and even of indignation. Some went so far as to suggest that Her Majesty might well have invited the statesman of more than sixty years' reign to occupy a seat at her side in her carriage; but these were Americans. The Briton could not go so far as to wish that the sovereign should have called any subject, however eminent, to her side. She must shine alone in her glory: it is she who in her own person symbolizes the Empire. But the eighty-eight-year-old statesman, who has done more than all the other Prime Ministers of Her Majesty's reign combined to make that reign illustrious, was not forgotten. He remained conspicuous by his absence.

The third important result of the Jubilee was the display of Britain's sea power, which was impressive beyond description. No one who saw the naval review will have any doubt as to the supremacy of Britain upon the sea. Even the imagined alliance of France, Germany, and Russia would be unable to cope with her upon that element. Indeed, the combined fleets of Europe would probably be destroyed by the united, compact, energetic fleet of Britain, especially since we take into account the capacity of Britain to replace the losses of war. The numerous ships of war already on the sea, and the enormous number now building, give the world due notice that Britannia means to continue ruling the waves. Americans may be apt to consider that this involves a great strain upon her resources, but the fact remains that her revenues swell year after year, and that although she is spending five hundred millions of dollars per annum, she has a surplus of revenue this year of twenty-five millions. Her wealth is amazing. Crowded into this little island, not as large as one of several of our States, there is something approaching the entire wealth of our forty-five States. Public sentiment applauds, indeed forces successive governments

to increase the navy, because it is now universally recognized that the control of the sea is essential to the existence of the nation which cannot feed itself, but is compelled to draw one-half of all it consumes from foreign lands. Ships bringing food to Britain destroyed or even delayed would be equivalent to the capture of the country; for her starving people would compel acceptance of any terms the conqueror might see fit to impose. Whether Conservative or Liberal party be in power, we may conclude that the navy of Britain will be kept equal to meet any possible combination of European powers against her.

The principal figure of the Jubilee, Queen Victoria herself, and the position she has gained and will hold to the end of her days, is worthy of study. It is not possible for any American, however well informed of British affairs, to quite understand the feelings with which this human being is now regarded. If he can imagine "Old Glory" and old Ironsides, Washington and Lincoln, Bunker Hill, and "My Country, Tis of Thee," rolled into one force, and personified in a woman, he may form some conception of the feelings of the average Briton for "The Queen," for she in her own person symbolizes to-day the might and majesty of the land, and its long, varied, and glorious history from the beginning. "The Queen" means everything that touches and thrills the patriotic chord. That both as a woman and a sovereign she has deserved the unique tribute paid her goes without saying; the wildest Radical, or even Republican, will concur in this. Sixty years of unremitting work—she still signs every state paper herself, including lieutenants' commissions in the militia—prudence, patience, and rare judgment have made of this good, able, energetic, managing, and very wise woman a saint, whom her subjects are as little capable and as little disposed to estimate critically, as the American schoolboy can imagine or is disposed to imagine Washington as possessed of human frailties. Washington, Tell, Wallace, Bruce, Lincoln, Queen Victoria or Margaret are the stuff of which heroes or saints are made, and well it is for the race that the capacity for hero-worship and for saint-worship remains with both Briton and American wholly unimpaired.

When a nation ceases to create ideals its glorious days are past. Fortunately for the world, both the Republic and the Monarchy have the future before them.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE TENURE OF THE TEACHER'S OFFICE.

Of the various questions now being discussed by the educational world of to-day, there is none of such grave importance as that relating to the permanence of the teacher's position. All who have had experience in the school-room can testify that the greatest hindrance to successful work on the part of both teacher and pupil is the fact that soon as the present term is done, in all probability a new teacher will be employed, and a change of methods and plans come in with him. This is unjust to both the new teacher and the old, for each must use his own judgment, and the pupils are slow to lay aside the habits learned from the first and take up the ways of the second teacher. Not only that, but much actual damage is done by delaying their progress until the new teacher can classify the scholars, and much more time is lost while he is learning their individual dispositions.

It is acknowledged by all thinking persons that the best efforts of the laborer are not put forth if he is doubtful of his reward; if he cannot reap, neither will he sow. This principle is so well understood by employers that, as far as possible, the position of the laborer, whether he works with hand or brain, is made permanent. But while this is true in general, in the teacher's ranks all is uncertainty. A school principal or superintendent is often regarded as fortunate if he stays the second year, and most fortunate if he remains a third. "You are becoming a fixture, four years here," is a remark sometimes heard when a teacher has overrun his time. Notice the unconscious irony, "a fixture," and "four years."

Now, is there any reason why, if a man has done good work for one year, he cannot do better for another? If he has been four or five years in the school, is he not worth more than ever before to that school, and to the community as well? Yet in accordance with a custom which has come down to us from time immemorial, teachers are compelled to give place to others, who have no knowledge of the needs of the school or of the individual pupils. A merchant who would change clerks as often as some schools do superintendents, would not be regarded as capable of managing his own business.

It is probable that a change of superintendents puts back the work of the school for six months, and of grade teachers in proportion. The first change is the worst, for with it often the whole economy of the school changes—to the infinite loss of all concerned. Yet the people persist in this old custom for no other reason than that it is an old custom, and never seem to think but it's the thing to do.

It is hard work to change the established order of things, so the teach-

er's case seems almost hopeless, but a few suggestions, which if carried out would do much to remedy the evil, can do no harm.

The educational interests of our country are in the worst possible state of disorganization. Each State, each county, each district, manages its own affairs, and pays no attention to the rest. This certainly is a sad condition of affairs, and must needs be changed before any good can be accomplished. There must be a settled, definite policy for the whole country; in other words, there must be national supervision, with a national superintendent of education, who will be a cabinet officer. There must be one system, one uniform plan of instruction, modified to suit local needs, and harmonious laws all over the United States. In after years when this comes, as it surely will, people will look back with wonder upon these "dark ages," educationally, when there was no system or coherence in our schools. The only wonder is that so much has been accomplished with such inadequate means, and that so much has been accomplished is much to the credit of those engaged in the work.

Another needed reform, and this would come with national supervision, is in the direction of a thorough training of teachers. If no one was allowed to teach until he had a diploma from a government normal training school, which diploma was a life certificate, many of the difficulties of the teacher's life would disappear, for then there would be encouragement to enter the work for life, instead of merely taking it up as a temporary makeshift, as so many do at present, owing to which skilled and unskilled labor is brought into unfair competition, as most people think that anybody who can obtain a certificate, of however low a grade, can teach school; and, legally, anybody can. Experienced teachers have to compete with those who have had little or no experience, so it is no wonder that wages are low. Think of a first class carpenter having to compete with a man who has a hammer and a saw and can build a pig-pen!

Again, the injustice of requiring a teacher to take an examination every time he crossed an imaginary line, and, no matter what his experience and success, to be re-examined at stated periods, would be done away with, for these diplomas would be good in every state in the union. The periodical examinations are the bane of the teacher's life, for when he should be broadening his outlook, he must be preparing for them, so the effect is very narrowing, to say the least.

With national supervision teaching would be a profession, and the teachers more professional in their dealings with each other, nor be so ready to take advantage of complaints about others to advance their own interests. The code of ethics among them should be as strict as that governing the medical profession, and should be adhered to as closely. With their work a profession, teachers would have heart to magnify their calling; to have an ideal, and so far as in them lay to strive to attain it, for then they would feel an energy and interest in their labor which now they cannot, for not only could the teacher lay his plans for the future and inaugurate much needed measures, not attempted now for lack of time, and the uncertainty of position as well, but he could have a home, could be a citizen, and could take a citizen's interest in local affairs, nor endanger his official head by being a man among men.

Will these reforms ever be made? Not with public opinion as it is. Teachers themselves must be roused from their apathy, must strive to "work out their own salvation," they must not be so hopeless for the future. The

people must be made to realize the frightful waste of force, the irreparable injury to their children, under the present lack of system, so that they will demand more sensible and humane management, and greater justice to both teachers and pupils. The press must be enlisted in the cause, and the great magazines, which are fairly teeming with educational articles of the rarest value, and which are always in the lead where the uplifting of the general public is concerned, will aid the movement, and all working together, these changes will come about sooner, perhaps, than we expect, for events culminate rapidly in this age of progress, and in this country of ours.

E. L. COWDRICK.

HEALTH AND BEAUTY.

THE household article in greatest use is probably the "looking glass." What person is there handsome or homely who does not question the mirror daily?

The love of beauty is one of the most firmly implanted qualities of the human mind, and only those who are mentally deficient fail to appreciate it.

From the human standpoint there is no edifice so beautiful as that earthly temple which enshrines the soul. Very little defacement, however, converts this beautiful structure into a loathsome thing, and to prevent it constant care and watchfulness is necessary. It needs no Roentgen ray to penetrate the walls of this edifice in order to discover the condition of the occupant. The drunkard, the roué and the sloth all show their vice indelibly impressed without.

Stamped in various places are the marks the fool has paid for his folly.

People who live without thinking why or how they live, cannot appreciate on what apparent trifles their physical and moral well being depend. The person who bolts his food and rushes off to work or exercise does not stop to think that he has loaded his stomach with a mass which will ferment or even putrefy before it can be digested.

The food must be thoroughly masticated and incorporated with the saliva before it is swallowed. Gladstone is said to owe much of his vigorous constitution to the fact that he makes it a rule to chew each mouthful thoroughly. The anecdote says he chews each mouthful thirty-nine times before swallowing. I do not know if the story is true, but it is plausible, and in a measure may well account for his splendid health and longevity.

It should be remembered that digestion takes a considerable amount of energy, and that if we work or make much effort after eating a full meal we draw away from the stomach the nervous force that is absolutely necessary to enable it to perform its function.

The result is indigestion with its train of ills. Few realize what a train these are. The food lies in "a lump," and distresses the sufferer. This distress tortures and exhausts him. The stomach walls are excited, irritated, and inflamed. After a time nature, unable to get rid of the mass by natural digestion, tries to dissolve it by fermentation, and gases are given off which distend the stomach, causing it to encroach upon the space needed by the lungs and heart. The latter is embarrassed; palpitation and strange sensations are felt; breathing is difficult. The sufferer in nine cases out of ten believes he has heart disease. Fermentation goes on to putrifaction, and poisonous matters are developed in the mass of putrefying food.

These still further irritate the stomach. But worse even ; a portion are absorbed and cause various nervous symptoms. Headache, neuralgia, dizziness, and so called "hot flashes" affect the sufferer.

Tender spots varying in size from a silver dollar to three inches in diameter develop over the chest and head. The patient feels so ill he commonly suspects that he is suffering from heart disease, Bright's disease, or some illness having a certain fatal termination.

The painful neuralgia in his chest or back confirms this fear. Often the stomach derangement is so insidious that even a physician is misled and does not suspect that the symptoms so far removed from that organ have their origin there.

Moreover, the weakened, debilitated condition which quickly results from stomach derangement, the half-starved, anæmic state which follows, renders the patient peculiarly liable to contract and develop the infectious and contagious ailments.

Though consumption and other communicable disease may attack strong, healthy persons, it is extremely rare for them to do so. The dyspeptics and the weaklings in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred are their victims.

The cure of dyspepsia, when it has advanced to the stage of catarrh of the stomach, is often very difficult, weeks and even months being sometimes necessary to effect it.

If the disease has extended beyond the stomach into the intestines, the nervous paroxysms that are of almost daily occurrence render life unendurable.

Now, while the cure of the condition I have described is difficult, nothing is easier than its prevention. Nowhere is the difference between the proverbial ounce and pound better exemplified. A little time devoted to proper eating, a little rest after meals so that the stomach may get a good start to do its work again, and all may be avoided.

When I first began to practice my profession, I was amazed at the number of women of my acquaintance whom I saw, not only professionally but socially, who were afflicted in some degree with some ailment. It was very difficult to find a healthy woman. Even now, though conditions have greatly improved and are still improving, I believe a perfectly healthy woman is quite a rarity. I recently instituted a sort of rough census with the purpose of ascertaining in a general way the percentage of healthy women to the general mass of womankind. Four of my friends whose interest I awakened made personal inquiries among their acquaintances. The inquiries reached 239 women. Out of this number only 14 could boast of perfect health. How many women owe their ill-health to modern modes of living, improper eating, and improper clothing!

Tight lacing and its evils are hackneyed themes, but I cannot pass them by without just a word of denunciation. The bodily distortion that results from compressing the vital organs and displacing them from their proper positions is answerable for much misery. "Can a woman ride a bicycle when she is tightly laced?" I asked an enthusiastic lady cyclist, when I first noticed women were taking up the fad. "She can," was the reply, "but she is the most uncomfortable person on the face of the earth, and she cannot climb a hill to save her life." I soon noticed that among a large class of women tight lacing was the exception. The bicycle is doing more toward curing this evil than all that has been written or cried against it.

The bicycle may prove one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. It may, however, work great harm, and in four ways accomplish it. First, by injudicious long-distance riding. Ambitious riders who attempt to accomplish "centuries" and "double centuries" may do so at the expense of their entire future well-being. Peculiarly favorable physical conditions may make it safe for a person to ride four or even five hours a day, but as a rule an hour or two is amply sufficient to obtain good results. Second, by riding on a badly constructed saddle, which distributes the weight of the body over parts which were not intended to withstand pressure. Third, riders suffering from diseases affecting the pelvic organs are apt to unduly congest these. In all these diseases the return circulation is impeded, *i. e.*, the blood vessels leading from the parts toward the heart are more or less compressed by the swelling or enlargement which naturally accompanies the disease. Of course, the exercise increases the blood supply to the parts, and this cannot be returned to the heart in proportion to the increase. The swelling is naturally enlarged and the inflammatory condition aggravated. Fourth, by the "scorcher posture," by which the chest is contracted, the lungs squeezed, so to speak, into a space too small to hold them. The air cannot properly dilate them and consumptive tendencies are greatly favored. The spine is formed by a number of bony rings bound together by ligamentous and muscular bands. Between each of these rings is a disc made of elastic cartilage resembling India rubber in consistency. These make the spine flexible in all directions. If the spine bends toward the front, the discs are compressed in front and expand behind. If the spine bends backward, the discs contract and expand in the opposite direction. Now, if we remain in a bent-over position and the discs are kept for a period of time compressed, they lose their elasticity and remain compressed on one side and expanded on the other. After a time the cartilage becomes hardened as bone and holds the person bent over with a curvature of the spine.

The modern bed is also utterly destructive to the spine. It is soft, piled at one end with pillows, and it curves the spine exactly as is curved that of the scorcher. A flat bed and a low pillow are conducive to healthful rest and a straight, handsome frame.

If we would be happy, handsome, and healthy, we should eat carefully, avoid exertion after meals, dress loosely and comfortably, exercise moderately, and sleep not in badly constructed beds.

CYRUS EDSON.

SHALL WE TAX THE HUMAN LEG?

THE bicycle tax was conceived in the brain of the man whose sole idea of property was that it was "something to tax." The fierce fight that is waged against it in Paris, Chicago, St. Louis and other great cities where it has been levied grows out of the instinctive, intuitive feeling among wheelmen that the tax is unjust. They have raised many objections to it, which have varied with localities. In some places it has been fought on the ground that as other vehicles were not taxed it was class legislation. In others, as at Paris, it has been alleged that the wheel having become an object of use by workmen who go to their place of employment on it, the levy was a discrimination against the poor. But this attempt to array one class against another has been as futile as the others. In Chicago, the recent bicycle tax ordinance evolved

long and learned aguments to the effect that the assessment meant double taxation. So everywhere the objections to this new tax have differed in accordance with the community affected. But there is one objection to the tax that is fundamental, and applies to it irrespectively of locality. The bicycle tax when stripped of the sophistries which have accompanied its elevation into municipal ordinance is simply a tax on leg power, and in that respect restricts the citizen in the exercise of his physical forces. The mere consideration of what the bicycle does for man will clearly demonstrate the unconstitutionality of the tax. The bicycle is a means by which man puts to the best use the driving power of his legs. It occupies nearly the same relation as the shoe. Foot covering enables a man to walk better, the bicycle goes a little further and adds the feature of speed. If it is right to tax the bicycle it is equally right to tax the shoe. Or carry the comparison further. The crutch of the cripple enables him to utilize his powers of locomotion more than if he did not use it. It increases the speed of the legless man as much in proportion as the bicycle adds to the speed of the man with complete limbs. Is the crutch to be taxed? If not why the bicycle? In Bermuda I once saw a paralytic who could move about only by propelling himself in a perambulator. When they taxed his perambulator at the Custom House, he said with a pathos entirely lost on the officials, "Don't you know you are taxing my legs."

The argument that the bicycle is a vehicle, and is, therefore, a proper subject for taxation is completely nullified by recent legal decisions. In Great Britain within the past year judges have ruled that bicycles are not vehicles, and in the United States the Courts have upheld the acts compelling railroads to carry bicycles as baggage, in face of the railroads' contention that wheels were vehicles. If bicycles are baggage they are certainly not vehicles. They cannot change their character by being lifted into a car. The suddenness with which the right to have their wheels carried free was accorded to wheelmen by legislatures was a recognition of the fact that the bicycle is part of a man's personal equipment as much as his shoes or his spectacles. The mind should need no special enlightenment to perceive that nothing can be logically classed as a vehicle that depends for its power on man's own physical forces. In wagons, automobiles and locomotives the power is all outside of man's muscles. This distinction is made perfectly clear when we consider the bicycle skate now coming into use on the roads. No one would seriously argue that it should be taxed, for the connection between the leg muscles and the skate is so close as to be apparent at a glance. Even though the bicycle skater should be banished to the roadway from the sidewalk, there would be no reason for taxing him. Some bicyclists seem to think that the payment of a tax entitles them to the use of the road, and it is this belief that is largely responsible for the laws taxing them. They forget that their right to use the road rests on no payment of a tax. It rests on their desire to go somewhere. As well say that the only way a man acquires the right to use a sidewalk is by the payment of a tax on shoes, or in the case of a cripple by paying to use his crutches, for it must not be forgotten that both shoes and crutches injure a roadway more than a rubber tire. Nor can a bicycle tax be justified on the ground that it is to build cycle paths. The same argument would call for a tax on shoes to provide sidewalks.

WM. EVERETT HICKS.

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THE LIFE OF TENNYSON.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

It would be difficult to overestimate the anxiety with which lovers of literature have awaited Lord Tennyson's biography of his illustrious father. If this book, so slowly prepared, had proved a failure, the fact would have been almost a public calamity. Such an opportunity of laying the foundations of a history of imaginative literature in the Victorian Age would never occur again, while the Letters of Matthew Arnold and the Life of Robert Browning had proved to us that disappointment might follow on the best possible intentions of a biographer. One's first duty, therefore, in speaking about the massive memoir of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, just published by his son Hallam, is to allay all fears of this kind. It is possible to carp at the arrangement of the parts of this book, at the conduct of its materials; it is possible to point to minor issues where the critic may be allowed to find fault with the art of the biographer. But in the main, all fault-finding must be borne down by the extraordinary wealth and fulness of the treasure produced. When a lucky bag is opened, and a cataract of the most exquisite jewels pours from it, it is absurd, on the spot, to draw attention to questionable taste in some of the settings. For the moment we can but gape in pleased excitement at the unexpected richness of the gift.

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"Unexpected," I have allowed myself to say, for no one, I suppose, had any premonition of the variety and splendor of the material at Lord Tennyson's disposal. We knew that his father had lived a very sequestered existence, that he had taken no part in public affairs, that he had been a recluse and a saunterer all his days. External curiosity had examined every published record. In various volumes, of which Mr. Arthur Waugh's graceful and accomplished critical biography was the best, a mosaic of the mild events and emotions of the poet's outward career had been presented to us. It seemed impossible that there could be very much more to be said. There is nothing to be recorded about the career of a Cedar of Lebanon. The immobile grandeur of Tennyson in isolation seemed to preclude any excitement in the actual story of his life. All this proves, most happily, to have been an error. Lord Tennyson is the possessor of copious records and illustrations of the inward, mental life—records which exceed in volume those which we possess of any other poet of the importance of Tennyson. He enables us to look behind the curtain, to see the artist at work, and it is this which raises the biography to a rank in the first order of such writing.

Before we glance at the composition of the poet's character, a reflection may be permitted on the general impression which the life gives us. We are conscious in it of a singular slowness of progression. A sort of premonition of great length of days seems to have given the vital forces of Tennyson a leisurely method of advance. In this he resembles Dante, and still more Milton, who were not afraid of "wasting their time," but could be silent long, and wait in patience for the heavenly spark to fall. By the side of poets fore-doomed to early death, such as Shelley and Keats, in their rushing passion of utterance, Tennyson and Milton are positive tardigrades. This involves a curious question, this precipitancy being apparently the sign, though of course a wholly unconscious sign, of a sapped vitality. But there have been cases of apparent hurry in those who had a vast lifetime ahead of them. In particular, in Robert Browning, who, on the last occasion on which I saw him, not long before his death, surveying his long and over-copious poetical career, lamented to me the abundance of his work, and added, "I was always too much afraid of wasting my time." It was characteristic of Tennyson that he had the

fortitude, and the self-support, needful to the employment of long periods in apparent entire idleness, these being really stretches of invaluable incubating meditation.

The extension and serenity of Tennyson's career give his memoir a singular aspect of solidity. At the very foundation of the feverish, shallow "literary life" of the last sixty years there is seen to extend this solid stratum of pure and austere imaginative art. From end to end of the reign, whatever there may happen to be above, there is Tennyson below, there is this one man, of incomparable distinction, living his life coolly, noiselessly, and persistently. As I put down the second of these volumes, a line by the old Platonist, Henry More, came suddenly to my memory:

"Ourselves live most, when most we feed our central fire."

If this be true, no one has, in our age, lived more than the dreamy hermit of Farringford, for certainly no one has fed his central fire more sedulously. And this, it appears to me, is the secret of the strange fascination of this book. It is a record, so full as perhaps has never before been given to the world, of the growth and progress of the mind of a great imaginative artist.

The reader will naturally inquire what is the most important of the new features of an external kind which are added to our portrait of the poet. The answer must certainly be the revelation of the crisis, hitherto concealed with absolute success, which threatened, in 1844, to overwhelm his health and his material existence. Leaving the consideration of this for a moment, we may briefly refer to the interesting fulness in which the home-life in childhood at Somersby, already partly known to us, is detailed. The Cambridge period, 1828–31, is still but faintly defined for us in a few pages. The letters written by the poet to Arthur Hallam were all destroyed by the father of the latter, an inestimable loss to us. Those who were at college with Tennyson have almost wholly passed away, and little of the history of his mind in those important years is preserved. To the anecdotes and impressions collected by Lord Tennyson, I may perhaps be permitted to add one of some interest, which I think is new. The venerable Master of Trinity, Dr. Thompson, told me that on the occasion when he first saw Tennyson, I suppose in 1828, the undergraduates were trooping in to dinner in Hall, and at the door he observed a very tall lad leaning against the doorway and

hesitating to enter, his lustrous eyes like those of a frightened animal. Dr. Thompson said that he could recall, after sixty years, this sudden picture to his mind's eye with complete distinctness, and that he was struck from this first moment by the magic of the face. Some of the phrases Lord Tennyson records for the first time are very interesting. Of a hasty speech the young poet remarked, "That's the swift decision of one who sees only half the truth," and of a certain person, "There's a want of central dignity in him."

It is probable that the inner life was progressing in silence during these undergraduate days, in which Tennyson seems to have awakened little or no interest in the minds of his elders and teachers, and a sort of inarticulate enthusiasm in those of a few select contemporaries. Unfortunately, his Cambridge letters appear to be lost. One fragment of a somewhat alembicated epistle to an aunt—"I wish to Heaven I had Prince Hussain's fairy carpet to transport me along the deeps of air to your coterie"—seems to be the only scrap of his correspondence from Cambridge which his biographer has been able to discover. He sat "owl-like and solitary" in his rooms, and they were not in college. To myself, the most luminous touch is found in a story that Whewell, his tutor, suddenly called out in class, "Mr. Tennyson, what's the compound interest of a penny put out at the Christian era up to the present time?" with the result of making the unwilling young mathematician swim up out of what proved to be the entrancing depths of Virgil. I observe that Lord Tennyson mentions the excellent though irregular classical training which his father and his uncles had received from Dr. Tennyson at Somersby. In illustration of this, perhaps I may mention here that the poet told me that before he went up to matriculate at Trinity, his father insisted on hearing him recite by heart the entire four books of the Odes of Horace, an ordeal through which he satisfactorily passed on successive mornings in the rector's study.

The romantic expedition of certain Cambridge undergraduates to Spain, in 1830, in aid of the insurgents under Torrijos, remains shrouded in the deepest mystery. Lord Tennyson rather oddly remarks, "No further information upon this business has been preserved," and we are left to gather that, for some reason or other, his father was not inclined

to talk about it in after-years. It was a serious matter: one of the young English enthusiasts—Boyd—was caught by the Spaniards and shot on the Esplanade of Malaga. On the imagination of Tennyson, whatever may have happened to him, it is certain that the gorges and cataracts of the Pyrenees laid an impress which it never lost, and which frequently appears in his writings. Moreover, in this wild expedition, and in the midst of breakneck adventures, he wrote part, at least, of his exquisite poem of "Œnone."

When the undergraduate days are closed the new light thrown on the evolution of Tennyson's character becomes at once more vivid. The sudden and terrible grief of losing Arthur Hallam is seen to have been critical in the emotional career of the poet, but it is found to be a fable that it paralyzed his nervous energy. A friend writes early in 1834: "Alfred, although much broken in spirits, is yet able to divert his thoughts from gloomy brooding, and keep his mind in activity." The first artistic production of this period of overwhelming sorrow was, as we now learn, "The Two Voices," which originally bore the gloomier title, "Thoughts of a Suicide." From this remarkable poem, by far the most serious that the poet had yet been inspired to write, Lord Tennyson quotes a MS. stanza cancelled by his father, not for any weakness of execution, but from its dismal excess; it comes after "under earth":

> "From when his baby pulses beat
> To when his hands in their last heat
> Pick at the death-mote in the sheet."

The entire record of the effect of the loss of his exquisite friend upon the temperament of Tennyson, the modification of his mental attitude which ensued, the gradual growth of the poem which eventually became "In Memoriam," and the severe self-tuition in solitude at Somersby, all combine to form a chapter of equal novelty and importance which we can do no more here than indicate.

The material conditions under which Tennyson lived in his early years have, until now, been carefully concealed from the world. His son, with a proper frankness, makes no further secret of the story, and it is of an extraordinary interest. Each of the children of the old rector of Somersby had, it seems, a little patrimony. As far as Alfred was concerned, it was just enough

to enable him to live in extreme simplicity, and cultivate the muses on a cake of bread. He felt, as Pope and Gray, Wordsworth and Browning felt, that poetry can be pursued best by a man who possesses neither poverty nor riches, but who has just enough to live upon without carking daily care. That Tennyson's income was very small is obvious. He was long betrothed to Emily Sellwood without any prospect of marriage ; in 1839 we find him writing to her, with a noble simplicity : " Perhaps I am coming to the Lincolnshire coast, but I scarcely know. The journey is so expensive and I am so poor." Two years later, on account of his poverty, she was forbidden to write to him any more, and even after the publication of his two volumes of 1842 had made him famous he lived in very cheap lodgings in the north of London. In the course of that year he sold his little estate in Grasby, Lincolnshire, and was persuaded to put this and all his other property, including a legacy then just received, into a semi-philanthropic undertaking, a project for some sort of æsthetic wood-carving. The promoter of this scheme seems to have been an addle-pated enthusiast, and in a very short time he and his scheme were absolutely bankrupt.

Tennyson lost every penny he had in the world, and at the age of thirty-five, with set habits, a total inability for ordinary work and a highly-strung nervous system, he found himself face to face with absolute indigence. He fell into a condition of acute hypochondria, and in the course of it "his friends despaired of his life." He was placed, for many months of 1843 and '44, in a hydropathic establishment in Cheltenham. As he was slowly recovering, Sir Robert Peel was induced to give him a Crown Pension of £200 a year, and it is hardly too much to say that it is to this intelligent act of royal favor that we owe the existence of a great body of incomparable poetry. It certainly is very curious, and will startle the majority of Lord Tennyson's readers to discover, that, in the very meridian of his career, the poet was reduced to utter penury, to the level of the Otways and Chattertons of harrowing narrative. Never was a pension more patriotically given, or more exactly in the nick of time. In the very month when it was granted, Tennyson wrote: "I have gone thro' a vast deal of suffering, and I begin to feel an old man." He had now a primrose path stretching before him, and nearly fifty years more of life to enjoy it in.

Another critical period, the record of which is entirely new and of entrancing interest, deals with the composition and the public reception of "Maud" in 1855. The nation was in a feverish and even hysterical state, and the Laureate's attitude was far from being the popular one. But the degree to which Tennyson was attacked and traduced has never been made public before. He was bombarded with letters from strangers, of which a specimen is here given: "Sir, I used to worship you, but now I hate you. I loathe and detest you. You beast! Yours in aversion, * * *" No doubt this momentary revulsion was very useful to him. His intelligent admirers soon formed a bodyguard, and there was a reaction of intense popularity. But he had been much surprised and hurt, and to the end of his days he used to grumble at the cruel way in which "Maud" was attacked for its "rampant and rabid bloodthirstiness of soul," and, less absurdly, for the "key of extravagant sensibility" in which it was pitched. Now, if "Maud" be admittedly unequal, no sound critic will question that it is the poem of Tennyson's in which the variety of his genius is illustrated in its most dazzling and luxuriant fulness.

Dealing in this desultory fashion with what is of most striking novelty in these delightful volumes, it may be well to refer in passing to the section of letters interchanged between the Queen and her "noble Poet Laureate," as she calls him in a very touching letter of Oct. 6, 1892. This correspondence, of unique interest, covers nearly twenty years, and gains in warmth and depth as it proceeds. It is conducted with great dignity and loyal gravity on the one side, with a winning, womanly sweetness on the other. In 1885, the signature of the Queen's letters becomes more intimate; henceforth she is "always yours affectionately." If those who are foreign to our institutions desire to understand why Her Majesty is the object not merely of an almost superstitious national devotion but of the positive affection of all classes in England, these straight-forward, exquisitely human and unaffected letters to the most illustrious of her subjects should tend to resolve the enigma.

The main value of these two volumes, however, lies not in the illustrative matter that adorns them, or even in the additions which they make to our acquaintance with the career of their subject, but in the extraordinary light which they throw upon

the nature of his intellect and temperament. Of this the world has hitherto known little. Tennyson walked among us withdrawn, silent, in a penumbra of dignified personal mystery. Care was taken by himself and by those who surrounded him to hedge him off from all the perturbations and reverberations of social and public life. He was like the Rose in some mediæval romance—to get a sight of him it was needful to contend with thorn-hedges and confront at least one dragon. Those who read this biography carefully will, I think, be of opinion that the necessity for this protective system resulted in large measure from the crisis of 1845. Before that time he had been highly strung, of course, but robust to an exceptional degree. Brookfield had said to him after some feat of strength, "It is not fair, Alfred, that you should be Hercules as well as Apollo." But after the breakdown of health, which was slowly cured at Cheltenham, the nervous system seems to have been always frail, always easily liable to disturbance. It was the pious and the successful labor of those around Tennyson to minimize the strain of life and muffle all its shocks. Thus, and thus only, was he able to live the unique life for which immortality designed him.

To help us to form an idea of what this arcane and hieratic existence of Tennyson was, of what occupied the thoughts of the high-priest in his secret bower of consecrated laurels, a large number of more or less eminent elderly persons—several of whom have already since passed behind the vail—have contributed their memories and impressions. These are in the highest degree unequal; of these observers there are some who lived with this astonishing person for years without, as it seems, ever once perceiving him. Others are so anxious to please the surviving members of the family, that they produce a portrait "faultily faultless, icily null," which possesses no atom of resemblance. Nothing is more curious than the absence of eye among Englishmen of acknowledged intellectual power; they reflect, they assimilate, but rarely indeed are they able to *see*. Among the blind and the one-eyed a real phenomenal artist seems miraculous, and we are almost dazzled by the extreme merit of the recollections of Mr. Aubrey de Vere. I do not hesitate to say that, after the letters and fragments of Tennyson's own, the most precious portion of these volumes is what we owe in it to Mr. de Vere.

Although, then, the scope of this review precludes quota-

tion, I must allow myself to cite from these recollections one short passage, as an example of what it is which makes the whole record so precious. Mr. Aubrey de Vere says :

"Our many conversations, in those pleasant years, turned chiefly on Poetry, a subject on which Tennyson could say nothing that was not original. It was easy to see that to discern the Beautiful in all around us, and to reveal that beauty to others, was his special poetic vocation. In these conversations he never uttered a word that was disparaging, or tainted with the spirit of rivalship. One of the Poets least like himself, Crabbe, was among those whose merits he affirmed most unequivocally, especially his gift of a *hard* pathos. The only poet I heard him criticise roughly or unfairly was himself. 'Compare,' he once said to me, 'compare the heavy handling of my workmanship with the exquisite lightness of touch of Keats.' Another time he read aloud a song by one of the chivalrous Poets of Charles the First's time, perhaps Lovelace's 'Althea,' which Wordsworth also used to *croon* in the woods, and said, 'There! I would give all my poetry to have made one song like that!'"

These particular memories belong to 1842. What shelves of pompous biography would we not surrender for a few such notes of Milton's talk at Horton or Spenser's at Kilcolman!

This paragraph, however, skilful as it is, is quoted here not as a specimen of the art of Mr. Aubrey de Vere, but because it exemplifies the central characteristic of Tennyson's life. It was a life absolutely devoted to the service of Poetry. No mind of equal vigor, perhaps, was ever occupied for so long a period in the unbroken cultivation of the highest form of literary art, and of absolutely nothing else. Science, politics, invention, the progress of education and philanthropy, the thousand-and-one occupations of a country life, to all these he was vividly and sensitively alive, yet all were approached diliberately from their imaginative side, and if dealt with at all were dealt with poetically. Tennyson was called a dreamer, even by some who knew him well; I am bound to say that on the rare occasions when I had the honor to be in his company, this was not my impression, nor is it the impression which I carry away from his own notes and correspondence here revealed to us. No man, I should venture to say, was less a dreamer, but with the intense resolution of a practical man of affairs he drew all themes, all forms of action

and reflection, into the vortex of his own "affairs," which was the creation of delicate poetic art.

In his preoccupation with ideas of poetic workmanship, Tennyson walked about the world forever prepared to seize, with delicate exactitude, impressions of physical beauty. In all his journeyings, he was watching for effects, for conditions, for phenomena, which he could use as the illustration or the ornament of moral ideas. What makes this new biography so invaluable is the evidence that it gives of his mode when at work. And the first place must be given to his incomparable study of the sea. It is evident that the movement of water was the physical fact which, in the whole of nature, gave Tennyson the most acute pleasure. All of us know the exquisite, and we may have thought the somewhat bold, image with which "Audley Court" closes. Here is the source of it, in a note made at Torquay in 1842: "I saw a star of phosphorescence made by the buoy appearing and disappearing in the dark sea." The sea on the coast of the English Channel displeased him; it is "not grand," he wrote, "only an angry, curt sea."

"The finest seas I have ever seen are at Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, Mablethorpe, in Lincolnshire, and in Cornwall. At Valentia the sea was grand, without any wind blowing, and seemingly without a wave; but with the momentum of the Atlantic behind, it dashes up into foam, blue diamonds it looks like, all along the rocks, like ghosts playing at hide and seek. When I was in Cornwall it had blown a storm of wind and rain for days, and all of a sudden fell into perfect calm. I was a little inland of the cliffs, when, after a space of perfect silence, a long roll of thunder, from some wave rushing into a cavern, I suppose, came up from the distance, and died away. I *never* felt silence like that."

But at Mablethorpe, too, he had his grand phrases about the "interminable waves rolling along interminable shores of sand." And at Bonchurch he notices "a little salt pool fluttering round a stone upon the shore"; and again in Ireland "claps of thunder on the cliffs, amid the solid roar"; and at Babbicombe, in Devonshire, the marks of the tide "like serpent-coils upon the deep."

It appears that when he was in the vein he would make dozens of notes of this kind, the majority of which were never

used. He said that his nature-similes—and we know how innumerable they are in his published works—were taken from his own observation of nature. "If by chance I find that one of my similes is like that in any author, my impulse is not to use that simile." Many of his friends have heard Tennyson express a humorous exasperation with Wordsworth or Keats for having already "used" some beautiful observation of nature, which he also, and quite independently, had made. He was extremely near-sighted, to a degree which made it dangerous for him to attempt to ride or drive, and yet, as is often the case with near-sighted people, when his attention was concentrated on an object he observed more accutely than any one. The reader of these volumes will recall many instances of this, none more surprising than that in which the poet, having gone out to listen to the song of the nightingale, remarks on the glow-worm radiance of her eye, lighted up in the darkness by catching the moonlight on its convexity.

But there was a stage of great interest between these incessant notations of the aspect of nature, and the employment of them as hewn and polished stones in the temple of his poetry. It appears that Tennyson was in the habit of selecting the most striking of his notes, and of fashioning them into verse, which he stored away for future use. Many are now embedded in the marmoreal structure of his poetry, and could not be detached save with a hammer. Others, the majority, perhaps, still lie in the architect's yard, ready for the service which they never found. Few relics of the great dead would possess a more sacred and mysterious attraction than one of those copy-books which Tennyson used to carry about with him, ready to receive, at a moment's notice, the sudden seed of song. Thus, walking in the Isle of Wight, he rapidly jotted down:

> "As those that lie on happy shores and see
> Thro' the near blossom slip the distant sail,"

and in the grounds of Park House:

> "Before the leaf,
> When all the trees stand in a mist of green,"

and, more succinctly, when he stood above the Rapids of the Shannon:

> "Ledges of battling water."

Doubtless many of the great poets have thus improvised under

the cope of heaven—one thinks of Gray and his delicious couplet about the wood-lark—but we have rarely been taken into their confidence, and never so completely as in this case of Tennyson. Sometimes, moreover, these notes or single lines would prove, not the ornament of poems merely, but their actual germ, as, for instance, the "Charge of the Light Brigade," where the phrase "some one had blundered" formed the *nodus* around which the whole lyric, in crystallizing, took its form and metrical movement.

A considerable number of new poems are found scattered about the pages of these volumes, mixed up, in what must be admitted to be an annoying fashion, with citations from well-known published pieces. Lord Tennyson, indeed, overdoes the trick of quotation, forgetting that his father's works are in the hands of every educated person. It has been stated in the newspapers—I do not find it repeated in the Life itself—that the verses here printed for the first time are the residue of a large quantity of similar matter submitted by the present Lord Tennyson to a committee of friends, and that what is not here printed has been destroyed. One is not inclined to bewail this destruction, for the world is glutted even with beautiful things; but one would like to know who the friends were. The principal effect made on my own mind by the reading of the new poems is one of increased respect for the poet's critical acumen. There is not a single piece here which is quite good enough to bear comparison with his finest work, not one which it is conceivable will live in the memory of multitudes, as so much of his verse does. The finest, by far, can in no sense be called "new"; this is "The Hesperides," which appeared in the "Poems" of 1833, and has often, archæologically or surreptitiously, been reprinted. Lord Tennyson gives it here, with accents written by his father; in collating it with the text of 1833, I find three differences of reading. The Dragon's eye, which was "scaled," is now "sealed"; the forces which used to "make" the apple now "keep" it; and the Daughters Three are no longer "Bound about," but "Round about." None of these appears to be an improvement, and it would be interesting to know whether they represent genuine afterthoughts of the poet or are merely slips of pen or press. Lord Tennyson, by the way, invariably speaks of "the 'Poems' of 1832." Bibliography recognizes no

such volume ; he means the " Poems " of 1833, and the fact that the book came out before the earlier year had quite expired is no reason for misnaming it. We must keep to the date on the published title page, or we become hopelessly confused.

It is with the greatest unwillingness that we drag ourselves away from the consideration of this biography in further detail. It is a book practically inexhaustible ; no such contribution to the purest literature has been put before the world for years and years. The character and temperament revealed in it are unique, and yet their possessor strikes us not so much by his unlikeness to his fellows as by his elevation above them.

Tennyson was a hidalgo of the imagination ; the bluest blood of intellectual aristocracy flowed in his veins, and in all things, even in the smallest, there was apparent on him the stamp of an incomparable distinction of mind. His son's biography, of course, is frankly and patently a eulogy. One feels, in reading his pages, that his father looms before him like a priest, sacrosanct, so that the filial instinct is almost extinguished in the blaze of worship. It is a very pardonable excess which makes a son regard such a father as something supernatural ; we also, who were not in that happy nearness, who merely sometimes might see the great man pass by in the gloom of his spectral beauty, could scarce throw off a sensation that he was more than mortal. But there is another side to this question, and plainly this apotheosis of filial and friendly worship cannot hope to remain the only portrait of Tennyson. We must have in the course of time the nodosities and the wrinkles, the rents in the prophet's purple mantle. But the great point is that he is now self-revealed in such magnificent proportions that caricature and even unfriendly photography may for the future do precisely what they will.

That Lord Tennyson has realized that his portrait will be commented on seems doubtful. A curious feature of this biography—a feature of which the reader only gradually becomes cognizant—is its remoteness of impression. Nothing is here that is not very old or belonging to a world that flourished long ago. I think it will be discovered, if we examine the book carefully, that no person under sixty years of age has been asked to contribute any recollections or experiences ; the solitary exception consisting in a few excellent paragraphs by Mr. F. W. H. Myers.

I am far from reproaching Lord Tennyson for this preoccupation with the elderly. The middle-aged and the young have plenty of time before them to preserve for us their memories of the poet. It was important to secure the reminiscences of those who were passing away, and, in fact, since 1892 quite a large proportion of these—Lord Selborne, Tyndall, Locker, Froude, Jowett—have passed away. But there is nc question that this absolute boycotting of the less ancient voices gives to the book a curious caducity, a sense of stirring the dust among yellowing papers, in the recesses of an ancient desk that smells of *pot-pourri*. I observe with surprise the omission of certain names. Other readers will doubtless notice other *lacunæ* that appeal to them ; in particular, the almost total lack of reference to America, in which enthusiasm for Tennyson began so early and was so warmly sustained, will, I am afraid, cause a disappointment which I cannot think unreasonable. For all these things, one excuse lies ready to Lord Tennyson's hand—the mass of his material was overwhelming.

In short, the figure of the biographer will in all probability be deemed somewhat unsympathetic, and his tone not unfrequently be resented. His approach, I admit, might be more urbane. But I am not inclined to cavil at the spirit in which he writes ; this is a case in which a little arrogance is more than pardonable. Lord Tennyson is not a writer by profession, and although the picturesqueness of some of his narrative does great credit to the clearness of his eye, from him must not be expected the graces of the finished literary artist. But his roughness is not unpleasing to me ; I respect, and I almost admire it. It is the growl of the watch-dog guarding his Master in his sleep. Or, to change the simile, it is the artisan throwing open the doors of a monument which has at last been completed. The public may look at it or may refrain. But he knows that there is something there, for which he himself claims no credit, which will be the object of impassioned curiosity as long as the English language endures. And he is justified in so believing.

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE COMMERCIAL VALUE OF THE SHIPYARD

BY LEWIS NIXON.

In a previous paper I discussed the shipyard as the foundation of sea power in the warlike sense, and as an indispensable element of national offence and defence, having in view primarily its military value. I now propose to exhibit its relation to the arts of peace, and to demonstrate that its effectiveness is indispensable to national profit and prosperity, having in view primarily its commercial value. I shall draw my deductions largely from the history of the greatest of commercial sea powers as I did in the former paper from the history of the greatest of military sea powers; bearing in mind that the two must necessarily be one, and that the ulterior object of military command of the sea is always the control or monopoly of ocean-borne commerce.

The words "supremacy on the ocean," as commonly used and popularly understood, describe merely predominant naval power or force. With this thought the average conception of the scope and significance of sea power stops, its ulterior effects upon commerce, industry, and finance, and the subtle, noiseless processes by which it produces those effects remaining a sealed book to the general perception. So occult, indeed, are the processes by which the influence of sea power is brought to bear upon commerce, industry, and finance, that in order to trace them accurately or clearly it is necessary to begin with analysis of the development of sea power itself.

The indisputable predominance of England in the commerce, industry, and finance of the globe is the result of about a century and a half of national endeavor. The existence of the British marine dates much farther back than that, but the systematic effort of England to dominate the ocean may be dated at the beginning of the old French war, in 1755.

That war was the first ever waged exclusively for territory and commerce; the first European war without dynastic causes or objects. Its results were, territorially, the expulsion of French power from North America, and the reduction of French pretensions in India to the possession, by sufferance, of two trading posts; and, commercially, the practical destruction of every other merchant marine that had been seriously competing with the English. England then, for the first time, applied sea power directly and avowedly to the objects of aggrandizement on the land and expansion of carrying trade on the ocean. It made her supreme in North America, laid broad and deep the foundations of her empire in India, and converted the Atlantic and Indian oceans into English waterways!

This "old French war," the first of the series of great wars for territorial aggrandizement and commercial expansion, inaugurated an epoch of war, broken only by short intervals of armed truce or fitful peace, which lasted for sixty years—from 1755 to 1815. The analogy of purpose and the coincidence of result are clearly traceable through this period from Wolfe at Quebec to Wellington at Waterloo, and from Hawke in Quiberon Bay to Nelson at Trafalgar. That is to say, during these sixty years, and without serious check by even so tremendous an event as the successful revolt of her American colonies, England was fighting everybody, from France singly to the world in arms, for the one object of sea domination. And she gained it.

The visible results, far more important in the money sense than territorial empire, are a control of the world's carrying trade that compels every people who have anything to sell or buy to pay toll to her on her own terms; a master-voice in every international question or controversy; a dictatorship of values and an arbitership of exchanges the globe over. These results are the product of the genius of a race exerted through generations of men; the trophy of the prowess of a people exhibited through centuries and the fruit of a national wisdom unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

Having surveyed from the external point of view the processes which ended in England's victory over all rivals on the sea, we may consider the material conditions under which it was achieved and the mechanical obstacles in the face of which it was won.

England gained the empire of the ocean in the days of "wooden walls." The ships that she did it with were, without exception, either built in her own shipyards or captured from her enemies. But, of the principal shipbuilding materials which she needed, her own soil produced in 1794 less than one-third and in 1815 less than one-eighth. One of the most eminent historians of British naval architecture says that two of the newer 74-gun ships which fought at Trafalgar, "though built at Chatham and Deptford respectively, had hardly a stick of English timber in them, and, in fact, about the only English product they used was the iron of which their guns and cannon-balls were made!"

At no time after the middle of the eighteenth century did England produce ship timber enough to maintain the material of her navy and merchant marine. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the home supply was practically exhausted. But England bought no ships. She bought ship timber everywhere, carried it to English shipyards, and with it still built her own ships. In the most critical period of her greatest struggle, and at the extreme of her poverty in ship timber, she not only bought no foreign-built ships for her navy, but threw every conceivable obstacle in the way of the purchase of foreign-built ships by her private merchants, and prohibited the East India Company, over which the government had certain control, from buying or using foreign-built ships at all.

Early in the nineteenth century this policy became extremely oppressive to British shipowners and taxpayers. Merchants became tired of paying at the rate of $90 per ton for English-built ships made of imported timber, when they could buy American-built ships of equal or better quality for $50 to $55 per ton. So utterly was England dependent upon other countries for ship timber that vessels were constructed expressly for carrying it. This state of things caused efforts on the part of shipowners to secure legislation that would remove the vexatious restrictions and oppressive obstacles imposed upon purchased ships of foreign build. These efforts availed nothing. The determined policy of England was an unalterable resolve to maintain home shipbuilding at all hazards and at any cost.

The statesmen of England clearly perceived that, while the monopoly of ocean commerce for which they were fighting the

world at large must rest on sea power, the sea power itself must rest on home shipbuilding. From this clear view they were not to be led away, and from their steadfast policy they were not to be diverted by any mystic theories or by any transcendental doctrines. They cared not where the trees might grow, or what it might cost to bring their timber to British shipyards. Whatever the origin or the expense of the raw material, the ships must be built in England. In the darkest hours, and in the direst straits, England clung doggedly to her traditional policy, inflicting upon her shipowners and her taxpayers enormous burdens in the cost of home-built ships from imported timber, and grimly frowning upon the purchase of cheaper ships of foreign build.

It might be interesting but it would not be profitable to speculate as to how long English shipbuilding, and with it the foundation of her sea power, could have withstood this distressing strain. Suffice it to say that there were no symptoms of approach to the breaking point, when, in the first part of the last half of this century, England abandoned wood and adopted iron as the prime material of shipbuilding. This change at once altered England's status from that of a total non-producer of shipbuilding material in wood to that of the foremost producer of it in iron, and thereby at once transformed her condition from that of extreme difficulty to that of extreme advantage.

But the change from wood to iron was only one among a number of events highly favorable to the expansion of England's sea power which took place about the same time. The United States, which at that time was her most formidable competitor in ocean traffic, became involved in civil strife, which not only diverted all our resources of sea power from commerce to warfare, but also, either by capture or by transfer to neutral flags to avoid capture, practically destroyed our merchant fleet.

On the termination of the civil strife an era of vast internal improvement set in, and the energy, ambition, and capital of the whole American nation was absorbed in railway development to the exclusion of almost all other objects. These conditions lasted about a quarter of a century without interruption. In the meantime England was exerting every energy, employing every resource and directing every ambition to the extension of her commercial sea power in all its components. In other words, while the United States was developing a great and perfect sys-

tem of land transportation throughout a part of one continent, England was developing a great and perfect system of sea transportation throughout the globe, pre-empting all seas and laying all continents under contribution. The comparative importance of the results is in the ratio of the relative extent of the respective fields of enterprise. Our internal development on the land, though vast, is limited geographically, and its possible expansion, therefore, has boundaries. England's external development on the sea is not limited and has no boundaries. Our internal development earns its profit from our own people. England's external development earns its profit from all peoples.

Necessarily, the revenues of such an empire must be the receipts of the traffic of which it is the thoroughfare. England not only controls the thoroughfare, but she owns the vehicles by means of which its traffic is conducted. Or if any other nation owns a few of such vehicles, England builds them, with exceptions too trifling for serious consideration in such a vast sum total.

The land part of the British Empire, though it embraces a considerable fraction of the habitable surface of the earth and more than one-fifth of the human race, need not be separately considered in this survey. The British Islands are, in brief, the workshop and arsenal of the Empire—its fortress or *place d'armes*, unassailable and impregnable in any military sense. But, in the commercial and financial sense, those parts of the land surface of the globe which England governs directly are no worse off than those which maintain governments of their own. The jurisdiction and power of all alike cease three miles from their shores, and England's sea power at that point bounds them all.

In my former paper I stated that British ships now carry more than seven-tenths of the ocean-borne commerce of the world. The earnings of her commercial fleet, including the accessories of banking, insurance, and commission, exceed eight hundred millions of dollars a year, net cash. Of this the United States contributes, roundly, three hundred millions annually, or an amount equal to about three-fifths of our national revenue.

Some economists argue that this is all right because we get "value received" in the transport of our exports and imports. This fallacy is at once exploded by the well-known commercial

fact that the cargo pays the freight as absolutely as the passenger pays his passage; and, therefore, the entire increment being foreign, the effect upon us is a continuous drain or outgo of money both ways. There is, however, a simpler mode of stating the problem. If our commerce, which is now carried in English ships, were carried in American ships, the money now paid to English owners would be paid to American owners. It would, therefore, stay in the country as part of its earned increment, instead of going out of the country to swell the earned increment of England.

Let us see what this means as an aggregate. In 1867 we were paying England at the rate of $112,000,000 a year for carrying our ocean commerce. In 1896 we paid her $300,000,000. The increase during the thirty years has been steady, and the average is a little over $200,000,000 a year. That is to say, in the thirty years six billions of dollars have passed from American to English hands for ocean tolls and passages; a net tax levied on the products of our country that we sell, and on the products of other countries that we buy.

From this tax there is no escape so long as we employ English ships to carry our commerce. We do not get this money back by sale of our products to England. What we get for those products is the English market price less the freight and accessory charges. That deduction is the profit of the English common carrier and goes into the volume of his accumulated wealth. We cannot get any of it except by borrowing. The money that English bankers have loaned us to build our railways with is the money that we have paid to English shipowners for carrying our over-sea freight and passengers.

Thus, even in our internal development itself, the consequences of England's commercial and financial sea power are felt none the less potently because indirectly applied. Our internal development in railways during the last third of this century far outstripped the conditions of natural growth or normal expansion, and it was necessarily prosecuted to a very great extent upon borrowed capital. The railroad building generation of the epoch under consideration mortgaged not only its own earnings but those of remote posterity to the extent of about five billions of dollars of bonded debt, and for more than seven-tenths of this amount England was the mortgagee. In other words, England

invested some of the tribute which her commercial sea power had wrung from mankind in bonds of our railway systems, the ultimate effect of which must inevitably be ownership by foreclosure.

The wrecking and reorganization of railroad companies now going on, always on the basis of bonded debt held mainly in England, indicate that in this respect she is not postponing her claim to the pound of flesh. Every well-informed man knows that every "reorganization" of an American railroad means, in plain language, the transfer of actual possession and working control from the American mortgagor to the English mortgagee. It is thus clearly apparent that England has begun to use the resources derived from her monopoly of our ocean-borne commerce toward the acquisition of a similar monopoly of our land transport. That the result in the latter case will ultimately be as complete as it already is in the former, if the processes are left to operate unchecked, cannot be disputed.

The foregoing survey brings our theme down to the beginning of another epoch, which is the current one. For convenience this epoch may be said to have begun about the year 1890. Up to that time there had been no material challenge to England's sea power in the commercial aspect since the blighting of our ocean traffic in 1861 and 1862. But two small specks now appeared on the horizon of England's commercial omnipotence at sea. These were Germany and the United States. Both began to augment their navies and inaugurated policies for the extension of their ocean commerce. And the fact which, above all, appeared sinister to England was that both proposed to build the necessary ships themselves. If Germany and the United States had gone to England for their ships, their aspirations toward sea power would have been tolerated, because England would still have kept her grip upon the throttle valve. But the spectacle of any other country aspiring not only to own but also to build modern ships was unendurable. The alarm was sounded, and during, say, six years following the sound of alarm, England, with a zeal that seems feverish, if not frantic, has poured out new merchant construction at a rate culminating in last year's product of 1,400,000 tons; and not only that, but she forced this new fleet into a freight and passenger market already glutted with tonnage.

We have now seen what the sea power of England is, and what she has paid for it; we have also seen what it means to her

commercially and financially, and what she seems willing to stake on its perpetuity. We have next to consider our own relation in the premises.

There is no question as to the growing restiveness of the better informed and more thoughtful part of the American public under existing conditions—conditions which involve the disappearance of our merchant flag from the ocean ; the payment to England's shipowners of an annual toll for carrying our freight and passengers equal to three-fifths of our yearly national revenue ; the rapid and, in the patriotic sense, alarming growth of English influence in our affairs of finance and of trade. But restiveness under the conditions is one thing, and escape from them is another. At best, our attitude towards sea power, both naval and commercial, is that of aspiration. England's attitude is that of possession.

It must be admitted, however, that even this aspiration, up to date, is sentimental rather than practical, so far as the general American public is concerned. Almost every American who travels abroad regrets, or is ashamed of, the absence of our flag from the commercial ports he visits. But he only misses the flag, which his instinct of patriotism impels him to wish he could see. He does not as a rule reflect that the absence of that flag means in money a yearly tribute of $300,000,000 to England ! It does not occur to him that if he could see that flag everywhere he goes, it would mean that $300,000,000 every year is staying in American pockets instead of being, as it is, drained every year from ours into English pockets. He does not even realize that his own travel involves the transfer of American money to English pockets. He has not studied the economics of the matter enough to realize that the most portentous fact of our time is that the moment the gang-plank is cleared away, he, an American citizen, becomes a British taxpayer ; that, the moment the ship in which he is a passenger crosses the limit of the marine league from any shore, he becomes a British subject, living on British soil and amenable to British laws.

I do not by any means intimate that this is necessarily an evil destiny. On the contrary, as things are now, and as things will be until the American people wake up, it is better for a traveller, American or otherwise, to be temporarily a British taxpayer and British subject on the British soil of a British deck on

any ocean outside the marine league from any shore than to be on any other deck; because, American or otherwise, any traveller, under such conditions is always sure of every protection to life and property anywhere on the habitable globe that omnipresent and omnipotent sea power can give; and even if he suffers in remote lands, he can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the retaliatory vengeance of British sea power upon his tormentors will be swift and terrible as soon as a British man-of-war can reach them! It seems to me that such a picture needs no more color. And yet at this moment it is only a true picture of British sea power, without the least tint of flattery, so far as its scope and reach of commercial and warlike ascendency are concerned.

This is the actual state of things which the nascent American aspiration toward commercial status on the ocean must now face. It is a state of things which oratorical gush, platitudinous "planks" in party "platforms" and Yankee Doodle generally cannot touch at all! It is an actual, palpable, tangible thing that can be met only by another thing equally actual, palpable, tangible. Meantime the $300,000,000 of American money goes into the pockets of English shipowners every year, and will continue to go there, and more along with it each succeeding year, until we stop relying on gush, planks in party platforms and Yankee Doodle generally, and substitute for them a practical, consistent, consecutive and inflexible standard of national policy and practice, with respect to the status of the United States on the high seas.

I have said that the American bases his aspirations to commercial sea power on sentiment, and have explained how even that sentiment itself is limited to travellers. But the average American does not travel. He has in these times all he can do to stay at home—or, perhaps to keep a home to stay at. If he is a Dakota wheat farmer, he declaims against the American railroads which charge more than he gets at the nearest station for his wheat for its transport to the seaboard. This makes him angry and impels him to meditate all sorts of vengeance against the American railroads. But he never perceives that, when the American railroad has done with his wheat, it is only half way to its market, the market that regulates the price. He never realizes that, after he has paid the tribute of transport to the Ameri-

can railroad, with money that stays in this country, and some of which gets back to him through other channels, he must still pay another tribute to some English shipowner, which goes out of this country forever as an earning, and can never be brought back unless it is borrowed; and that it can be borrowed only on the security of what is commonly termed out West a cut-throat mortgage!

Such is the established order of things at this time. It is a definite situation based upon fundamental facts. Theories cannot cure it, nor can doctrine mitigate its evils. After all theory is exhausted, and all doctrine exploded, the perennial drain of $300,000,000 or more every year remains an incontrovertible fact.

The practical question, therefore, to be solved is: How may we alter the situation for the better?

This can be accomplished only by adopting a course of action which will result in the retention of the $300,000,000 or more among ourselves. That cannot be done at once. It can only be done by degrees. It cannot be done without material change in the trend of American thought and substantial alteration of the tendency of American endeavor. We must turn our gaze, fixed for a generation upon the land, toward the sea, and we must keep it there; for the land offers to our enterprise no more triumphs worthy of our national genius, certainly none commensurate with our pent-up national energies.

It is hardly enough to say that the maritime spirit is dormant among us. In the practical, commercial sense it has ceased to exist. With only exceptions enough to prove the rule, American enterprise in these days shrinks from the sea and American capital shuns ships. Any scheme however visionary can find promoters and any project however chimerical can find capital, so long as it is on the land. But hardly any scheme however businesslike, or any project however practical, can now enlist American enterprise or attract American capital if it involves salt water.

If you ask a capitalist, known to be prudent and sagacious, to join in a scheme involving ships and looking to the carrying trade of the ocean, he will decline, on the ground that under existing conditions American ships in foreign trade are not profitable property. If asked why this is so, he will say it is because of

the greater cost of operating American ships, ton for ton, as compared with their English competitors. This brings us at once to the root of the difficulty. The comparative first cost of the ships themselves is not worth consideration as an element in the sum total of difference. The real, effective obstacle is in the greater operating cost, and this is due wholly to the higher wages and costlier subsistence of American as compared with any and all foreign seafaring labor. But this obstacle, though serious and stubborn, is not insurmountable. No one will suggest reduction of the American standard of seafaring wages and subsistence to the foreign plane. Certainly the foreign standard will never be elevated to the American plane. The obstacle must, therefore, be met and overcome by other methods.

These methods are not to be found in the purchase of foreign-built ships; because, after such ships were acquired, the disparity in operating cost, all other conditions remaining as they are, would quickly drive them to a permanent anchorage. They are not to be found wholly in subsidies, bounties, or other direct or measured aid from the state. Neither can they be found completely effective in differential or discriminating duties, because the operation of such laws would affect unequally different classes of ships in different channels of trade. The causes of the evil lie too deep and their effects are too widely spread to admit of cure by any single remedy. Above all, the problem, as a whole, is so vast, and the difficulties to be overcome are so various, that nothing short of the wisest policy, the most persistent endeavor, and the most inflexible fortitude of the American people, as a whole, exerted through a long period of time, can solve the one or remove the other.

We must, therefore, begin at the beginning, which means that the maritime spirit must be revived, the aspiration for achievements beyond our own shores must be quickened, the ambition to see our commercial flag in foreign ports, which is now merely a sentiment of travellers, must become the practical impulse of merchants. The desire to see the flag abroad must be not merely a feeling of patriotic pride, but it must become an instinct of trade.

No such change in popular aspiration can be brought about quickly. It must be a growth. That it will come is not doubtful. Whenever the tremendous forces of American public

thought, public aspiration, and public zeal for the common welfare begin to move in unison toward the sea, then, and not till then, shall we begin to carry our own commerce; then only shall we begin denying to England her tribute of three hundred millions a year.

I have already shown that the foundation of the colossal structure of England's ocean commerce is the English shipyard. I have pointed out also that the English shipyard can never be the foundation of an American ocean commerce. That must rest on the American shipyard.

It has been shown that England, under the direst distress for raw material, never dreamed of resting her sea power on foreign shipyards; that she drew her timber from foreign forests, her hemp from foreign fields, the cotton for her sails from foreign plantations, and her tar and resin from foreign pine woods; but she never drew a ship from a foreign shipyard except by capture in war! Even now she imports nearly all the ore used in making the mild steel of which her modern ships and engines are built.

But we need import no raw material. If the genius of our country should demand ships, we could build in a few years a fleet equal to England's in extent and superior to it in quality, without importing a pound of raw material; we could found a new commercial sea power wholly on the resources of our own domain. Therefore, situated and endowed as we are, the American shipyard is to any possible American marine of the future what the soil is to bread. The fertility is here; it only remains to sow the seed.

In that fact lies the significance of the legend which forms the title of this paper. It may—in fact it must—be taken for granted that the tribute of three hundred millions a year which we now pay to England through English shipowners, cannot go on forever. It must stop some time. It will stop whenever, through the usual channels of disseminating popular knowledge, a clear understanding of the state of things shall have been impressed upon the American people; whenever they shall have come to comprehend the relation of commercial seapower to the sum-total of their national prosperity; whenever they shall have gained a practical conception of the relations which now exist between the American producer or consumer and the English common-carrier.

Just how long it will take the mental processes of the American public to reach these perceptions cannot now be judged. But progress in that direction is apparent. Already many men to whom their neighbors look for guidance have perceived that so long as the English octopus has a tentacle fastened to every one of our seaports, sucking our financial life-blood, so long will legislation on tariffs and currencies be as futile to remedy the prevailing ills as tonics would to build up the system of a patient slowly bleeding to death from an opened artery!

Such a trend of thought and perception never recedes. It always advances. So, there is reason to believe that the time is not remote when ocean commerce will again engage the energies, stimulate the ambitions and attract the capital of Americans, as it did in the days of our intrepid grandfathers; when the desire to see our commercial flag in foreign ports will be not merely the patriotic sentiment of an occasional traveller, but an instinct of trade pervading a mighty nation. Then there will be an American merchant marine, and it will be erected upon the foundation of the American shipyard. Then will the American people realize, as the English people now do, the shipyard's commercial value.

LEWIS NIXON.

EFFECT OF THE NEW GOLD UPON PRICES.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

ONE of the most fascinating problems of economic science connected with the great gold and silver discoveries of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries has been the effect of the new metal upon prices. The quantitative theory of money has been much called in question in recent years, but it was accepted almost religiously by many of the economists who wrote at the time of the great Californian and Australian discoveries. According to this theory, in its crudest form, prices were bound to advance in just the proportion which the new supplies of the precious metals bore to those already in existence. While this did not occur in any case, the changes in prices were sufficiently radical after the opening of the American mines in the sixteenth century to justify the opinion that they were due chiefly to the increase in the supply of gold and silver, and they were sufficient after the Californian and Australian discoveries to establish a reasonable probability that they were due in part to the same cause. It is an interesting question whether in our own time another revolution in nominal values is to be accomplished by the infusion of a great mass of new gold into the currency systems of the world.

It will be useful to lay the groundwork for an answer to this question by reviewing the history of previous great additions to the supply of metallic money and their supposed effect upon prices. The supply of the precious metals in the western world, both gold and silver, was greatly reduced during the barbaric ages by abrasion, the loss of hidden treasure, and the export of the metals to the East. The art of mining, by the separation of the precious metals from the ores and from the inferior metals with which they were mingled, was lost with the decline of the

Roman Empire; and, according to Mr. Jacob, a high authority on the subject, there was a decline in the visible supply of precious metals available for use as money from £358,000,000 ($1,750,000,000) in 14 A. D., to £34,000,000 ($170,000,000) at the time of the discovery of America, in the year 1492.

Treasures of gold and silver were found almost as soon as America was discovered, but they were trifling in amount until 1545, when the silver mines of Cerro de Potosi were opened. Even this event did not increase the supply of the precious metals at a rate exceeding £2,100,000 ($10,000,000) annually, according to Mr. Jacob, but this was an increase of about six per cent. a year upon the scanty stock existing in 1492. The seventeenth century witnessed a farther increase in the annual supplies of the precious metals, chiefly by the opening of mines in Brazil, and the annual average production during that period is reckoned at £3,375,000 ($16,500,000).

Mr. Jacob made elaborate calculations for abrasion and export to the East, which were entirely too high, but as all the figures are estimates, it is not worth while to modify Mr. Jacob's computation that £297,000,000 ($1,450,000,000) of gold and silver remained in the western world at the end of the seventeenth century (1699) for monetary uses. The mines of Mexico became productive in the eighteenth century, and the visible monetary stock of the precious metals, in 1810, with deductions for losses and other uses than coin, amounted, according to Mr. Jacob, to £380,000,000 ($1,850,000,000). This is a little less than one-quarter of the visible stock of metallic money existing in the world to-day.

Before dealing with the discoveries of the fifth decade of the present century, it will be well to investigate the effect upon prices of the infusion of new gold and silver into the scantily-fed channels of circulation of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spain was the first of European countries to feel the force of the new gold and silver, since it was mostly taken from her colonial mines and shipped to the government or to Spanish merchants at home. "In the chief towns of Spain," according to Mr. Cliffe Leslie, "prices seem to have risen even before the fifteenth century had closed." The influence of increased prices was not felt in England, according to Adam Smith, until about 1570. From that year until 1640 silver sank so rapidly in

purchasing power that corn rose in cost from about two ounces of silver per quarter to six or eight ounces. Fixed incomes shrank seventy-five per cent. in their power of purchasing the means of living, and pauperism spread rapidly in England on that account. "Nor is it improbable," says Mr. L. L. Price, "that the difficulties of Charles the First, and the eventful quarrel which followed, were partly due to the increased expenditure of the Court necessarily occasioned by the rise of prices." Mr. Hume computed that prices of all things had risen three or four times since the discovery of the West Indies, and Mr. Jacob computed the increase at the ratio of 470 to 100.

The early part of the nineteenth century was marked by an arrest in the increase of the supply of the precious metals. There was a considerable improvement in production after 1830, which by 1848 was sufficient to supply losses and afford a slight increase in the stock of metallic money. The entire production of gold from 1493 to 1850 was calculated by Professor Sootbeer at 4,752,070 kilograms, representing a value of about $3,168,047,000, while the production of silver was calculated at 149,826,750 kilograms, representing a value of about $6,292,723,000.

Upon these conditions came the great discoveries of gold in California and Australia. The production of gold rose at a leap from an annual average of $13,484,000, in the decade ending with 1840, to $36,393,000, for the decade ending with 1850, and to $132,513,000 for the five years ending with 1855. The yield of gold did not fall much below these figures until the fifteen years ending with 1885, when the annual average was only about $110,000,000. The production did not again show radical changes until after 1890, when a new era of progress set in as the result of the great gold production of the Witwatersrand region of South Africa. The effect of the Californian and Australian discoveries upon prices was spent before 1870, and the results of the South African discoveries belong to a later era.

We are now dealing with gold alone, and it was in gold that the great increase in production took place prior to 1870. As there is not occasion here to discuss the bimetallic problem, it will not detract essentially from the force of comparisons if the entire amount of metallic money computed by Mr. Jacob as existing in 1830—$1,500,000,000—is considered as consisting of gold,

although in fact silver was then the preferred metal in the monetary systems of leading Continental states. The product of a single year from the Californian and Australian mines added eight per cent. in gold to this existing supply, if no deductions are made for losses. Ten years ending with 1860 added $1,332,981,000 to the production of gold, and another period of ten years swelled this amount by another sum of $1,263,115,000. The most liberal deductions for use in the arts, for abrasion, and for export to the East, could not fail to leave in this enormous mass of gold a potent influence upon monetary conditions.

If the quantitative theory of money—that prices move upward and downward in direct relation with the supply of monetary signs—had operated with rigorous exactness, prices must again have doubled or trebled under the influence of the wonderful outpouring of the Californian and Australian mines. Many of the classical political economists anticipated exactly this result. Chevalier recommended that France take energetic measures to preserve her credit by reducing the legal value of her existing gold coins, and firmly adhering to the silver standard. Several other countries seriously contemplated relegating gold to a subordinate place and making silver the single standard of value because it was less subject to fluctuation. Mr. W. Stanley Jevons, the eminent English economist, wrote a paper, as late as 1863, in which he predicted that the depreciation in the purchasing power of gold would cause a rise in prices of from 40 to 50 per cent.

That some rise in prices actually occurred hardly admits of dispute, and it may perhaps be attributed to the infusion of gold into the circulation, because it ran counter to the almost universal downward tendency of prices caused by improved methods of production and the increased efficiency of labor. The moderate character of this increase may be judged, however, from the fact that when Chevalier wrote (in 1857) silver was at a premium of only four per cent. in Paris. In England Mr. Jevons, by a careful comparison of averages and index prices, reached the conclusion that the rise of prices attributable in a general way to the increase in the gold supply was between 6.76 and 16.2 per cent., and averaged about 10.25 per cent.

Definite calculations regarding the yield of the Klondike region cannot yet be obtained. There is no reason, however, to

doubt that it will prove nearly as productive as the Californian and Australian mines a generation ago, and the South African mines which were opened about a decade ago. None of these sources of supply has shown serious signs of exhaustion, and the Ural Mountains, where the mines have been open for two generations or more, still contribute largely to the annual gold supply of the world. Only a few million dollars have thus far been actually delivered at the mints and assay offices of the United States from the new mining regions of the far North; but the amount brought in is large in view of the fact that it consists of nothing but the placer washings, and that there are only three months of the season in which it is possible for the washings to take place.

The supply of gold was already increasing rapidly in recent years, in advance of the discovery of the Klondike supplies. The official figures of Mr. Robert E. Preston, the Director of the Mint of the United States, show a gold production throughout the world of $118,848,700 for the calendar year 1890, $130,650,000 for 1891, $146,651,500 for 1892, $157,494,800 for 1893, $181,567,800 for 1894, $200,406,000 for 1895, and $206,000,000 for 1896; and trustworthy estimates place the amount for 1897 at $240,000,000. The aggregate production, from the discovery of America to the close of 1896, is computed by the Director of the Mint at about $9,000,000,000. Of this amount, something over $3,000,000,000 had been mined before 1850. Only a portion of the entire production has been devoted to monetary uses, and much has been lost. The gold currencies of the world, including bullion used for monetary purposes, were computed by the Director of the Mint in 1896 at $4,359,600,000.

Several important questions have to be answered before an intelligent opinion can be formed as to whether the new gold supplies will have any visible effect upon prices, and what that effect, if any, will be. These questions may be formulated thus:

1. What proportion will the new gold supplies bear to the existing stock and to previous additions to the supply?

2. What portion of the annual gold supply will be devoted to monetary uses?

3. Will there be a demand for the new monetary gold from countries other than those now having a gold currency?

4. Does an increase in the supply of monetary gold in a gold standard country necessarily affect the prices of commodities?

I. With a gold production for 1897 estimated at $240,000,000, it is evident that the new goldfields will have to prove exceptionally productive in order to add a great percentage to the world's annual supply of gold. If they should yield $60,000,000 per year, carrying the total annual production to $300,000,000, they would still be adding only 25 per cent. to the previous annual increase. The effect of new supplies of the precious metals is greatly restricted by the fact that the additions have to be set against the whole mass already in existence. An addition of 25 per cent. to the annual production of wheat or corn, or even of more permanent industrial products, like iron or copper, would have a marked effect upon prices. Gold is undoubtedly influenced, like all other articles, by the law of supply and demand, but the supply in any one year is only a small addition to the amount already in the market. All the gold of the world used as coin or bullion in monetary exchanges is constantly in the world's money market, capable of being purchased by commodities directly or by slight premiums in rates of exchange.

It has been shown that the visible stock of monetary gold existing in the world to-day is about $4,360,000,000. Reasons will soon be given for thinking that another sum of $1,000,000,000 is concealed in private hoards. The mathematical elements of the problem, therefore, are: An aggregate gold production within historic times of $9,000,000,000; a visible supply of gold in use as money of $4,360,000,000; and a possible annual increase of the supply from $240,000,000 in 1897 to $300,000,000 in future years.

II. The second question—what portion of the new gold will be devoted to monetary uses—suggests the interesting inquiry, what has become of the difference between the whole amount of gold produced and the amount now visible in coin and bullion? The amount to be accounted for is $4,800,000,000, and represents more than half of the gold which has been produced since 1492. There are three channels through which this difference has been absorbed, which may be briefly treated thus:

Abrasion.—The loss from this cause is much less than is commonly supposed. Mr. Jacob put the abrasion of coins, in-

cluding losses at sea and from other causes, at 10 per cent. in thirty-six years. This is altogether excessive. The loss by abrasion has been several times carefully calculated by the authorities of the British and Continental mints, and has been found to amount to an average of about one-half of one per cent. in a century. This means a loss of five per cent. in 1,000 years, or about two per cent. in 400 years. If the entire mass of gold mined since the discovery of America had been in use in 1492, the loss by abrasion up to 1892 would have been about $180,000,000. But nearly two-thirds of the world's gold production has been mined since 1850 and cannot have suffered abrasion for a longer period than forty years. This would afford a loss of about two-tenths of one per cent., or $11,600,000 for the entire period.

Exportation to the East.—India, China, and other countries of the Orient have been great absorbers of the precious metals since they began to contribute their silks, teas, and other articles to Western consumption. Even during the Middle Ages the overland traffic absorbed great quantities of Western gold and silver, and made India, in the graphic language of historical writers, "a sink of the precious metals." The semi-civilized state of those countries makes gold the most highly prized form of wealth, because it can be most conveniently concealed when civil war, robbery, and excessive taxation threaten the confiscation of visible property. The statistics of the shipments of gold to India from 1836 to the close of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1896, show net imports of $713,269,550. The figures for silver show net imports of $1,825,000,000. These figures afford only a partial idea of the quantity of the precious metals which have gone to the East within the past four centuries. It would probably be far within the limits of moderation to put at $1,000,000,000 the amount of the world's gold which has gone to the Orient.

Use in the Arts.—This is a very considerable channel for the employment of gold, and has absorbed a large proportion of the sum of $4,800,000,000, which is not available for monetary uses. Professor Sootbeer estimated the consumption of gold alone in 1885 at about $60,000,000, while the present consumption is estimated by the Director of the Mint at about $65,000,000. A rate of consumption like this, if extended backwards, would eat up the gold supply very rapidly, absorbing $650,000,000 in ten

years, and nearly $2,000,000,000 in a generation. This rate is, of course, not admissible except for the last few years, and may be exaggerated by the inclusion of old gold which is remelted.

The estimate of the consumption of gold in the arts is surrounded with some difficulties, in view of the large amount available for this purpose after monetary uses and the Eastern demand are deducted. The difficulty does not lie so much with the annual consumption as with the excessive amount existing in the world in this form, if the other estimates are correct. The deduction of $4,300,000,000 in monetary gold and $1,000,000,000 in gold locked up in India and the East leaves about $3,800,000,000 for other uses. The population of the civilized countries, mostly having gold in their currencies, is less than 900,000,000. The supply of gold, therefore, for non-monetary uses is more than $4 per capita, which amounts to $20 for a family of five. It is difficult to believe that this proportion of non-monetary gold exists on the average among the rich and poor throughout the world. A more reasonable hypothesis is that the gold in the form of coin and bullion which is officially reported as available for monetary uses includes only that which is visible in the circulation and in bank reserves. Great sums, which can only be guessed at, are undoubtedly concealed in private hoards in such countries as South and Central America, where the official returns give $40,000,000 and $500,000 respectively of monetary gold. If this concealed monetary gold amounted throughout the world to $1,000,000,000, it would reduce the gold employed in the arts to $2,800,000,000, or about $15 to every family in the civilized world.

In dealing with the annual supply of new gold, account has to be taken of the annual deductions for the arts and for export to the East. The sum of $20,000,000 may be assumed for convenience as the annual loss to the Western world by gold exports to the East. If $65,000,000 goes into the arts, $85,000,000 has to be deducted from the production of the year in order to ascertain the amount of gold available for monetary uses. Upon the basis of the production of $240,000,000 expected during the current year, $155,000,000 will be available for addition to the world's money supply. If the new gold regions increase the world's production to $300,000,000, the amount left available for monetary uses will rise to $215,000,000. This may fairly be assumed to

represent the amount of annual increase in the world's supply of gold money for some years to come.

What proportion will this sum of $215,000,000 bear to the accumulated stock of monetary gold? If this stock is already $4,300,000,000, the annual addition of $215,000,000 will amount to exactly five per cent. Ten years would carry this amount to 50 per cent. of the existing supply, but this is only half the rate of increase attained between 1850 and 1870. The additions to the existing stock, moreover, will not come with the suddenness of those which came in the middle of the century, because the annual average increase for a long series of years has been considerably above $100,000,000, of which probably $60,000,000 per year has easily been available for monetary purposes.

III. The question whether the new monetary gold will be largely needed by countries now without a gold currency is being answered almost daily in the affirmative. The Empire of Japan decided in the spring to change from the silver to the gold standard. The Bank of Japan has been carrying a gold reserve of from $25,000,000 to $50,000,000, but will be compelled to greatly increase this amount in order to maintain gold redemption. Mexico seems on the verge of adopting the gold standard, in order to escape the effects of the alarming fluctuations in the value of silver, and her expanding business might require $100,000,000 or $200,000,000 in gold. The government of British India in 1893 suspended the free coinage of silver rupees and endeavored to give them a fixed gold value. Chile, Peru, and Costa Rica have recently adopted the gold standard and need increased supplies of gold.

This is only the beginning of the possible demands for the new gold supplies. Russia and Austria-Hungary have been endeavoring for several years to accumulate a sufficient supply of gold for the resumption of specie payments. Russia holds more than $600,000,000, and Austria-Hungary more than $150,000,000. Both these countries, especially the latter, will be benefited in obtaining gold by the new supplies. They will not find that a much smaller quantity of commodities will have to be rendered up in exchange for the new gold, but they will find premiums lower and other countries bidding a lower interest rate to keep their gold at home. An increase in the world's supplies renders it easier for countries of comparative poverty of resources

to provide themselves with a gold currency, because they encounter less competition than before, in the form of trifling premiums and adverse exchanges, in retaining their gold.

IV. The last branch of our inquiry—whether prices are affected by an increase in the supply of metallic money—raises an issue of which the discussion has filled volumes. It is a truth familiar to the political economist, which may be noted in passing, that additions to the stock of precious metals, for use purely as money, are not additions to the world's wealth. Trade is in its essence the barter of one article for another. Money, whether of metal or paper, is not an end in itself. It is simply the convenient medium for making barter easy. Additions to the monetary supply simply increase the available equipment of the medium for carrying on exchanges. This may be desirable in some cases and undesirable in others, according to the existing supply of such media. If every portion of the world was adequately supplied to-day with the means of monetary exchanges, it would be possible to echo the lament of Mr. Richard Cobden, in the preface to his translation of Chevalier's work on the fall of gold, regarding an event "the effect of which is, instead of increasing the supply of food, raw material or capital, simply to render more bulky and abundant an instrument of exchange the chief merit of which before consisted in its scarcity and portability."

If there be countries whose medium of exchange is unsatisfactory or insufficient, new supplies of gold may be of great value to them. The countries which are the richest are apt to have the amplest gold currencies—not so much because the gold is wealth as because they can afford to carry capital in this form in addition to all that is required for their machinery of production. It has long been the fashion of political economists to berate the folly of those peoples who failed to maintain a currency interconvertible with gold and silver. Such rebukes are well founded when directed against a prosperous people, but the philosophy of economic history is likely to show that many peoples who have gone without a metallic currency have done so from the same motives which actuate the poor in discarding many of the sound economies of the rich. A considerable increase in the gold supply may mean much to such nations, especially if they are just passing from irredeemable paper to the gold basis. This is the position of several important nations to-day.

If a great addition to the gold supply could be injected into the currency of a people already provided with an adequate supply of gold for carrying on their exchanges, some rise of prices might occur. The increase in prices, however, would probably be far from commensurate with the relation which the new gold bore to the existing stock. Three conditions would be essential to any visible effect upon prices—that the new stock of gold should be very considerable; that the existing currency should be based chiefly on gold and not on paper credit; and that the new gold should actually enter into the circulation and should not be accumulated in bank reserves or private hoards. If uncovered paper constituted a large element of the circulation, the new gold might simply supersede so much paper without any visible effect upon other conditions. If the new gold was simply added to bank reserves or the holdings of a few individuals, it would have only a speculative effect upon prices and not the automatic proportional effect asserted by the quantitative theory. A demonstration of this proposition occurred in recent history, when great masses of new gold from the Transvaal country poured into Great Britain. A great part of it went into the reserves of the Bank of England, which increased from £19,712,368 upon the average of the last quarter of 1889 to £44,960,056 on January 1, 1896. Here was an increase of $125,000,000, which represents nearly one-quarter of the estimated gold currency of the United Kingdom, without taking account of that portion of the Transvaal gold which might have found lodgment in other hands within the Kingdom. There was some fear that this great accumulation of monetary signs might lead to speculation, but that any direct effect upon prices was produced, by the mere increase in the volume of visible gold, was hardly asserted by the most *naïve* of the advocates of the quantitative theory.

The counters in trade, whether of metal or paper credit, are like freight cars in the handling of a great wheat or cotton crop. A certain number is absolutely required in order to accomplish desired results without delay or embarrassment, no matter how rapidly the means of accomplishing these results are shifted backwards and forwards in the current of transactions. The price of wheat is not regulated by the quantity of freight cars, but it is conceivable that it might appear to be so regulated if the supply

of cars were inadequate to move the crop and shippers were driven by a state of panic to pay a premium for their use. The charge for cars might in such a case be affected by the law of supply and demand. Gold, silver, and loanable capital are undoubtedly affected by the same great law, but neither the freight cars nor the gold are governed by the rigid proportion of value to quantity which is assigned to changes in the volume of money by the quantitative theory.

The fact that there might be a distinct demand for gold, independent of the quantitative theory, was recognized by Chevalier in the discussion of the possible means for absorbing the Californian and Australian supplies. His range of vision regarding such a demand was, however, limited by the narrow conceptions of his time. He noted the fact that France was absorbing great quantities of gold, but the data were not then complete which might have enabled him to measure fully the character and extent of the movement which was going on. As a matter of fact, France at that time not only exchanged great masses of silver for gold, but the increase in the supply of the precious metals enabled her to fill gaps in her medium of exchange in portions of the country where that medium was insufficient. Much of the new gold went, not to the barren work of duplicating the volume and dividing the value of means of exchange already in existence, but to the more useful object of affording a metallic medium of transactions where neither gold nor paper had before penetrated.

The official figures of the imports and exports of the precious metals during the nineteen years from 1852 to 1870, inclusive, show that France absorbed in net gold imports 5,007,000,000 francs ($1,000,000,000). At the same time her net exports of silver from 1852 to 1864 were 1,726,000,000 francs. The silver exports ceased to exceed the imports during the next six years, when the relation of gold and silver was again oscillating around the legal ratio, and there were net silver imports of 562,000,000 francs. These, added to the great gold imports for nineteen years, and reduced by the net silver exports from 1852 to 1864, showed a net increase in the precious metals in France by the enormous sum of 3,843,000,000 francs ($760,000,000), or a yearly average of 202,000,000 francs ($40,000,000). Several German states felt the force of the golden shower, in spite of some

differences in their monetary systems, and throughout Europe and America the benefits of a substantial circulating medium, where there had been only an inadequate one, were felt with something of the force attributed to them in France by Prof. J. E. Horn, in his brilliant work, "*La Liberté des Banques:*"

"In those *arrondissements* and cantons where formerly the bill was a myth and the gold louis a phenomenon, hundreds of thousands of francs and even millions in specie and in bills are now in continuous rotation, promoting a movement of transactions which grow in intensity and extent day by day. They constitute a potent dike against depression and depreciation. The ancient possessor of monetary capital is neither robbed nor defrauded by this increase in the quantity of instruments of circulation, whether the increase consists in real gold or in credit gold. On the contrary, he gains as much by it, more, perhaps, than the general public. The superior activity of exchanges assures to the aggregate of circulating capital employment more fertile, more constant, and, inasmuch as it stimulates production and renders products more abundant and less dear, it even increases the value and the purchasing power of the pre-existing gold."

A similar experience to that of France from 1850 to 1865 is likely to be that of some of the great civilized states to-day. The United States are capable of absorbing many millions of the new gold in giving stability to their currency system and without effect upon prices. They are rapidly reaching the position where they can afford such an investment of capital without impairing their resources of production. Russia and Austria-Hungary, as already pointed out, need to strengthen their equipment of the yellow metal. It is highly probable, moreover, that some of the countries which suspended the free coinage of silver after 1873, and have maintained their silver coins at parity with gold, will take advantage of the new gold supplies for replacing some of their overvalued silver. The sale of silver for gold has been publicly advocated in Belgium, and her financial position and that of the Netherlands would be greatly strengthened by such an exchange. Spain and Italy, now wallowing in the mire of depreciated paper, will resume specie payments upon a gold basis, if they resume at all, for their paper notes are above the bullion value of their silver coins. Throughout the world, indeed, exists a capacity for the absorption of the new gold, which will have no perceptible effect upon prices, but will operate, like the extension of railways and canals, to give ease and rapidity to the courses of production and exchange.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

I FEEL under deep obligations to Senator Money for his able article published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September, 1897, in answer to one of mine which appeared in the July number, because it gives me the opportunity to dispel certain misunderstandings and set myself right in this case.

But before proceeding further I desire to make a short statement as to how my article originated. Dr. Ricardo Becerra, a very distinguished man of letters from Colombia, South America, who for several years represented his country at Washington, and who is now living at Caracas, Venezuela, wrote recently a biography of General Don Francisco de Miranda, the principal promoter of the independence of the Spanish colonies of South America. I found in Dr. Becerra's book valuable information, that had not come to my knowledge before, about the work done in Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century by native Americans and Spanish Jesuits, whom the father of the then reigning King of Spain had previously expelled from his dominions in America, to establish the independence of the Spanish colonies on this continent. I found that the promoters of that cause professed to act in behalf of all the Spanish colonies of America, including Mexico, and as I was sure that Mexico had not been represented at the meetings which were held in Europe in the last quarter of the 18th century, I determined to rectify that statement, and with that purpose in view I wrote an article to vindicate the historical truth in regard to that important event in Spanish American history.

When I began to write my paper I found that the course which the United States pursued towards the revolted colonies

of Spain during their struggle for independence had a close connection with my subject, and about the same time, on January 11, 1897, Senator Hale, of Maine, presented to the Senate a paper entitled "Power to Recognize the Independence of a New State," which was published by order of the Senate, as Senate Document Number 56, Fifty-fourth Congress, Second Session. That paper, which in my opinion had been prepared at the State Department, contained a concise statement of the policy of the United States government towards the Spanish American republics, written especially with a view to support the contention that such recognition is an executive prerogative, and does not rest with Congress, and showing at the same time that the United States has always acted with deliberation in the recognition of belligerent rights or independence of a new foreign state, and complied faithfully with her international obligations, a fact which shows that the policy of the present and the last administration regarding the disturbances in Cuba is in accordance with the precedents established by the fathers of the country at the beginning of the century. I found a great deal of valuable information collected in that paper, which I included in my article.

Reviewing the subject, I also found that the United States had prevented Mexico and Colombia from carrying to Cuba in 1825 the war against Spain, which in all probability might have resulted in the independence of that island, and thinking that that was a pertinent subject, I also mentioned it in my paper.

I entitled my paper "The Origin of Mexican Independence," which I considered an appropriate title, but when I sent it to the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for publication, he suggested a more comprehensive one, namely, "The United States and the Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies," and out of deference to his greater knowledge and experience I consented to make the change. This pretentious title caused wider circulation of some passages of the article than would otherwise have been the case, as it was telegraphed all over the country that I had written a paper censuring the United States for not having assisted the Spanish colonies in their war for independence, and for not having permitted Mexico and Colombia to make Cuba independent, when my paper did not contain a word of censure against the United States government, and was only a brief statement of historical facts with quotations from high American

authorities. I thought that the reason for this misunderstanding was the fact that my paper was not read in its entirety by those who telegraph to us press extracts from the same, but only such extracts from it as were thought to be of importance, and thus its object was misapprehended. I was under the impression that anybody who read carefully the whole text could find nothing improper in it, much less disrespectful, either to the United States or to the Spanish government.

I was, therefore, somewhat surprised to see that a man of Senator Money's great abilities should share such views, and it affords me pleasure to have the opportunity of making clear that my article did not contain a word of censure against the United States of America.

Senator Money regards my statement that "this government did not render any material or moral assistance to the cause of independence of the Spanish-American colonies," as a complaint against the United States and considers my assertion to be incorrect. In stating that fact, far from making any complaint against the policy of this government, I on the contrary defended it, by adding "that the United States government being at peace with Spain, considered that it would be a breach of neutrality to aid the movement for the establishment of independence in her colonies." I think that every nation is in honor bound to comply with her treaty stipulations and with the provisions of the law of nations, and that a state that is zealous in fulfilling such duties deserves a great deal of commendation, especially if, for any reason whatsoever, it be to its interests or coincide with its views to set aside such obligations.

I also stated that Mexico did not expect any aid from the United States for the simple reason that there was no ground to expect it, and that she depended only on the patriotism of her sons. In my opinion, it is rash to inaugurate a movement for independence relying mainly on foreign assistance, for obvious reasons; and especially because such assistance is a contingency which may fail for various causes. Then the whole movement would fall through, and the cause of independence would thereby suffer greatly and be highly discredited.

I am glad to see that Senator Money's views agree with mine in that a nation should comply with her international obligations when he says: "It must be remembered that the

warning words of Washington in his farewell address against foreign complications were so recent as to have hardly lost their echo, and had, with other causes, induced an exceedingly conservative and cautious foreign policy."

With a view to show that the recognition by the United States was made long after independence had been achieved, I will state briefly when each of the Spanish colonies accomplished its independence.

The independence of South America proper, that is from the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, was accomplished mainly by two great military geniuses, equal to the greatest in the world, assisted, of course, by several very able and distinguished lieutenants. The two great generals were José de San Martin, born in Yapeyú, in 1778, a small town of the Argentine Republic, on the borders of Paraguay, who operated in the southern part of South America, and Simon Bolivar, born in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, on July 25, 1783, whose field of operations covered the northern portion of that continent. Both belonged to distinguished families of Spanish descent, and both had received a military education in Spain and had served with distinction in the Spanish army, having flown to their country's assistance when they heard that independence had been proclaimed. Bolivar was of an impulsive and reckless disposition, and suffered, therefore, many serious defeats, while San Martin, being a much more cautious man, was never defeated.

Buenos Ayres or the Argentine Republic, as it is now called, had not only practically established her independence in 1813, after the decisive battles of Tucuman, fought on September 24, 1812, and Salta, on February 20, 1813, although she formally declared her independence only in 1816, but had also driven the Spaniards from Uruguay and Paraguay, and had assisted the adjoining provinces of Upper Peru, which had also rebelled against Spain. The Argentine Republic was, therefore, the base of operations against the Spanish government in the southern portion of South America, and her capital, Buenos Ayres, was the only capital on the continent which, once occupied by the patriots, was never recovered by the Spanish. Peru was at the time, after Mexico, the main seat of Spanish power in America, and the viceroy of Peru sent frequent expeditions not only to subdue the insurgents of Upper Peru, which was a compara-

tively easy task, but also against those of Buenos Ayres, who suffered serious defeats in Vilcapujio on October 1, 1813, and in Ayouma on November 14 of the same year, after having obtained an important victory at San Elezario in 1813. San Martin was for some months commander of the Argentine army in Upper Peru during 1814, and he soon became satisfied that the war could not end until a mortal blow was given to the Spanish power in Peru, and he realized that the only effectual way to accomplish that end was to march from Chile to Peru by the Pacific. He was therefore transferred, at his own request, to the Province of Cuyo, at whose capital, Mendoza, which commanded the main pass of the high cordillera dividing Argentina from Chile, he organized and disciplined his army, availing himself of the assistance of the Chilean patriots who flocked to his banner, among them being O'Higgins, who subsequently took such a leading part in public events in Chile.

On January 17, 1817, San Martin's army left Mendoza and crossed the high cordillera by the Uspallata pass, an undertaking accomplished in the face of the enemy, and which may well be compared with the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal, several centuries before, when he invaded Italy. While in Chile San Martin defeated the Spanish army at Chacabuco on February 12, 1817, which permitted him to occupy Santiago, the capital of that country. The viceroy sent from Lima another army of Spanish veterans, which was defeated by San Martin at Maipo, near Santiago, on April 5, 1818, thus achieving the independence of Chile, and putting the Spanish viceroy at Lima on the defensive.

The governments of the La Plata Provinces and Chile had agreed by a treaty signed at Buenos Ayres on February 5, 1819, to send a joint expedition of their forces to liberate Peru; but before the expedition started a revolution broke out in the Argentine Provinces, necessitating the return of the Argentine army from Chile, and instructions were sent to San Martin to hasten back. San Martin, realizing that if he went back to Buenos Ayres the cause of independence would be seriously jeopardized, made up his mind to disobey his instructions, and he resigned his command, but was recognized as general-in-chief by his army at Rancagua, in Chile, and finally appointed general-in-chief of the joint Chilean-Argentine expeditionary army by the Chilean government. Before San Martin left Chile for Peru,

the Argentine government had been overthrown, anarchy prevailing there, and he found himself, therefore, without a government or nation to back his force, but acted as general-in-chief of the combined army, both by the appointment of the Chilean government and by the act of Rancagua. San Martin knew that he could not march to Peru overland, and he therefore concentrated all his efforts to assist in providing Chile with a navy which would clear the Spanish armada from the Pacific.

The geographical position of Chile, a long and narrow strip of land bounded by the Cordilleras on the east and bordering on the Pacific Ocean, made it indispensable for her to have a navy. It is extraordinary how, being the poorest and the last of the Spanish crown American colonies, she could under the able leadership of O'Higgins, a Chilean patriot of Irish descent, and while she was carrying on her war of independence against Spain, improvise a navy, a task in which she was very substantially assisted by San Martin and the Buenos Ayres government with the man-of-war "Intrepid," lost at the capture of Valdivia on February 3, 1820, by Lord Cochrane. By September, 1818, O'Higgins had procured five men-of-war, manned by raw recruits with little or no naval discipline, and a few English and Americans who could not speak Spanish. These he put under the command of Colonel Manuel Blanco Encalada, who had previously served in the Spanish navy, and who attacked the frigate "Maria Isabel" on October 28, 1818, while she was under the protection of the forts at the port of Talcahuano, and captured that vessel, as well as five Spanish transports, with 700 Spanish soldiers. The enlarged Chilean navy was placed under the command of dashing Lord Cochrane, a very distinguished admiral of the British Royal Navy, then under a cloud at home, who took service under the Chilean flag, attacked and defeated the Spanish navy at the port of Callao, capturing the flagship "Esmeralda," and so established Chilean naval supremacy in the Southern Pacific among the American Republics.

In that navy, consisting of nine men-of-war and sixteen transports, San Martin left Valparaiso for the Peruvian coast on August 20, 1820,* with an army of 4,118 men, of which 2,313

*It may be interesting to give a list of the ships which constituted the first Chilean navy, when the squadron left Valparaiso for Peru on August 20, 1820, under Lord Cochrane, and the way in which they were obtained.

Ship of the line "San Martin," of 64 guns, called before "Cumberland," which

were Argentines and 1805 Chileans. Eighteen days later he landed in Peru near the city of Pisco, to the south of Lima. The viceroy had over 23,000 men under his command, which he could concentrate against San Martin, and it required great generalship and fine manœuvering to baffle the Spanish army. After remaining a month and a half at Pisco, and sending a portion of his army to the interior to raise the people in favor of independence, San Martin sailed with the remainder of his army, on October 29, 1820, to Ancon, a port 20 miles north of Lima. When the Spanish army was being concentrated against him there he moved again, on November 8, having possession of the sea, to Huacho, about 70 miles north of Lima, thus severing the communication of the viceroy with his northern provinces. In the meantime the principal towns of Peru began to join the independent cause, and even a portion of the native army of the viceroy joined San Martin. The Viceroy was thus forced to evacuate Lima on July 6, 1821, and it was forthwith occupied by San Martin.

San Martin foresaw with his clear mind the great unrest and political turmoil which the adoption of republican institutions would necessarily entail upon the new nations, as they were not prepared for a form of government which requires an enlightened people, capable of self-government, and he therefore, as well as the Argentine government under Pueyrredon, favored the establishment of a monarchy, Bolivar being decidedly for a republican form of government.

San Martin was not to accomplish by himself his final object, as that task was reserved to Bolivar. In 1822 San Martin's con-

belonged to the English East India Company, and was bought for $200,000 at Valparaiso by the Chilean government in 1818. Frigate "O'Higgins," 44 guns, formerly called "Maria Isabel," captured at Talcahuano October 28, 1818. Frigate "Lautaro," 50 guns, called before "Windham," belonging to English and American merchants of Valparaiso, was sold to the Chilean government for $180,000, June, 1818. Frigate "Independencia," 28 guns, formerly called "Curacio," bought in the United States for $150,000, June, 1819. Frigate "Calvarino," 18 guns, formerly called "Lucia," was bought by the Chilean government in 1818 for $70,000. Frigate "Araucano," 16 guns, called before "Columbus," bought in the United States for $33,000. Brig "Pueyrredon," 18 guns, called before "Aguila," belonged to the Spanish navy and entered Valparaiso in February, 1817, without knowing that the port was in the possession of the patriots. Schooner "Montezuma," 7 guns, captured at Callao in 1819. Sloop "Chacabuco," 20 guns, called before "Coquimbo," bought in Valparaiso in 1818. This ship remained to guard the Chilean coast.

The transports captured by the Chilean navy, and some of which were used to carry the army to Peru, were the "Magdalena," "Dolores," "Corlota," "Rosalia," and "Helena," formerly belonging to the Spanish government and captured by Admiral Blanco Encalada, and the merchant ships "Regina," "Aguila," "Victoria," and "Jeresana," captured by Lord Cochrane. Frigate "Thomas" was captured at Talcahuano June 8, 1818. Brig "San Miguel" was captured by the "Lautaro" in 1817. "Perla" and "Potrillo" were Chilean vessels which had been captured by the Spanish and recaptured by Lord Cochrane.

dition in Peru was difficult, as his army had been considerably reduced by hard service and sickness, he having only 8,500 men, many of them raw recruits, while the viceroy had in Upper Peru about 19,000 men who could be easily concentrated in a comparatively short time. San Martin thought it necessary, therefore, to have the assistance of Bolivar to give a speedy finishing blow to the Spanish dominion in Peru, and he proposed to meet Bolivar. They met in Guayaquil on July 26 and 27, 1822.

No authentic report of that interview has ever been published, and this has given rise to many surmises about its objects and results. From the events which preceded and followed the same, and from a letter written soon afterward by San Martin to Bolivar on August 29, 1822, and his conversations with friends, there is room to form an idea of what took place at the meeting. San Martin offered Bolivar to serve under his orders, if he would go with his victorious armies to Peru ; but his proposal was not accepted, Bolivar saying that he could not leave Colombia without permission from the Colombian Congress, and he only agreed to send 1,500 men of his army to aid San Martin. It is well known that San Martin and Bolivar differed greatly in their views on many subjects relating to the work that they both had undertaken. The difference of opinion between the two regarding the government of the new states was another factor which contributed to prevent their acting in accord. One cause of irritation between them was the question of the port of Guayaquil, which San Martin thought ought to belong to Peru, or be decided by negotiations between the Colombian and Peruvian governments, while Bolivar had already annexed it to Colombia. San Martin understood that he was in Bolivar's way, and sincerely wishing the success of the cause of independence, proved himself a true patriot and a great man, preferring to sacrifice his future, and decided to withdraw from his field of operations, leaving his competitor alone with the sole responsibility for the course of future events.

San Martin consequently returned to Peru, where he had previously convoked a national congress to organize the country, and on the very day when congress met, on September 20, 1822, he resigned his command in Peru and sailed for Chile.

Bolivar's career was still more eventful. He fought the Spanish both in Venezuela and New Granada with very varying

success from 1810 to 1817, being sometimes victorious and as often crushed and defeated, and being twice obliged to fly from the country and take refuge in foreign lands. Finally he asserted his supremacy, and at the battle of Boyacá, fought on August 7, 1819, he achieved the independence of New Granada and captured Bogotá, its capital, while at Carabobo, fought on June 24, 1821, he achieved the independence of his native land, Venezuela, having previously occupied its capital, Caracas.

Bolivar, like San Martin, realized that his success could not be permanent, as long as the Spaniards were in possession of the neighboring countries, and more specially Peru, the principal Spanish stronghold in South America, which they used as a base of attack against the new nationalities, and he therefore decided to attack them first in Ecuador and eventually go to Peru. Both armies, each from opposite ends of South America, converged on Peru with the same object in view, of putting an end to the Spanish domination. He consequently marched his army to Ecuador and defeated the enemy at Bomboná on April 7, 1822, and achieved the independence of that country at the battle of Pichincha, fought on May 24, 1822.

As San Martin predicted, the patriots' army in Peru was defeated after he left the country, both at Torata and Moquegua. After those defeats and the destruction of the army organized by Peru, under General Santa Cruz, the Peruvian government made a treaty with Colombia on April 12, 1823, for the purpose of having the assistance of 6,000 troops, and finally after the country had fallen into anarchy, Bolivar made his appearance in Lima, where he was hailed as the Liberator of the country, the Peruvian congress appointing him, by decree dated at Lima on August 10, 1823, Dictator and Liberator of Peru, thus giving him entire civil and military control over the country, and realizing San Martin's prediction.

Bolivar, in full charge of the combined Peruvian, Chilean and Argentine armies as well as the whole of the Colombian army, marched against the Spaniards in Upper Peru, and fought and defeated at Junin, on August 6, 1824, a cavalry division, the flower of the Spanish army, and gave the finishing blow to the Spanish domination in South America, at the battle of Ayacucho, on December 9th of the same year, where Bolivar's army was commanded by Sucre. The Viceroy of Peru, General

La Cerna, had at Ayacucho 10,000 Spanish veterans, while Sucre had only 6,000 men; the Spaniards lost 2,000 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners, and the rest of the army surrendered to Sucre, who sent them home at Peru's expense.

Both San Martin and Bolivar died poor. San Martin ended his life in Europe in 1850, as a self-exile, without attempting to interfere in any manner with, or exercise any influence on, the political destinies of his country or of those in whose liberation he had so effectually assisted; while Bolivar died in Santa Marta in 1830, at the age of 47, broken hearted at the disruption of the Republic of Colombia, at the breaking out of civil war in his country, and at the ingratitude of many he had befriended.

When the enormous difficulties are considered that the liberating armies had to contend with, traversing immense distances in a very difficult and broken country without railways or even wagon roads, having often to transport their artillery on mule back, without any commissariat or money to pay the army, and often even without arms or ammunition, it is really wonderful what those men did. Indeed, their march can be advantageously compared to Alexander's invasion of Persia, with the difference in Alexander's favor that he went into a rich country and had at his disposal the spoils of the Persian royal family, one of the richest at that time, while these men went into a poor and unsettled country, terribly ravaged by a destructive war.

In Mexico, as in all the other Spanish colonies, the war of independence had begun in 1810, and we consider that it ended on September 27, 1821, when Iturbide entered the City of Mexico with his victorious army, although the war had been practically ended when the Spanish Viceroy O'Donaju signed with Iturbide at the city of Cordova on August 24, 1821, a treaty in which he recognized on behalf of the Spanish government the independence of Mexico.

In what is now called Central America the people remained under the Spanish government without any attempt to proclaim independence, very likely because they thought they could not cope with the power of the Spanish viceroy in Mexico. When they heard of Iturbide's success, however, they proclaimed their independence and annexation to Mexico on September 15, 1821. They seceded from Mexico in 1823, and established then, and not until then, the Central American con-

federation, under the name of the United Provinces of Central America, a confederation which lasted until 1839, when each of the five states became an independent nation.

This statement of facts shows that on March 8, 1822, when Mr. Monroe asked Congress to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, Mexico, the Central American States, New Granada, Venezuela, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile, had fully accomplished their independence, and in Ecuador and Peru independence was practically accomplished, as Bolivar's army was then fighting under General Sucre at Ecuador, and the Spanish viceroy had evacuated Lima on account of San Martin's manœuvres since July 6, 1821. The independence of Bolivia, or Upper Peru as it was then called, had been practically accomplished when San Martin invaded Chile in 1817.

The above facts show that I was correct in saying that the United States government recognized the independence of the Spanish colonies, after they had fully accomplished the same, but that statement did not imply any complaint against this government, as the recognition of independence is the recognition of a fact which cannot be recognized before it has actually occurred. Any other conduct would have implied an alliance between the revolted colonies and the United States, and it would have been unreasonable for the colonies to expect this country to enter into any such alliance with them.

In making that assertion I have only repeated what distinguished statesmen, public men and prominent writers of this country have said before in a more clear manner, and I quoted in my article an authority containing a very explicit opinion on this subject. It would take a great deal more space than it is proper to occupy were I to quote the many declarations of American statesmen bearing on this matter, and I will, therefore, only quote one from Mr. John Quincy Adams, in a report which he made as Secretary of State to President Monroe, dated August 24, 1816, published in *Wharton's International Law Digest*, paragraph 70, Chapter III., page 521, Volume I., second edition :

"There is a stage in such revolutionary contests when the party struggling for independence has,'as I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when the independence is established as matter of fact, so as to leave the chance of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral

nation, must, of course, judge for itself when this period has arrived; and as the belligerent nation has the same right to judge for itself, it is very likely to judge differently from the neutral, and to make it a cause or pretext for war, as Great Britain did expressly against France in our Revolution, and substantially against Holland. If war thus results, in point of fact, from the measure of recognizing the contested independence, the moral right or wrong of the war depends upon the justice and sincerity and prudence with which the recognizing nation took the step. I am satisfied that the cause of the South Americans, so far as it consists in the assertion of independence against Spain, is just. But the justice of a cause, however it may enlist individual feelings in its favor, is not sufficient to justify third parties in siding with it. The fact and the right combined can alone authorize a neutral to acknowledge a new and disputed sovereignty."

Senator Money thinks that my assertion is incorrect, and he states that "as far as the law of nations would permit it, we (the United States) certainly gave material support to the cause of freedom in South America," and mentions in support of his assertion "the curious spectacle afforded of two ships exactly alike, built at the same time, in the same American shipyard, one for the Spanish king, and one for his insurgent subjects." If the laws of this country allowed such a proceeding, it was not an act in support of the revolted Spanish colonies, and neither was it an act in support of the king of Spain. Anything that is done for both of the contending parties cannot be said to be in favor of either of them or be looked upon as an act of great material or moral support.

As early as December 10, 1811, a resolution was reported by a committee of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, on the recognition of the independence of the South American Provinces, which was not acted upon. Several others were afterwards introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress expressing sympathy with the insurrection of the American colonies, and this fact is mentioned in support of the assertion that the cause of independence had the moral support of the United States. I was very well aware of the very deep sympathy that the cause of independence awoke in the people of the United States and especially in the breast of Mr. Clay, who was the leader of the House on that subject, and I referred to it in my paper, giving it as much space as I possibly could; but a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives, specially when it is voted down, as were most of Mr. Clay's resolutions, cannot be called an act of moral assistance from the government of the United States, and my assertion referred to the

government and not to the people of the United States, whose sympathies, I know, were entirely with us.

The correctness of this statement appears very clearly from the following extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Gallatin, United States Minister at Paris, to Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, on November 5, 1818, and published in *Wharton's International Law Digest*, paragraph 70, Chapter 111, page 522, Volume I., second edition :

"I had upon every occasion stated that the general opinion of the United States must irresistibly lead to such a recognition; that it is a question, not of interest, but of feeling, and that this arose much less from the wish of seeing new republics established, than that of the emancipation of Spanish-America from Europe. . . . We have not, either directly or indirectly, excited the insurrection. It had been the spontaneous act of the inhabitants, and the natural effect of causes, which neither the United States nor Europe could have controlled. We had lent no assistance to either party ; we had preserved a strict neutrality. But no European government could be surprised or displeased that in such a cause our wishes should be in favor of the success of the colonies, or that we should treat as independent powers those amongst them which had in fact established their independence."

The fact, mentioned also by me, of several missions being sent by the United States government to the struggling colonies to ascertain the true condition of things, and act accordingly, is also mentioned by Mr. Money in support of the assertion that this government gave moral support to the independent cause ; but it seems to me that if an agent or a commission is sent to inquire whether independence has been accomplished and no action is taken by the government after sending such agent or commission, the necessary inference is that the struggle was not in a condition to be recognized, and therefore the result of such measure had necessarily to be, although not intentionally so, against the struggling patriots and in favor of their enemy.

The facts mentioned by Senator Money of the "tardiness and difficulties of communication at that time, the dissensions among the insurgents, the efforts of Peru, Chile, and La Plata to organize New Granada and Venezuela into a confederate republic, and those of the Central American States, in the same direction ; the continued talk of alliances, offensive and defensive ; the fear that early recognition of belligerency might prevent the negotiation or ratification of the treaty of 1819 ceding Florida to the United States ; the swarms of privateers who on the South Atlantic and on the Spanish Main flew the insurgent flags and

committed the most atrocious acts of piracy," might have been sufficient to justify the United States in delaying recognition, if a complaint had been made on that point; but the question is not whether the action of the United States is or is not justifiable, but whether the government of the United States rendered any assistance to the insurgents before independence was accomplished. The United States followed a proper course under the circumstances. I must remark, however, that I was not aware that some of the incidents referred to had taken place.

To be sure, the United States government had recognized the belligerency of the revolted colonies before President Monroe asked Congress, in his message of March 2, 1822, to recognize their independence, but that was the recognition of a fact.

I have not been able to find the date of any declaration, if any was formally made, by which the United States recognized the belligerency of the revolted Spanish colonies. In Mr. Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, he says that they had enjoyed belligerent rights. He made the same statement in his annual messages of December 2, 1817, and December 7, 1819, as in the former he said "that the United States has maintained impartial neutrality between Spain and its provinces, our ports have been open to both, etc.," a statement which he corroborates in the latter in the following words: "An impartial neutrality has been followed in the Civil War between Spain and the Spanish Provinces in America, . . . and our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, etc."

I must remark that several of the revolted Spanish colonies had from the beginning of the struggle armies which could compete with and often defeat the best troops of the Spanish army, who had fought in the Peninsula against Napoleon; had issued constitutions and organized regular governments; had in some cases improvised a navy which defeated the Spanish armada, and captured and held their respective capitals. They were therefore real belligerents engaged in a lawful war of independence.

Far from intending to belittle the importance of the recognition of belligerency, I, on the contrary, am glad to acknowledge it, not only as an act of justice but also as a favor. Although, generally speaking, the granting of what one considers to be a right is not taken as a favor, nevertheless it is so, when the third party can, in the exercise of his sovereignty, ignore the

right, as it can do, being the only judge of its obligations, and there being no way to compel its recognition, unless by force, which in that case was, of course, altogether out of the question.

But that recognition did not, of course, prevent the United States government from enforcing its neutrality laws, as appears from a list of individuals and vessels prosecuted during 1815 for violating the neutrality of the United States in and of the governments of the United Provinces of New Granada and the United Provinces of Mexico, transmitted by the Secretary of State on January 10, 1817.

I believed that, among Americans of Spanish origin, I was perhaps as well prepared as any other to appreciate the scope and transcendent result of the policy announced by President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine, and I am sorry that my remarks on that subject could be misunderstood. I did not say "that the Monroe doctrine was of no material advantage to the new republics," and much less "that it was of no value as giving moral support." My remarks about the Monroe doctrine were only elementary and were intended specially to make plain its meaning and scope to the American republics, where in some cases it is misunderstood, being construed into a policy which has for its object the final absorption by the United States of all the American republics. If the paragraph of my paper referring to this point is carefully read, it will be seen that my assertion to the effect that the recognition by the United States of the independence of the Spanish colonies in America was only theoretical, referred to Mr. Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, in which he announced such recognition, and not to his message of December 2, 1823. All the remarks which bear on the subject of the Monroe doctrine are, therefore, without foundation.

I have great respect for Mr. Clay, who was, as I have just said, a sincere friend of the revolted Spanish colonies, and I would not willingly say anything to impeach his patriotism or integrity. I did not imagine, therefore, that my remarks in examining Mr. Clay's reasons for requesting the governments of Mexico and Colombia, on behalf of the government of the United States, to suspend a joint expedition that they were fitting out against Cuba, could be construed as a charge of insincerity either against Mr. Clay or against President John Quincy

Adams, whom I equally respect for his pure patriotism, high character and integrity, and lofty views, and who I well know was not a pro-slavery man. I did not say nor imply that the reasons stated by Mr. Clay were imaginary, and, much less, that he had advanced them knowing them to be unfounded; what I said was that I thought that besides the reasons expressed in Mr. Clay's letter there might have been others, and I acknowledge that my surmise may be incorrect.

As considerations which supported my assertion, which, as I have just said, was only a surmise, I had the fact that Mr. Clay was a Southern man, and that President Adams' administration was the result of a compromise in which he could not well support a policy which might in some way affect the slavery question in the United States, then the leading question in this country. Senator Money states that "the reason mentioned as given by Mr. Clay was not the only one which he avowed." The only official paper I have seen on that subject, and the one on which I based my statement, was a letter addressed by Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, to Mr. Everett, United States Minister to Madrid, dated April 13, 1826, enclosing a copy of his letter to the Colombian and Mexican Ministers in Washington, of December 20, 1825, in which he recommended the suspension of the combined expedition, and which was published in March of the present year by the *Monitor*, a newspaper of the City of Mexico, a translation of which I insert below.* If Mr. Clay avowed any other reasons, I am not aware of them. I expressed the opinion that Mr. Clay had other reasons besides those which he stated, and I am glad to be in accord with Senator Money on this point, possibly our only difference of opinion being which were those other reasons not avowed.

* The letter referred to is the following, which, as it has been retranslated from Spanish into English, cannot have the same wording as the original:

"WASHINGTON, April 13, 1826.

"I addressed on the 20th of last December a note to the Ministers of Colombia and Mexico, copy whereof I enclose, for the purpose of inducing their respective governments to suspend any expedition which they might be preparing, either individually or collectively, against the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

"Great Britain is firmly convinced that the United States will never consent that those islands should belong to England, no matter what might be the consequences of such policy. France is also aware that we would not be indifferent to her obtaining the possession of said islands.

"The situation of the great maritime powers (the United States, Great Britain, and France) is nearly equivalent to an absolute guarantee of the possession of those islands in favor of Spain, but it is impossible to enter into any agreement by treaty guaranteeing such possession, and the President wishes you should let the Spanish Government know that we cannot bind ourselves to any obligation whatever looking to such guarantee. You must continue to decline any proposition for that purpose, if any such is presented."

Studying further this subject, I have found that the United States could not have acted in any other manner than they did in this case, for the simple reason that they had committed themselves to follow that course. This fact appears very clearly stated in the following extract from a note by Mr. Richard Henry Dana, to paragraph 68, page 106, Chapter II. of Part II., of *Wheaton's Elements of International Law,* Boston edition of 1866, which shows at the same time that the people of Cuba, far from being entirely satisfied with the Spanish rule, desired their emancipation from the mother country, when the other American colonies of Spain had either already accomplished their independence or were fighting for the same:

"The people of Cuba, already divided between the parties of the king and the Cortes, and terrified by symptoms of slave insurrections, had among them large numbers who, dissatisfied with Spanish rule, looked to other powers for protection—some to Great Britain, but far the larger part to the United States. About September, 1822, the latter party sent a secret agent to confer with President Monroe. They declared that if the United States government would promise them protection, and ultimate admission into the Union, a revolution would be made to throw off the Spanish authority, of the success of which they had no doubt. While this proposition was before Mr. Monroe's cabinet, he received an unofficial and circuitous communication from the French Minister, asserting that his government had positive information of the design of Great Britain to take possession of Cuba. The American government replied to the Cuban deputation that the friendly relations of the United States with Spain did not permit us to promise countenance or protection to insurrectional movements, and advised the people of Cuba to adhere to their Spanish allegiance; at the same time informing them that an attempt upon Cuba by either Great Britain or France would place the relations of Cuba with the United States in a very different position. Mr. Rush was instructed to inform Mr. Canning that the United States could not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by any European power other than Spain, and to inform him of the rumors that had reached the cabinet. Mr. Canning disavowed emphatically all intention on the part of Great Britain to take possession of Cuba, but avowed her determination not to see with indifference its occupation by either France or the United States, and proposed an understanding between the British, French, and American governments, without any formal convention, that Cuba should be left in the quiet possession of Spain. This was assented to by Mr. Monroe; but he had no communication with France on the subject, leaving that to the management of Great Britain."

The fact that the slavery question had something to do in this case appears also stated in the following extract from a note of Mr. Dana's on the Monroe Doctrine to *Wheaton's Elements of International Law,* above quoted, paragraph 68, page 111, Chapter II., Part II.:

"The slaveholding interest was clearly looking to Cuba, not only as an addition to its political power in the Union, but to prevent abolition of slavery there by some other power; and it is known that Mr. Adams had a noticeable leaning in favor of its importance to us in a military and commercial view."

The Cubans had been conspiring to proclaim their independence since similar movements began on the mainland. The example of the Spanish colonies in America which had revolted against the mother country and accomplished their independence could not but influence the Cubans to attempt to attain the same object. Mr. Ballou, of Massachusetts, who in 1854 visited Cuba, and who remained there for a long time, returned to this country and wrote a book on that subject, in which he says:

"When the Cubans saw that their brothers in the Spanish-American colonies had revolted against the mother country, and that most of them had secured their independence, they thought of following in their footsteps, and in 1823 the disaffected party conspired against Spain, relying on the promise of Simon Bolivar of throwing an invading force into the island. The conspiracy was discovered and suppressed prematurely. In 1826 some Cuban agitators residing in Caracas attempted a new expedition which failed and caused the execution of Don Francisco de Puero y Velazco and Don Bernabe Sanchez."

Senator Money seriously misunderstands me when he says that Mr. Clay's caution is regarded by me as unfriendly. I did not express any such opinion, as my object was merely to mention a fact without commenting on it.

How Mr. Clay's action on this question could be of the most vital service to Mexico is more than I can comprehend. Spain did not feel the necessity of terminating the war with the colonies already gone from her in order to secure Cuba and Porto Rico, as she was bent on recovering Mexico, and in 1829 she sent an armed military expedition for that purpose under General Barradas, which landed at Tampico. It was not until 1836, when all hopes of recovering her dominion in Mexico were lost, that Spain recognized our independence.

The assertion that Mexico did not emancipate her few slaves until several years after the events considered in the paper that I am examining is incorrect. The leader of the independent movement, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, proclaimed independence on September 16, 1810, and on December 6 of the same year he issued a decree abolishing slavery, and the slaves were emancipated in such places as were under the patriots' control.

The first Mexican Congress, which met at Chilpancingo in 1813, and issued a constitution on October 22, 1814, promulgated also a decree abolishing slavery; and as soon as independence was accomplished the abolition of slavery was ratified by another decree issued on July 13, 1824, soon after the City of Mexico had been occupied, and it was then carried into effect in the whole country. The fact that our present constitution of 1857 repeats the prohibition against holding slaves in Mexico, a provision which also appears in all our former constitutions, has caused the common opinion prevailing in this country that we only abolished slavery in 1857.

I shall be entirely satisfied if I have succeeded in showing in this paper that there is nothing in the former one that can reasonably be taken as a complaint against the government of the United States, or any censure of its policy, as my only purpose was to state facts which are matter of history, and which are, I think, highly creditable to this government.

M. ROMERO.

THIRTY YEARS OF AMERICAN TRADE.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE foreign trade of the United States is relatively small. With a territory as large as Europe and a population double that of Great Britain; with domestic industries which nearly equal the aggregate of those of Great Britain, France, and Germany,* the American people carry on less trade with foreign nations than any of the three aforesaid countries, the ratio of such trade being only $25 per inhabitant of the United States, against $36 in France or Germany and $92 in Great Britain. There has been, nevertheless, a prodigious development of American trade in the last quarter of a century, viz.:

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	
1867–71	425	340	765	20.10
1872–81	548	635	1,183	25.70
1882–91	712	763	1,475	25.40
1892–96	772	892	1,664	24.50

Comparing the fourth period with the first, we find that in 25 years there was an increase of 82 per cent. in imports, 162 per cent. in exports. It may be asked, why have not both branches of commerce advanced equally? The reason would appear to be that in the period 1867–71 the Union, and especially the Southern States, had not recovered from the disastrous effects of civil war.

Subsequently the productive powers of the republic came into play, with force augmented every year, until the value of exports in 1892–96 rose to an annual average of $13 per inhabitant, against $9 in 1867–71.

There can be no doubt that trade received a great impulse

* In 1894 the domestic industries of the United States reached 14,330 million dollars; the aggregate of those of Great Britain, France, and Germany 18,100 millions.

from the resumption of specie payments in 1880. Of this we have conclusive evidence when we compare the progress made in the last 20 years by the four principal commercial nations of the world, viz.:

	Million dollars.			Ratio of increase. Per cent.
	1876.	1896.	Increase.	
United States	1,001	1,662	661	66
United Kingdom	3,034	3,542	508	17
Germany	1,790	1,997	207	11
France	1,814	1,862	48	3

Thus we see that the growth of the foreign trade of the United States far surpasses that of other nations, which is the more remarkable because 86 per cent. of American shipping is engaged in coasting or inland navigation, while the bulk of trade over the high seas is done on foreign bottoms, the energies of the people being mainly directed to the development of home industries and internal traffic.

2. *Import Trade.*—Textile manufactures constitute nearly one-sixth of all imports, but their relative importance is on the wane; such imports at present are equal to $1.80 per inhabitant, against $2.65 in the decade 1867–76. They are shown as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.			
	1867–76.	1877–86.	1887–91.	1892–96
Cottons	23	28	29	30
Woollens	41	34	49	37
Silks	25	30	35	31
Linens, etc	18	20	25	26
Total	107	112	138	124

It is gratifying to see the consumption of foreign textiles on the decline, since this is the result of augmented home manufacture.

The weight of fibre consumed in American mills has exactly trebled in twenty-five years, and we should have had to report a still more marvellous increase of textile industries but for the unwise tariff regulations against the importation of fibre. The duties upon hemp, flax, and jute were modified in 1891, those on wool removed in 1895, such measures resulting in greater activity among American mills. The consumption of fibre was as follows:

	Tons yearly.			
	1867–71.	1872–81.	1882–91.	1892–96.
Native wool	74,000	86,000	126,000	132,000
Imported wool	19,000	28,000	44,000	71,000
All wool	93,000	114,000	170,000	203,000
Cotton	205,000	315,000	470,000	610,000
Flax, jute, etc.	42,000	76,000	180,000	207,000
All fibre	340,000	505,000	820,000	1,020,000

In the census year 1890 the mills of the Union consumed 910,000 tons of fibre and produced textile goods to the value of 689 million dollars. Since then the consumption of wool has risen 33, cotton 30, and other fibres 20 per cent. There has been, however, such a fall of prices that the actual output as regards value may be estimated at 15 per cent. higher in cottons and woollens, 10 per cent. in other fibres, over the amount produced in 1890. Deduction being made for American textile goods exported (14 million dollars of cottons and 2 million dollars of hempen articles), the consumption of such goods is at present as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.
	Home-made.	Imported.	Total.	
Cotton goods	294	30	324	4.70
Woollens	328	37	365	5.30
Silks	114	31	145	2.10
Linens, bags, etc.	67	26	93	1.40
Total	803	124	927	13.50

The average annual consumption is $11.70 of home-made, $1.80 of imported, textiles per inhabitant.

Sugar and coffee come next after textiles in the list of imports, consumption increasing much faster than population, the surest proof of national prosperity and of an improved condition among the working classes, viz.:

	Tons consumed yearly.			Pounds per head.	
	1867–71.	1872–91.	1892–96.	1867–71.	1892–96.
Native sugar	40,000	118,000	240,000	2	8
Imported sugar	505,000	962,000	1,710,000	30	57
All sugar	545,000	1,080,000	1,950,000	32	65
Coffee	107,000	186,000	260,000	6	9

As compared with population, we find that the consumption of sugar has doubled, that of coffee risen 50 per cent. per inhabitant, in an interval of 25 years; and in connection with this subject, as showing how such articles of consumption are affected by increase

of wealth, we may point to the fact that the census of 1890 gave each inhabitant of the Union an average of $1,049, against $673 in 1870, that is a rise of 56 per cent. in the individual fortunes of the people.

The importation of fibre for use in American mills has risen in 25 years from 60,000 tons to nearly 300,000 tons yearly, the value being as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.				Weight
	Wool.	Silk.	Flax, etc.	Total.	tons.
1867-71	7	4	3	14	60,000
1872-81	13	7	6	26	102,000
1882-91	14	18	15	47	220,000
1892-96	21	24	16	61	280,000

The weight of imported fibre is now 28 per cent. of what is consumed, whereas in 1867–71 it did not quite reach 18 per cent. The true policy of the United States points to a free admission of all fibres, so as to stimulate textile industries, and thus render the country independent of foreign manufactures of this description.

The value of all fibre at present consumed in American mills averages two hundred and five million dollars yearly, or 3 dollars per inhabitant, and of this amount the imported stands for exactly 30 per cent.

Hardware figures as a minor article of import, and in each decade of the thirty years under consideration has uniformly averaged 39 million dollars yearly. But it would be correct to say that the United States do not import hardware, since the value exported is much larger; the latter reached 84 million dollars in 1896.

Here it may be observed that the hardware industry (including machinery) surpasses that of any other country; the output, according to the census of 1890, was eleven hundred and two millions of dollars, the product of 784,000 operatives, while the output of hardware in Great Britain is seven hundred and ten million dollars and that of Germany 520 millions.

In reviewing the import trade of the last thirty years, and comparing it with the amount of customs dues levied thereon, we cannot fail to be surprised at finding that a great reduction of duties has not led to a corresponding increase of imports per inhabitant. On the contrary, the consumption of imports per head has fallen.

	Million dollars yearly.		Percentage of duties.	Dollars yearly per inhabitant.	
	Imports.	Duties.		Imports.	Duties.
1867-76	495	176	35.5	12.40	4.40
1877-86	598	179	30.0	11.50	3.45
1887-91	760	222	29.2	12.40	3.62
1892-96	772	165	21.4	11.30	2.41

The ratio of import dues per inhabitant is now only $2.41, or little more than half what it was in the decade 1867-76, and yet the ratio of imports has fallen $1.10 per head. If consumption of imports were adequately affected by tariff, the imports of 1892-96 should have been about thirty per cent. higher, averaging $14.40 instead of $11.30 per head.

3. Export Trade.—We have already had occasion to observe that the expansion of exports has been double that of imports. The exports of thirty years may be summed up thus :

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1867-76.	1877-86.	1887-96.	1867-76.	1887-96.
Food	141	311	305	3.50	4.75
Cotton	196	203	227	4.90	3.55
Sundries	93	234	303	2.30	4.70
Total	430	748	835	10.70	13.00

The value of exported merchandise has doubled in 20 years, notwithstanding a fall of 40 per cent. in prices. In the same interval the weight of exports has almost trebled, as shown in the following table :

	Tons yearly.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1872-76.	1892-96.	1872-76.	1892-96.
Meat	190,000	590,000	10	20
Grain	2,660,000	6,220,000	140	205
Cotton	560,000	1,210,000	30	40
Petroleum*	910,000	3,850,000	47	127
Total	4,320,000	11,870,000	227	392

Thus it appears that as regards quantity three Americans now export as much as five did 20 years ago, which suffices to show how groundless are the predictions of some writers who tell us that as population increases so the surplus products for exportation must diminish. In the last 20 years population has risen from forty-five to seventy-one million souls, an increase of fifty-eight per cent., and at the same time the weight of exports has risen one hundred and seventy-five per cent; that is, three times as fast as population.

* A ton has 220 gallons.

The world is only beginning to have evidence of the enormous productive power of the United States.

In twenty years the production of grain has increased seventy-seven, meat seventy-two, per cent., as shown in the following table:

	Grain, tons yearly.			Meat, tons yearly.	
	1872-76.	1892-96.		1872-76.	1892-96.
Maize	27,200,000	43,400,000	Beef	1,300,000	2,610,000
Wheat	7,100,000	12,300,000	Mutton	340,000	440,000
Oats, etc	8,800,000	20,400,000	Pork	1,200,000	1,850,000
Total	43,100,000	76,100,000	Total	2,840,000	4,900,000

The quantities of food yearly exported are sufficient to feed 30 million persons in Europe, from which it appears that American farms raise food for 100 millions of people yearly. The Western prairies are capable of carrying double the present number of live stock, and producing ten times as much grain as they do, so that, for at least a century to come, there is every probability that the exportation of food will increase with population. The same is true as regards cotton, the crop having risen 125 per cent. in twenty years, viz.:

	Tons yearly.		
	Crop.	Export.	Home use.
1872-76	810,000	550,000	260,000
1892-96	1,820,000	1,210,000	610,000

The cotton fields, which, at present, cover 24 million acres, may be doubled or trebled in area, and as the world receives 77 per cent. of its cotton from the United States, it is to be expected that production and export will go on increasing as rapidly as they have done since 1876.

As regards petroleum, the supply seems practically inexhaustible; exports since 1893 have exceeded 900 million gallons yearly, having doubled in the last ten years. In a word, from whatever point of view, the prospects of American exports are in favor of constant increase.

4. *Trade with Europe.*—There is a decided tendency in the trade of the United States to open up new channels in other parts of the world than Europe. There is an exception as regards Germany, with which country commercial relations have made striking progress in ten years, viz:

With	Trade, million dollars yearly. 1882–86	1892–96	Ratio of increase.
Great Britain	561	584	4 per cent.
Germany	123	179	45 "
France	126	123	0 "
Other countries	158	207	31 "
Europe	968	1,093	12 "
Other ports	446	571	28 "
The world	1,414	1,664	18 "

The increase of trade with Europe has been only 12 per cent., while with other parts of the world it has been 28 per cent. The declining ratio of trade with Great Britain is very remarkable. In 1872–76 the mother country stood for 45 per cent. of the foreign trade of the United States, but the ratio fell to 40 per cent. in 1882–86, and to 35 per cent. in 1892–96. When we bear in mind the free-trade policy of Great Britain, and the similarity of language and race of the two countries, this decline of trade is phenomenal, seeing that it is coeval with an increase of dealings with Germany.

5. *Wanted, a North American Trade Union.*—The interests of the United States, Mexico, and Canada demand the immediate formation of a Zollverein or Commercial Union, which would abolish all custom houses between the three countries by an arrangement similar to the Zollverein, established in 1853, between Prussia, Bavaria, and the other sovereign states of Germany, without infringing on their political independence. Mexico seems ripe for a compact of this kind, as her trade with the United States is increasing, and Canada shows a similar tendency, viz. :

Trade with	Million dollars yearly. 1887–91.	1892–96.	Rate of increase.
Mexico	48	60	25 per cent.
Canada	80	90	12 "

But for the existing barriers of custom houses and tariffs the trade between the United States and Canada would be double what it is, which means that the loss of trade to Canada by the present system is 45 million dollars yearly, or $9 per inhabitant, and to the United States 45 millions, or 60 cents per inhabitant. The relative loss, therefore, falls fifteen times more heavily on Canadians than on the people of the United States, and the longer this state of things continues the worse for the

Dominion. There ought to be, as far as commerce is concerned, no more barrier between Canada and New England than between New York and Pennsylvania. The census of 1890 shows us that 8 per cent. of the population of the New England States is composed of Canadian farmers!

6. *Trade With West Indies and South America.*—The gross amount of trade, imports and exports, between the United States and the West Indies has declined in the last twenty years, partly owing to the diminished value of sugar, partly to the troubles in Cuba, as shown in the following table:

	Million dollars yearly.		
Year.	Cuba.	Other islands.	All West Indies.
1872-76	84	34	118
1882-86	58	50	108
1892-96	65	42	107

While there has been on the whole a falling off, this is not true of the British islands (especially Jamaica and Trinidad), with which, on the contrary, American trade has risen 95 per cent. in the above interval, those islands finding a profitable market for tropical fruits in the seaport cities of the Union. The returns of American trade with three of the principal islands show thus:

Trade with:	1875. Dollars.	1885. Dollars.	1895. Dollars.
Jamaica	3,400,000	5,100,000	9,700,000
Trinidad	1,900,000	4,600,000	4,900,000
Barbadoes	3,600,000	3,500,000	2,700,000
Total	8,900,000	13,200,000	17,300,000

The prosperity of the British West Indies is due in great measure to their proximity to the United States and the rapid development of trade that has resulted.

If Cuba were a British, instead of a Spanish, colony her trade would probably have trebled in the last 20 years, like that of Jamaica or Trinidad.

All the South American republics have opened up so many new channels of trade within the last 10 years between the northern and southern portions of the American Continent that we find an increase of 48 per cent. in their dealings with the United States, while the trade between Great Britain and South America has risen only 20 per cent. in the same time, viz.:

	American trade. Million dollars yearly.		British trade. Million dollars yearly.	
With	1882-86.	1892-96.	1882-86.	1892-96.
Brazil	46	85	56	56
Other republics	55	64	94	125
South America	101	149	150	181

Ten years ago British trade exceeded that of the United States in South America by forty-nine per cent.; at present the excess is only twenty-one per cent., which shows that before long the bulk of South American trade will be carried on with the United States.

7. *Current of Bullion.*—It is by no means easy to say how far the current of bullion is determined, or rather affected, by an excess of imports or of exports, but it is, nevertheless, interesting to observe the influx and outflow of the precious metals, viz.:

	Million dollars imported.			Million dollars exported.		
Period.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1877-86	349	138	487	184	223	407
1887-96	340	272	612	607	380	987
Twenty years	689	410	1,099	791	603	1,394

In the decade ending 1886 there was a net influx of 80 millions of the precious metals, but in that ending 1896 there was a net outflow of 375 millions. In both decades the exports of merchandise largely exceeded imports, the excess in the decade ending 1896 amounting to 701 million dollars. That is to say, during the last ten years the average annual surplus of merchandise exports was 70 million dollars, and yet so far from a net inflow of bullion there was an average outflow of the precious metals amounting to 37½ million dollars yearly.

This ought to show how erroneous are the old "balance-of-trade" theories, to the effect that whenever a country exported more merchandise than it imported the difference always came back in bullion, if not in the same year, at least within a given number of years.

8. *Internal Trade.*—In the preceding remarks no allusion has been made to the internal trade of the United States, which is nine times as great as the amount of interchange with foreign countries. It rose forty-nine per cent. in the interval of fourteen years, from 1880 to 1894, the increase of population having been thirty-six per cent.

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1880.	1894.	1880.	1894.
Agricultural products	3,350	3,882	67	57
Manufactures	5,360	9,372	107	142
Forests and fisheries	520	624	10	9
Minerals	384	452	8	7
Total	9,614	14,330	192	215

The average per inhabitant is $23 higher than in 1880, which shows that however rapid the growth of population the development of national resources is still more striking. If we count the working year as 300 days the internal trade will be found to average 48 million dollars daily, while external commerce is little over 5 millions. Moreover, the former progresses much faster, having risen (as we have seen) 49 per cent. since 1880, whereas foreign trade is hardly 10 per cent. higher. Internal trade is the best gauge of national progress, because it reflects the power, energy, and resources of a people.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

LEPROSY AND HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

BY PRINCE A. MORROW, M.D.

THE proposed annexation of the Hawaiian islands by the United States has excited a general interest in everything relating to these islands and their inhabitants. Their maritime importance to this country and the advantages which would follow annexation from a commercial standpoint have been fully set forth, but the sanitary aspects of the scheme have received no attention. When it is considered that more than ten per cent. of the Hawaiian race are affected with leprosy it becomes a serious question as to what will be the effect of the absorption of this tainted population upon the health interests of this country.

Incidentally it may be said that the history of the Hawaiian people furnishes many facts worthy of careful study by the student of sociology as well as the medical man. It presents the picture of a people, *facile princeps* among the Polynesian races, by their fine physical qualities and superior intelligence, inhabiting a group of beautiful islands—the "Paradise of the Pacific"—with a delightful climate and productive soil, surrounded by conditions most favorable for life, yet dying at a rapid rate. Civilization seems to have acted as a blight upon this people; under its withering touch they have dwindled by thousands each decade until now they number less than one-tenth the original population. At the time of Captain Cook's visit (1779) he estimated the population at nearly half a million. In 1823 it had decreased to 142,000; in 1853 the census showed 73,000, in 1873 56,000; in 1893 the native population did not exceed 35,000. No unfavorable influence of soil or climate or hardship can be invoked in explanation of the decay and death of the native race. It is not the outcome of a contest between a savage and a civilized race in which the weaker succumbs to the stronger, as exemplified

in the case of the North American Indian. It is not the result of a struggle for existence, since there can be no competition for subsistence in a land where nature is kindly and bountiful, and furnishes a supply of easily procured food sufficient for the needs of all. Under the same conditions which have led to the depletion of the Hawaiian race, and which threaten its ultimate extinction, the foreign races that have settled here have flourished and multiplied.

The causes which have led to the native depopulation are of great interest from a demographic point of view. Prominent among these causes must be placed the introduction of diseases peculiar to civilization. The germs of disease transplanted to this virgin soil have flourished with a rank luxuriance unknown in older communities. Virginity of soil, or lack of immunization, is recognized as a powerful factor not only in increasing susceptibility to disease but also in determining a special virulence and malignancy in its course.

The mortality from measles and whooping cough, introduced in 1849, was extraordinary, almost all of the cases terminating fatally. The ravages of small-pox introduced in 1853 were simply frightful; more than half the native population of Honolulu died from the disease. That this excessive mortality was largely due to the racial peculiarity of virginity of soil is evidenced by the fact that more recently, since the Hawaiians have acquired the partial protection of hereditary immunity, these same diseases no longer exhibit such a virulent type. It would be interesting to trace other factors in the depletion of the Hawaiian race, such as physiological peculiarities, the low birth rate, habits of living, etc., but want of space forbids. To the medical man the chief interest of these islands centers in leprosy, and it will be the object of this paper to give a brief account of the introduction of leprosy, its extraordinarily rapid spread, the measures adopted by the government for its suppression, and their results.

For the more intelligent comprehension of the lay reader, it may be well to begin with some general considerations respecting the nature of the disease, its communicability, etc. Leprosy is the most ancient and the most dreaded of all diseases; in the popular conception it represents the deepest dishonor that human flesh can suffer. The term "leprous" has crept into literature as expressive of all that is most foul, loathsome and unclean.

The popular horror of the disease is, perhaps, due not so much to a knowledge of its nature as to the harsh and cruel measures employed for its repression. The Levitical Code which decreed that the leper should be cast out of the city, stoned and driven away from the habitations of men, has, with some modifications, served as a model for sanitary laws in succeeding ages, although it must be admitted that such proscriptive measures are now carried out with more humanity and with a more intelligent discrimination than under the Mosaic dispensation. In the light of our present knowledge, it is evident that many simple cutaneous diseases, such as scabies, psoriasis, etc., were classed by the Jewish priests as leprosy.

For several centuries leprosy had practically disappeared from Europe and most civilized countries. When a leprous center was discovered in Norway about 50 years ago, it had for medical men much the interest of a resurrected disease. To-day it is spread over more than one-fourth the habitable surface of the globe. The Hawaiian Islands have afforded a better field for the study of the disease than any leprous center in the world. Owing to its comparatively recent introduction, the influence of heredity, of contagion and other conditions which are factors in its propagation, may here be traced with comparative precision.

The facts of our knowledge of this disease may be briefly summarized. The active cause of leprosy is a specific micro-organism, the *bacillus leprœ*. The period of incubation varies from a few minutes to several years.

Two principal types or forms of leprosy that are recognized as the brunt of the disease is determined toward the skin or toward the peripheral nervous system. The first form is termed tubercular; the second, anæsthetic, or nerve leprosy. In the first form infiltrations occur in the skin, forming nodules or tubercles, which are especially prominent about the forehead, cheeks, and ears; later, these nodules break down, forming ulcerating sores, often they occasion pictures of horrible deformity. The tubercular form is the most severe and rapidly fatal; the average duration of life is from five to ten years. In the anæsthetic form the nutrition of the skin is interfered with from implication of the nerves, leading to contractions and deformities of the members; not infrequently there is marked mutilation from the sinking in of the nose, the loss of the sight, and the

dropping off of the fingers and toes, so that only the stumps of the hands and feet remain. In this form the course of the disease is slower, and life may be prolonged to ten or fifteen years, or longer. Some patients exhibit the characteristics of both forms (mixed leprosy).

Leprosy is an exclusively human disease; it is not inoculable to animals. It is never of spontaneous origin, but is invariably derived from the lesions or secretions of a person similarly diseased. Its development in a country previously exempt from the disease may always be traced to its importation in the person of a leper from an infected center. We know nothing definitely of the mode of infection or the channels of entrance through which the bacillus gains access to the organism—whether by direct contact, by inhalation or imbibition of the germs, or by other intermediaries. Observation proves conclusively that every leper is a possible source of danger to all with whom he may come into intimate and prolonged contact.

That leprosy is a contagious, or rather a communicable disease, there is the most abundant and conclusive proof. Upon no other possible ground can be explained its remarkably rapid dissemination in the Sandwich Islands. To heredity was formerly ascribed the principal *rôle* in propagating the disease, but a more careful observation of the facts shows that its influence is inconsiderable or *nil*. In the first place, most lepers are sterile, and their limited offspring can furnish only a small contingent of the new cases, and in the next place it has been found that the children of lepers removed from contact with their parents rarely develop the disease.

The most incontrovertible evidence of the communicability of the disease is found in the fact that many foreigners coming from countries where leprosy is unknown, and whose antecedents are free from any possible leprous taint, have fallen victims. The numbers of such cases is by no means inconsiderable, and will be again referred to in connection with the foreign element in the leper colony of Molokai.

The history of leprosy in the Sandwich Islands covers a period of about one-half a century. The tradition among the natives is that it was introduced by the Chinese, and it has always been called by them the Chinese disease (*mai paka*). According to the most authentic records, the first case recognized among the

natives was about 1848. In 1863 the health authorities became alarmed at the rapid spread of the disease in the islands, and in 1865 the Legislative Assembly passed a law entitled "An act to prevent the spread of leprosy," which provided for the gathering together of all the lepers of the kingdom with a view to their isolation and treatment. The execution of this act was entrusted to the Board of Health. A hospital for the reception and examination of the lepers was established at Kalihi, near Honolulu, in November, 1865, and later a portion of the island of Molokai was purchased by the government to be used as a leper settlement, which was opened January, 1866. Within the first three months, 174 lepers were sent to the settlement. Since its establishment about 5,300 lepers have been received, of whom over 4,000 have died, leaving about 1,250, on January 1, 1897.

The method adopted by the sanitary authorities in dealing with leprosy is as follows. There are about twenty government physicians established in the various districts whose duty, in addition to providing for the wants of the sick poor, is to report all suspected cases of leprosy. The police officers are empowered to bring every suspected leper to the Kalihi reception hospital for examination. The examination takes place under the supervision of a board of three physicians who are selected for their especial fitness for this task. The patients are examined separately by each physician, who records his opinion. According to the verdict of the examining board the person is declared *clean*, a *suspect*, or a *leper*. Those in the first category are discharged, the suspects are kept under surveillance until either the suspicious symptoms have disappeared, or unmistakable signs of leprosy are manifest. The pronounced lepers are kept secluded and forwarded by the next boat to the leper settlement to remain there until they die.

The site chosen for the leper settlement is admirably adapted for the purpose in view. The northern shore of the island of Molokai rises abruptly to a height of from 2,000 to 4,000 feet, forming a continuous stretch of "pali" or precipices. At one point from the base of this precipitous coast-line a cape or tongue of land projects into the sea. Upon either side of this horseshoe-shaped cape are the two villages Kalawao and Kalapaupa, which, with the scattered cottages intervening, form the leper settlement. Surrounded on three sides by the ocean and walled in

behind by the pali, it combines the security of a prison with the advantages of a sanitarium. There are nearly 700 buildings in the settlement, 380 of which belong to the Board of Health, and about 300 are owned by the lepers. There are two Catholic churches, two Protestant, and one Mormon church. The Bishop home for leper girls, under the charge of the St. Franciscan Sisters, is situated at Kalapaupa. The Baldwin home for leper boys, under the care of Brother Joseph Dutton and his assistants, a hospital and dispensary, the house of the resident physicians, and other government buildings, are located at Kalawao.

Habitations for the lepers as well as supplies of food and clothing are furnished by the government. It will thus be seen that every provision is made for the material as well as the spiritual wants of these doomed creatures. In no other country are lepers treated with so much humanity and even liberality. One-tenth of the entire annual revenues of the government has for years been devoted to the Health Department. "Over two-thirds of all moneys expended by the Health Bureau is directly spent for the segregation and support of lepers and one-half of the remaining expense is indirectly caused by the presence of leprosy." Notwithstanding the generous provision made for the support of lepers, few of them live long to enjoy it. In the first years of the establishment of the settlement the great majority of lepers died within three years of their arrival, or from the fourth to the sixth year; not 10 per cent. lived longer than the eighth year. More recently the virulent type of the disease has been modified, or rather the milder anæsthetic type predominates and the average duration of life is longer. Still, none of them recovers; they are sent here to die, and sooner or later they fulfil their sad destiny.

We may now inquire what has been the result of thirty years' crusade against this gigantic evil, which is slowly sapping the life-blood of the Hawaiian people. Is leprosy on the increase or is it in process of extermination? Taking the records of the leper settlement as a basis of comparison, there would seem to be no hopeful signs of its extinction. In the first twenty years of its establishment to January 1, 1886, 3,076 lepers were sent to the settlement; in the next ten years 2,049 were admitted. This large increase of admissions may not be due to an actual increase in the number of lepers in the islands, but to more

active and vigorous methods of segregation. Again in the first-mentioned period the number of lepers at the settlement ranged from two to eight hundred, the average being about 500. In recent years the number has varied from 1,000 to 1,200. This large excess is explained by the health authorities on the ground that lepers are now sent here at an earlier stage of the disease and live longer than formerly. The annual death-rate among the lepers, which was formerly from 20 to 25 per centum, has been reduced to from 13 to 15 per centum.

As bearing upon the question of the increase or decline of leprosy, it is interesting to compare the opinions of the government physicians, which appear in the last report of the Board of Health. A few of them assert that there is "as much leprosy as ever"; most of them, however, sound a more hopeful note and declare that there are very few or no known cases of leprosy in their respective districts. Notwithstanding this optimistic view, the fact remains that the annual consignment of lepers to the settlement shows little diminution in number. This yearly increment of fresh admissions which goes to recruit the ranks of the rapidly dying population of Molokai is made up of previously undiscovered cases. All the indications point to the existence of a vast deal of latent leprosy, which, as the disease develops into a recognizable form, must continue for many years to come to furnish a constantly recurring series of subjects for the leper colony.

Finally, there remains to be considered the practical question of the danger to the health interests of this country involved in Hawaiian annexation. In addition to the 1,200 or more lepers at Molokai there are probably two or three times as many at large in whom the disease is latent, or in the incubative stage, yet none the less sure to develop. Each of these lepers carries with him the seeds of a deadly contagion. If it were a question of the transportation of this mass of infectious material into our midst there could be no doubt of the imminence of the danger. There is little ground, however, for apprehension on this score. The Hawaiian is essentially insular in his tastes and habits and shows little disposition to leave his native shores. It is probable, however, that with the relaxation of our strict quarantine regulations on the Pacific coast, which may be assumed would follow annexation, many lepers would, in their desire to escape Molokai,

emigrate to this country. The principal danger would come from the establishment of more intimate commercial relations, the opening up of new enterprises, inviting capital and labor and, consequent thereon, the influx of Americans into the islands and their exposure to contact with the tainted population. That such contact is not devoid of danger is evident from the number of foreigners who contract the disease. Dr. A. Mouritz, formerly resident physician of the leper settlement, writes January 1, 1897: "Year in and year out the lepers at the settlement average between 1,100 and 1,200, chiefly Hawaiians, but within the past year or two the disease is making among the foreigners here (white people) considerable inroads."

Leprosy is no respecter of persons or nationalities. In the first 20 years of the leper settlement, among the 3,076 admissions there were 22 Chinamen and 16 whites, about one per cent. Within the past 10 years the number of foreigners has averaged from 3 to 5 per cent. Thus in the last biennial report of the Board of Health, January 1, 1896, it appears that of the 1,087 lepers at the settlement there were 974 Hawaiians, 61 half-castes, 3 foreign parentage, 29 Chinese, 6 Americans, 5 British, 1 German, 4 Portuguese, 1 Spanish, 1 Russian, 1 Negro, 1 South Sea Islander. Exclusive of the half-whites, about five per cent. were foreigners. The statistics of the leper settlement by no means convey a fair indication of the actual number of foreigners who have contracted the disease. While the Board of Health assumes to act impartially in consigning to Molokai all lepers who come within its jurisdiction, irrespective of nationality, it is well known that foreigners are given the privilege of leaving the country, so that as a rule only the poorer and more destitute are committed. Besides, it has been the policy of the Board to return to their own country, when practicable, the Chinese and Japanese laborers who become lepers. Many foreigners learn the nature of their disease from their own physicians and voluntarily return to this country or Europe for treatment. A number of such cases have come under my personal observation.

In the event of annexation, it would be idle to think of confining leprosy to the islands, or rather excluding it from this country by quarantine measures. In its earlier stage leprosy defies detection, and no system of quarantine has ever been devised which would exclude the importation of a disease so lit-

tle manifest on ordinary inspection as leprosy; only the more advanced cases could be detected. There would seem to be no reasonable doubt that the annexation of Hawaii would create conditions favorable to the dissemination of the seeds of leprosy in this country. But for the propagation of a disease a suitable soil is an essential factor, and the question is whether the conditions of soil found here are favorable to the germination and growth of the seed. Upon this point the teachings of observation and experience throw a valuable light. Just as in the case of tuberculosis, with which leprosy presents many analogies, we find that climatic and other conditions exert a marked inhibitory influence upon its development. In the dry, cool climate of our Northwestern States, for example, leprosy does not appear to take root and flourish, but rather to die out from natural causes. Thus the 160 Norwegian lepers who years ago emigrated to this country and settled in the various Scandinavian colonies of the Northwest have not propagated the disease. It has practically died out with the death of its victims, and no new case has been traced to association with them. On the other hand the warm, moist, more tropical climate of our Southern seaboard seems favorable to the development of leprosy. There is a large number of lepers at Key West. In Louisiana there has been a notable and alarming increase of leprosy within the past few years. Dr. Blanc and Dr. Dyer, of New Orleans, have recently reported more than 150 cases as coming under their personal observation. Twenty-five years ago the disease was limited to a few cases in the Téche River district and was supposed to be practically extinct. Its recent remarkable outbreak proves that here, at least, given the seed, the conditions are favorable to its development.

Experience shows that in all countries where leprosy has become epidemic its advance is insidious; it spreads slowly, and before the health authorities awaken to the realization of the danger it has made such headway that its further progress cannot be arrested. All of these facts should be carefully considered and their importance from a sanitary point of view carefully weighed by our legislative authorities before deciding upon the annexation of Hawaii with its leprous population.

PRINCE A. MORROW.

THE PRESENT RAILWAY SITUATION.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

THE present railway situation may be briefly summarized. From the standpoint of the investor in railway enterprises the salient facts are: That rates and charges for transportation services are demoralized; that the law has imposed upon railway managers the unnatural burden of maintaining a costly, wasteful, and worse than useless competitive system; that the carrying corporations are allowed to combine neither for the establishment and maintenance of just rates, nor for the prevention of unjust discriminations; that nearly 40,000 miles of railways are in the hands of receivers; that railway securities having a par value of nearly four and one-half millions of dollars receive no return of interest or dividends, and that solvent lines are practically at the mercy of those of their competitors whose bankruptcy has relieved them from the necessity of attempting to earn a return upon at least their bonded indebtedness. The view presented to those who are forced to purchase railway services is not more satisfactory. The same unnatural competition that has been instrumental in reducing so many railway corporations to bankruptcy has produced an almost infinite series of unjust discriminations against individuals, communities, and classes of traffic. While average charges per passenger and per ton of freight per mile have considerably declined, the benefit of the reduction has accrued too largely to favored shippers and communities. Shippers who have been able, alone or in combination with others, to control traffic, the revenue from which was sufficient in the aggregate to be of great importance to particular railways, have been able to demand and secure favors in the adjustment of transportation charges, while the burden of relatively unjust charges has fallen heavily upon those least able to support it. Commu-

nities dependent upon a single line of railway have seen their business diverted to those served by two or more, yet have been constantly told that the multiplication of parallel and competing railways is economically unprofitable and socially detrimental. Those upon whom transportation charges fall most heavily are most frequently met, when they appeal for reductions, with statements showing that the railways serving them are unproductive to stockholders, if not bankrupt, conditions which are due to the enforced maintenance of a wasteful system of competition for traffic and to the lack of harmony among the several corporate entities that make up the railway system. The Interstate Commerce law has proved of little benefit. Though the amendments adopted by Congress since it was passed have been practically unimportant, the judicial interpretation it has received has left but little effective resemblance to what it was originally supposed to mean. The people will not rest supinely subject to these conditions. Congress will not by inaction confess itself impotent to successfully regulate interstate transportation, nor will investors in railway property prove ultimately incapable of convincing the general public that no righteous purpose is served by rendering unprofitable the industry of carrying persons and property by rail.

The legislative remedies tried during the last three decades have been generally based upon an assumed conflict between the respective interests of the roads and their patrons. Maximum rate laws, long and short haul restrictions, not always unproductive of mildly beneficial consequences; excessive and double taxing schemes, anti-association and anti-pooling legislation, the injustice and positively detrimental effects of which are now recognized by all wise publicists, have all had their origin in this supposed antagonism. They have also been universally based upon the theory that particular railway charges can be, and are likely to be, excessive and extortionate in themselves. As the only reasonable criterion of charges is the relation between the cost of supplying and operating railway facilities and the aggregate revenue received from disposing of the services they are created to perform, there can be no just approval or disapproval of a particular charge except in consideration of its relation to other charges. As injustice cannot be predicated of any rate except with regard to its relation to others, it is fortunate that the

equitable adjustment of these relations is the fundamental economic and social problem, or, in other words, that the exact amount charged in any case is of but little importance, while its relation to other charges is a paramount consideration in the conduct of the business affected.

What is to be considered an equitable adjustment of the burdens of transportation? It will be far easier to enumerate some of the things that cannot coexist with such an adjustment than to give it a positive definition. Relatively just charges will not make arbitrary or unjust discriminations among railway patrons, whether considered individually, as constituting communities, or as producers or consumers of particular commodities. They will not favor a particular individual on account of his political, social, or commercial standing, the character of the business in which he is engaged, the extent or number of his commercial transactions, or what is almost the same thing, the quantity of transportation that he purchases, nor *unduly* on account of the place of his residence or location of his farm, factory, warehouse, or store. Such rates will not place a locality at commercial disadvantage on account of the number of its inhabitants, the degree of their geographical concentration, or their political affiliations, nor on account of its economic organization, the character of its productive resources, nor the number, extent, or financial condition of the railway lines by which it is served. Violations of any of these conditions may result from the action of a single road in granting similar and contemporaneous services to different individuals upon varying terms or by the establishment of different and inharmonious schedules of rates by several railways. For example, if A and B simultaneously ship equal quantities of the same article between the same points and in the same direction, and A is charged less than B, the commercial disadvantage resulting to the latter is neither more nor less on account of the route traversed by either shipment. Similarly it can make no difference to a community competing with another community for the privilege of supplying a third with some necessary food product, whether the relatively unjust rate which deprives it of equal standing in the common market is over a line owned by the corporation over whose road the shipment from the unfairly favored locality must pass. Clearly, then, it is to be desired not only that single railways charge similar rates for similar

services, but that all railways capable of performing similar services establish and maintain the same schedules of charges. Anything less than this involves unjust discrimination and demoralization. Uniformity in charges made by independent corporations involves agreement among them upon mutually satisfactory schedules, and effective agreements upon matters so complex and subject to such rapidly varying conditions as railway charges, require continuous machinery for joint action. More than this, permanent uniformity cannot be maintained unless there be established some system which comprehends a substantial incentive for adherence to agreements once reached, and the substitution of a thorough understanding among railway managers of the genuine identity of the interests of the corporations they serve, for the superficial spirit of rivalry and conflict now too frequently prevalent. While the ownership of the railway system continues to be vested in a large number of legally separate corporations, this harmonization of interests can be achieved in a satisfactory degree only by the division of all traffic for which two or more routes are, from a commercial standpoint, practically available, among the carriers operating such routes in stipulated proportions according to contracts, the observance of which may be enforced by judicial process. Such division may, in most cases, be accomplished either by the physical division of business, or by the payment of money balances, supposed to represent the profits on the traffic carried in excess of the agreed proportions, to the line or lines not receiving their full share. In either case there exists what in common parlance is termed a "pool."

Considerations regarding the rights of investors in railway property have so far been purposely excluded; but at this point it is interesting and important to observe that the remedy indicated for the evils affecting those who purchase the use of railway facilities is that for which those who have provided and those who are charged with the duty of administering those properties have been for three decades continuously laboring. Thus the supposed antagonism between public and railway interests disappears upon more careful scrutiny; nor is it surprising, when the magnitude of the persistent error lying at the root of nearly all legislative action for full thirty years is perceived and acknowledged, that the laws

adopted while under its influence have proved disappointing and ineffectual.

Railway pooling is not an untried or wholly novel experiment in the United States. Though pools were earliest established in this country in New England, they were comparatively unimportant and the system first attained considerable development west of the Mississippi River. One of the most interesting, on account of the exceptionally long period of its uninterrupted existence and the simplicity of its machinery, included freight and passenger traffic carried between Chicago and Omaha, and continued from 1870 until superseded by a new organization in 1882. For seventeen years prior to the passage of the Interstate Commerce law there was but one period, and that of less than twelve months' duration, in which the traffic between these points was not subject to a pooling arrangement. The principal lines engaged in carrying anthracite coal to the Atlantic seaboard arranged a pool which went into operation on December 1, 1872, continuing until August, 1876. A pooling arrangement embracing the four roads connecting Atlanta, Ga., with the seaboard was formed in December, 1873; a money pool applying to both passenger and freight traffic between Chicago or Milwaukee and Saint Paul took effect on September 1, 1874; the so-called "Cattle Eveners' Pool" and the South Western Railway Association were organized during 1875; the Southern Railway and Steamship Association during 1876, and the Trunk Line Association during 1877. During 1878 it was authoritatively stated that the Illinois Central Railroad participated in more than twenty pools in the two states of Illinois and Iowa, and that the Chicago & Alton Railway was a party to twelve such arrangements. The rapidity of the development of the pooling system and its general acceptance by railway owners and managers affords considerable evidence of the necessity of such measures; though, when considered in connection with the fact that the pools were in nearly all cases of only short duration, it is by no means evidence of the sufficiency of those adopted.

Arrangements for the division of competitive traffic or the revenue derived from it constituted the most interesting and characteristic feature of American railway administration at the date of the passage of the Interstate Commerce law. Though that law expressly prohibited all such arrangements, the manner

in which the prohibitory clause was forced into the measure and the much greater frequency of acknowledgments of the necessity and beneficial results of pooling than of objections thereto in the testimony taken by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, as a preliminary to action on the measure, justify the statement that there was no preponderance of public sentiment in favor of such action. Whatever public condemnation the pooling system received, aside from that inspired by the irresponsible utterances of demagogues who found attacks upon railway corporations an easy and convenient means of attaining office, was due rather to the fact that these arrangements were never permanent, and in consequence never wholly eradicated the evils they should have corrected. Though after nearly a decade spent in the study of the social aspects of railroad transportation from the standpoint of a public official, Dr. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., stated in his annual report for 1879 that railroad pooling had come to be favored by the general public because it had proved to be "the means of arresting discriminations;" and the Iowa Railroad Commission, in its report for 1878, expressed the same idea by declaring that it considered "the pool as the only agency that can compel the through traffic to bear, as it should, its proportion of the interest on the cost and the expenses of maintaining and operating the roads," Mr. Albert Fink, the organizer and official head of the most complete pooling association ever established, was at almost the same time complaining of their inadequacy and of the necessity of legislation to give them legal sanction and effect. These facts serve to direct attention toward the essential difference between pooling, as practised in the United States prior to 1887, and the arrangements that will be permitted should the Foraker or Patterson bill, or a similar measure, be adopted by Congress. Too much importance can scarcely be assigned to this distinction. The pool of 1886 was an extra-legal arrangement, dependent for execution upon the good faith of the parties, upon the violation of which none of them would venture to appeal to the courts for redress. So lacking were these arrangements in the necessary cohesive qualities that each railway considered their abrogation an inevitable incident pending which constant vigilance was necessary in order that the day of dissolution should not find it an unready or a tardy contestant in the struggle for

traffic. The period during which a pooling contract was in operation was consequently one of armed neutrality, and, as in most cases between nations, that relation was regularly disturbed by instances of depredations by irresponsible members of the rival forces. As the apportionment of business in any pool which should follow a period of warfare would probably be based upon the proportions offered (if a tonnage pool) and carried (if a money pool) prior to the disruption of such an agreement, there was a strong incentive to take advantage of every opportunity for its violation which promised immunity from detection. Thus there was never an entire abandonment of the baneful practices of competition, there were always discriminations in favor of competitive traffic, and there were frequent periods during which all the evils of unjust discrimination operated to their fullest extent.

Whatever scheme for pooling may be finally adopted, it is certain that it will be in a very large degree free from these objections. The contracts permitted will have the express sanction of a Federal statute, and any carrier injured by the failure of another to abide by the terms of the pooling agreement may invoke judicial aid in securing whatever form of redress may be adequate. They will naturally provide for a definite period of operation, with, possibly, continuance thereafter subject to due notice of the intention of any party to withdraw. The possibility of unjust personal discriminations will be minimized by the discontinuance of separate soliciting for traffic, and the substitution of joint for independent ticket and freight agencies. Whenever the temporary divergent interests of separate bodies of stock and bondholders can be sufficiently subordinated to the general interest of all carriers in the satisfactory adjustment of the railway system to the ends for which it exists, the latter will be found to constitute a powerful agency in the elimination of unjust discriminations of all kinds, including those among competing localities and communities. When the exact proportion of competitive traffic which will fall to a particular route becomes as certain as that it will receive all of the non-competitive traffic, there will be no reason for favoring cities served by more than one road. The selfish interests of carriers will then make powerfully for justice, while such regulative instrumentalities as may be established by the public will have the advantage of dealing with a railway system that has become unified and homogeneous.

It is not to be understood that, having re-established the right to divide competitive traffic by agreement and surrounded it with incidents making toward effectiveness, Congress can forego the further regulation of interstate railway transportation. The legacy of evil resulting from methods pursued during thirty years will prove persistent without supplemental legislation. The experience of a decade has shown no error in the principles underlying the Interstate Commerce law except that actuating the attempt to perpetuate competition. In many instances the means provided were weak and almost valueless, in others the language employed failed to express clearly the intention of Congress, but there is no reason to believe that the necessity of a board of experts in transportation, with authority to adjudicate upon matters of disagreement between the public and the railways, to investigate complaints and award suitable redress, is any less than was at first supposed. In order, however, that the labor of such a board may become of material value, there must be provided an harmonious and homogeneous railway system with which it can deal, practically as though it were a unit instead of being obliged to act separately upon a thousand corporate entities; and in addition there must be substantial finality to its conclusions in regard to those technical, economic, and social facts which, being a board of transportation experts, it is best qualified intelligently to consider and wisely to determine. Though Congress refrained, no doubt wisely and possibly in obedience to constitutional limitations, from conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the powers of a Federal court, and that body must depend upon the latter for the enforcement of its decrees, the right exercised by the courts of considering each case *de novo* upon application for such enforcement, and the privilege of introducing new evidence and adopting a new line of defence extended to the railways, have been continually productive of confusion and delay. There is no constitutional objection to restricting Federal courts to a determination of the legal merits of each special case upon facts found by the Commission either on the original hearing or as supplemented by those elucidated at a rehearing, the case being remanded to the Commission for that purpose. For nearly the entire period of its existence it was supposed that the Commission had been given authority to prescribe, after due investigation, in which all inter-

ested parties had been accorded opportunity to introduce evidence, those rates which appeared reasonable and just. A recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that Congress did not effectually confer this power. It is important that it should be expressly granted in unmistakable terms. It should include the determination of reasonable minimum as well as maximum rates, not merely that a well-located and profitable railway shall not be made bankrupt by a reckless competitor, but in order to protect individuals and communities against the unjust discriminations that may result from too low charges by the lines serving their competitors.

The idea that the methods, accounts, *et cetera*, of quasi-public corporations are matters of public interest, in regard to which the fullest information should be at all times available to legislators and publicists generally, seems to have controlled Congress in providing for the publication of schedules of railway charges, the collection of railway statistics, and the provision for annual and special reports from the Interstate Commerce Commission. No feature of the law has worked so satisfactorily; but here, too, failure fully to appreciate the scope of the work has been productive of inadequacy in the result. The extension of statistical inquiries to depot and express companies, fast freight lines, elevator and wharf companies, and water lines engaged in interstate transportation, owing to their intimate relation with railway corporations, is absolutely prerequisite to the satisfactory statistical presentation of the business of railway transportation. There are also numerous and urgent reasons for a more thorough investigation of the financial results of railway business and for more frequent reports of this phase of the work. There has been no attempt, in this paper, to enumerate all of the changes which, it is believed, must precede a satisfactory solution of railway problems, but those only have been mentioned which seem fundamental or most important. Whatever others may be necessary will be found, if the true principle underlying the social function of transportation is understood and appreciated, to be in the direction of unifying the facilities of transportation. In other words, there must be created, from the multitude of railway corporations, something that is now presumed to exist, and that in many respects does actually exist at present—a railway system.

H. T. Newcomb.

WOMAN'S POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

BY MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, PRESIDENT OF WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE Church tells us that a sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. When the holy sacrament is reached, only the great Oversoul can know all the ministrations of good angels, all the contests with powers of darkness, all the continuous operations of human relations, through which the inward and spiritual grace has been attained.

The student of history learns that a revolution in government is an outward and visible sign of a change in the political conditions of the people. When through revolution a people without a name becomes a state, only the long perspective of history can reveal the action and counter-action of the forces—physical, social, economic, and religious, as well as political—which fling the new flag to the breeze and marshal the new armies of peace and war.

The political economist knows that a so-called revolution in the social order is also a record of changes which have established the activities of new relations and the responsibilities of new alignments.

When society awakes to the realization that the old order is changed, that modes of thought are broadened, that habits of life are relaxed, that new social standards are set up, that new economic forces are dominant, and new political relations are aggressive, it is often forgotten that this social revolution is not the overt and aggregate act of iconoclasts and reformers, but is merely a record of the forces of progress.

This philosophy of development finds conspicuous illustration in the present status—industrial, educational, and political—of the women of the United States.

Society applauds present-day progress, as evidenced by enlarged opportunities of labor, and increased returns for work. It includes women in these favored classes, and enumerates the hundreds of occupations they may and do fill with acceptance to employers and profit to themselves.

Women are everywhere in the industrial world: the cook, the washwoman, the seamstress, the dressmaker, the milliner, and the teacher have been joined by the army of factory women, clerks, shop-girls, stenographers, typewriters, and professional women, so that now there are few business houses of any description where women are wholly absent. Nevertheless, the notion prevails, or at least lies dormant, in the minds of most persons, that men are the breadwinners and women are the sheltered home-keepers. The facts are quite the contrary; at least, the exceptions to the rule are so many that this theory is not a sound basis of economic calculation. In the slums of the great cities the women, as a rule, are the breadwinners; the men live on the labor of the women and children, or contribute little to the family exchequer. In the higher grades of labor and of skilled workmanship there are millions of women who go to their daily toil at the sound of the bell, the shriek of the whistle and the stroke of the clock, with the same regularity and urged by the same necessity as drives the army of men. Labor statistics assert that more than three-quarters of the wage-earning women of the country not only support themselves, but are the mainstay of dependent families. Those acquainted with the thousands of faithful, honorable women in Government service in the City of Washington know this to be true of them. I charge no fault to the men of the families—misfortune and death are no respecters of persons or of sex—I merely chronicle the facts and ask that notice be taken of the wide variance between the theory of woman's industrial condition and the facts in the case.

Women were never idlers. Once they spun the yarn and wove the cloth and made the garments of their families; they sewed with their needles and counted threads in fine embroideries; they milked the cows and made butter with their own hands. On the farm in the North and the plantation in the South, the wife and the mother was the Saint Courageous in sickness, and the Lady Bountiful in calamity, to the little and sometimes isolated community where she was greatest of all because she was servant of

all. The "women folks" economized that the boys might go to the academy in the winter, or possibly to college for a full course, or to the town to learn a trade, or to the city to go into business. Rarely did the daughter of the household go anywhere or do anything to fit herself for an independent individual existence.

How is it now? The few sheep which were kept for the use of individual families have gone to join the great flocks that graze on Western plains and give their fleeces to the buyers of the syndicates which own the land and send its product to the distant market. The spinning wheel has of necessity left its place of usefulness in the family "living room," and now with other bric-a-brac adorns the parlor of the descendent of the gentle Priscilla who sang a psalm and dreamed a dream on the quiet day when John Alden attempted the impossible task of making love for another man.

The factory has superseded the loom and the spinning wheel, and for less money and less labor the family is better clothed than in the olden time. So also with hand sewing and general housekeeping. The sewing machine, and foreigners as servants, have driven away the blessed old days when the mother and the sisters did it all, save, perhaps, the annual or semi-annual help of the visiting seamstress.

The creamery and the cheese factory and the labor of hired men make the former work of women unprofitable, and largely reduce woman's task on the farm. In the West, where farming is conducted on a large scale, immigration has brought foreign women as well as foreign men to do the work formerly done by our mothers and grandmothers.

In the towns and cities modern conveniences have lifted many burdens from woman's shoulders, and steam heating and gas for lighting and cooking have given her hours of time for other duties.

The conclusion reached is therefore irresistible that women by the changed conditions of social and industrial life find themselves removed from the duties their mothers performed; they find themselves thrust by conditions, not of their own choosing, into new relations and under new responsibilities.

There are sheltered nooks along the turbulent stream of modern American life where many women still reverently burn

incense on the old altars of "woman's sphere"; but not less reverent are the women whose ships are in the strong current of independent industrial life, or on the crest of broad culture and wide endeavor. The necessities of self-support and family duty have carried them away from the sheltered shore, or, perhaps, they have heard the cry of those more helpless than themselves, and have sought to better the condition of orphans and widows and overworked shop-girls: the motherliness of soul which prompts to such action is as surely the gift of Heaven and a wealth and glory to the race as is the devotion of the natural mother to her offspring. That mother will follow her child the round world over, her only purpose being to serve and to save. So also the strong-hearted and strong-minded twentieth century woman is morally and mentally compelled by her Puritan heredity and present day environment, and her deep religious conviction, to do with her might what her hands find to do.

Neither are the women of to-day alone in their sometimes questioned departures from old-time exclusive duties. Husbands, brothers, and sons, a splendid nobility of American manhood, rejoicing in the grand achievements of a newly developed country, are with them in the conscious dignity of unchallenged opportunity and power. Men and women are to-day more truly united and on nobler planes of human existence than were those of any other age. Nothing is lost of real gentleness and chivalry, and whole continents of happiness to themselves and to the race are gained through their associated endeavor. Through all evolutions of condition and of progress, Nature is dominant; family affection is the controlling force in woman's nature; with the elevation of the race this force becomes increasingly potent in all human affairs. Woman's industrial condition to-day is the result of the combined forces of progress; this is a justification of the work she is doing and is also related to the broader fact that the industrial conditions of men and women are always and everywhere the foundation and the framework of national character and the soul of political constitutions.

Popular Education.—Next potent among evolutionary forces is popular education. All the children are taught in all grades of schools. Not only do the girls go to school more months in the year than their mothers did, but boys study books longer than did their sires; there is thus introduced into family life an

appetite for general information. Some educators fear for the general good, because the girls are outstripping the boys in number and in quality of application in many schools. It is surely safe to say that co-education has brought the sister to the side of the brother, and the question now is not, how shall the girls be educated, can they bear the strain of higher education, but it is anxiously asked, how can manual training be adapted to the school system so that all the boys may be fitted to earn their living with their hands, and possess the robust manliness of tough muscle and steady nerve. The number of girl graduates from our high schools is much larger than the number of boys, and the proportion of students in our colleges and universities is all the time changing, to the advantage of the women students.

In the half-century between the work of Mary Lyon and Emma Willard—those pioneers of woman's education—and the splendid endowments of the Chicago University, to which women are admitted under no sex limitations, the average American woman has become educationally as well as socially the best type of the world's womanhood, and therefore the best human type of the world's civilization.

The college woman is just a little in advance of the average woman; she beholds the knowledge of all lands and all ages; she absorbs much and becomes not only an educated woman, but holds strong opinions and is moved by deep convictions; she moulds the ideas of men, and greatly influences public sentiment. "Public sentiment" is the atmosphere of community life; it breathes health or it carries disease. Thousands of cultivated strong women every year leave classic halls and take up the work of life in the school room, the office, the store, the shop, or—best of all—the home. Every one of these women is filled with noble desire and heroic purpose; she intends to do her duty everywhere; she will make her way; she does make her way; and society, conscious of her splendid endowments, welcomes her to any place she asks for and can worthily fill.

Woman in Philanthropy.—Slowly, all too slowly for weary limbs and aching hearts, is being evolved the perfected humanity of which the stoic dreamed, the prophet spoke, and which the Gospel of Jesus made possible. Nevertheless the evolution is progressing. Things are better than they were. Woman's presence and influence pervades this evolution.

There were heroic women in colonial days and in the Revolutionary period. There were strong, true women who pioneered in the once new West. There were brave women in the Civil War who followed the armies to the camp and to the field, and were ministering angels to the wounded and dying in the hospitals. There were others who did double duty on the farm, and in the shop, that brothers and husbands might be free for the dreadful business of war. When peace came, the women who had plowed in the field, sewed in the home, washed at the tub, scraped lint and made bandages, and in every way possible to them had met the nation's agony—these same women, having learned the possibilities of their united ministrations outside home walls, took up the organization of missionary and temperance societies, and began reforms of many kinds. They built fountains for the thirsty and planted trees for the weary; they erected hospitals, orphan asylums, retreats in the cities, homes on the hillsides and by the sea, for waifs and overworked shop-girls; they established day nurseries and kindergartens for little children, and helped to endow colleges and universities for young men and women.

If the great philanthropies, established and wholly or in the main part conducted by women, should be destroyed in a day, the air would be filled with the lamentations of the hopeless classes, and society would be shocked with the spectacle.

As the country develops, and the living questions of how its vast areas shall be possessed by industrious, happy people press for settlement, women bring to the solution the discipline of the home, the school, and the philanthropies where the vital questions of production, distribution, and consumption have been studied according to scientific theory and illustrated by practical application.

It is impossible that women shall have carried all these interests on their hearts, and in their activities, and not be well equipped for their application in the broad domain of national economics.

Some of us are deeply concerned in these vital problems of American life. We find ourselves in the midst of conditions which, until recently, were wholly European. Mixed populations in crowded cities, and colonies of foreigners distributed through the country, give rise to apprehension in the minds of intelligent

women. It is not possible, neither would it be right, to attempt the wholesale exclusion of these foreigners. They are the children of the Heavenly Father whom we call "Our Father." Some are of the noblest fibre; they have brought new lustre to the stars and brightness to the stripes of the dear old flag; but masses of others are windfalls of monarchial governments, the garbage of oriental civilizations, and deserters from imperialism and militarism. American women, the daughters of Revolutionary heroes, the daughters, the wives, the sisters of a later generation of heroes, know that all the interests they hold dear are to a degree affected by the political action of these men.

Thoughtful women know that the nation is a grand whole; that if one member suffers, the whole suffers; that if one is blessed, all are blessed. Women have no separate interests; if man is elevated and the general tone of society is purified, woman receives her share of advantages.

The country has made immense strides in material development during the last quarter of a century. Huge commercial enterprises have arisen like giants in armor, and have strode from ocean to ocean, leaving tracks of steel and handprints of light.

The triumphs of mind over matter stamp this period illustrious among the centuries. Within this success there hides danger. The loss of one faculty sharpens others: the blind are sensitive to touch. The cultivation of one set of faculties tends to the disuse of others. Has not the extreme cultivation of the commercial faculties permitted others as essential to national life to be blighted by disuse?

During this evolution, woman's relations to the industrial, the educational, and the philanthropic world, and her pressure toward the political world has been a savor of life unto life. Community life and national life need heart: women have much heart; out of the heart are the issues of life.

Woman in Politics.—The theory prevails that women are not an actual force in American politics. This notion is controverted by the stubborn fact that in all the Northern, and occasionally in the Southern, States women are acknowledged by political leaders to have been an effective, and, in many instances, a controlling element in late national elections and in many local political contests. In the four States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho women now vote on all questions as fully as

men do, and are equally eligible with men to all offices in the gift of the people. In the State of Kansas women vote at municipal elections; in Iowa tax-paying women vote on questions involving the expenditure of public moneys; in Illinois women vote for Trustees of the State University, and in more than half of the States women vote on the school question. The theory is, women do not vote; the facts are, women do vote on many questions and in many places.

As illustrating how uninformed many intelligent persons are of woman's political status, I may say that a prominent New England politician was quite surprised when told a while ago that the women of Colorado have the full franchise. This most estimable gentleman is a Republican, interested in party success; he had never heard that the women of that State were largely instrumental in redeeming the State from Populism in 1894, and doubtless he has not since heard that a larger proportion of women than of men in that State were loyal to the party of their choice in the political revolution of 1896.

It is not the purpose of this article to make an argument as to the right of women to vote: the abstract right is not questioned by many serious thinkers, and an increasing number believe that the exercise of the right would be a blessing to the home and to the State.

I seek merely to trace in outline the present situation and to show that woman is in politics, and that she is where she is, not by her own distinct volition, but she is part of the great human throng which ever presses on, urged by instinct and led by aspiration toward the sum of human welfare.

Men and women must, therefore, together solve the problems of the twentieth century. These problems are more complex than those presented to any former generation. The statecraft of the fathers was original and great. The constitution they framed has been tried in peace and war and through the reconstruction period; it awaits the crucial tests of present day attacks. The courage of early administrations was equal to their heroic needs. The battles of the Revolution and of the Civil War make brilliant pages in military history. The liberation of three million slaves, and their subsequent acquisition of civil and political rights under the law, form a procession of events unparallelled in the earth's civil achievements. The development of the country's

material resources, so that now all the people are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than the people of any other land under the sun, is the wonder of the world. Mothers in other lands hug their babies with the passion of maternal fondness, and pray God that some good Providence may take them to America, where each one has a chance to make the most of himself. Did any American mother ever pray that her child might find a better country than this? The dearest wish of her heart is that he may rise to the level of his opportunities here.

Every student of the times and of the centuries knows that the crucial test of American institutions is yet to come. Years ago the stern iconoclast of Chelsea wrote:

"Cease to brag to me of America, with its model institutions and constitutions. America will yet have to strain its energies and well nigh break its heart, as the rest of us have had to do, in myriad contest with pythons and mud demons before it is fit habitation for the gods. America will have her agony and her victory, though on other lines than she is quite well aware of."

This is the agony and the victory which the first decade of the twentieth century will witness. Men and women with experience and consequent power will supplement each the other's quality of ability; it will require all of every sort.

Economic questions are always most difficult of satisfactory solution because they underlie all other conditions, and because they touch every home. Only patient study of reciprocal relations and the delicate adjustment of service and its just return of benefit can calm the fevered brow of toil and swing the pendulum within the arc of brotherhood and self-interest. Woman's intellectual fibre, her mental tone, is as eminently fitted for this quality of public service as is man's ponderous force for marshalling armies, tunnelling mountains, and building railroads. It is no longer a question of man or of woman, but of quality of service, and of power to meet the world's need.

Woman is coming to the kingdom for this hour. Many popular heresies have been cradled in the home and nursed by women; but out of the home, and from woman's brain and heart shall come—is already coming—the remedy.

Woman's political power with and without the ballot has, in a few instances, wrought harm to good men and good causes; it has sometimes, in the name of righteousness, strengthened the enemies of good government. A few women in the supposed in-

terest of woman's cause have defeated men who were opposed to that cause. These instances were phenomenal and temperamental; they in no wise are chargeable to the woman element in politics. In the main, women have wisely used their influence and discreetly applied their political power. They have been a constructive and not a destructive force.

Each year women are becoming wiser; they are learning to use their newly discovered influence. He is not an intelligent patriot or a wise politican who ignores this factor in the political equation, or thinks he can place it where he chooses. The present political influence of women is proportionately more intelligent than that of men; by this I mean that there are so few political emoluments possible to women as a return for political service that they are not tempted to think and act from hope of personal reward. In proportion as political action is intelligent and disinterested, it is independent. The present political influence of woman is intelligent, and should be so dealt with.

To those who tremble at the new order when set forth in bold outline, we say, Be not alarmed; the order is not so very new, after all. The change has been gradual and natural. No man who commands respect would go back to the old order; he would not close the schools to girls; he would not set them to spinning and weaving; he rejoices in every step by which they have come to their vantage-ground of influence.

When the serious woman sees the perils of the times, when she realizes that her children must march shoulder to shoulder with the children of anarchists, of constitution defamers, and general disrupters of the peace, she sets herself to do all she can in every way to save the country for her children and for her children's children yet unborn. Such a purpose, guided by intelligent comprehension of political relations, past and present, will bring joy and no sorrow to the nation.

The American woman of to-day is born to a glorious inheritance of honor, of education, and of opportunity. She has come into this kingdom to help dispel the clouds of political heresies, which envelope many citizens. She wishes to serve her country as she has served her home. It is the will of Heaven, and she will do it.

J. Ellen Foster.

A REVIEW OF THE CUBAN QUESTION IN ITS ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SPAIN.

SINCE the conclusion of my term of office as Minister to Spain I have been earnestly solicited by many who feel a special interest in the Cuban question to make a review, in a somewhat systematic form, of the present aspects of that question in the light of my special experience and observation. The wise rule under which our Department of State publishes every year our diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations puts everyone into possession of our current diplomatic history, except as to a few transactions concerning which prudence requires that secrecy should be for a time preserved. Subject to that limitation only, I now have, of course, an equal right with every other citizen to discuss the merits of a question with which I was once in official contact, provided I deem it wise and patriotic to do so. Certainly no one has had a better opportunity to study this difficult problem, from a Spanish point of view, than myself, and I have thus been thoroughly convinced that Spanish statesmanship is perfectly impotent to solve it either promptly or wisely.

Spain herself has demonstrated that she is powerless either to conciliate Cuba or to conquer it. Her sovereignty over it is, in my humble judgment, now extinct "for all purposes of its rightful existence," and the "hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict itself."* This deplorable

*President Cleveland's message to second session of Fifty-fourth Congress.

state of things is not only shocking to humanity, but it is a special and grievous burden to the people of the United States, by reason of their intimate commercial and social relations and sympathies with the people of an island so near to our coast line as to be almost a part of our territory. Our commerce with Cuba, amounting annually at the beginning of the present war to $100,000,000, has been nearly wiped out. The millions of American capital invested in the island have been either destroyed or rendered unproductive; many of our citizens reduced to absolute want have been forced to appeal to Congress for aid; while too many of them have found their way into Spanish dungeons from which some have been able to escape only through the door of death. But, last and worst of all, our peace as a nation is broken and disquieted by an endless strife that enters as a potent factor into our internal politics. With a patience almost unexampled we endured all such evils during the period of the great war that began at Yara in 1868, and ended ten years later with the treaty of Zanjon; then came the little war; and finally the last great war that has now been in progress for more than two years and a half. Thus we have been called upon to witness nearly fifteen years of war in Cuba out of the last twenty-nine. Throughout the present struggle, apart from our commercial losses, we have been in a state of semi-war with Spain; a large part of our fleet has become a coastguard; and our diplomatic relations have been so strained that for more than a year the Spanish government deemed it necessary to guard my place of residence with soldiers, night and day. Since my departure this impossible state of things has become still more acute, and the uncertainty thus produced is the one obstacle in the path of the long-hoped-for prosperity just dawning upon us. Business men are plainly stating to each other that such uncertainty now hangs like a cloud over all future transactions.

It is great folly to suppose that the Cuban question is something that we can set aside if we will and go about our own business. It has intruded itself into our national affairs with all its disturbing consequences, and it is here to stay until we take hold of it and solve it wisely, not only in our own interest but in that of humanity. In the light of these facts I deem it my duty to lay before my countrymen my humble testimony upon the whole subject-matter, in the hope that the same may aid them in taking

wise and just action in the premises. So far as I know, no one has ever charged me with a lack of patience or moderation in the midst of the trying scenes through which I have passed ; and I bear cheerful testimony to the fact that the Spanish people have treated me throughout with perfect respect. I was, therefore, able to depart without a tinge of conscious prejudice against a nation for which I entertain in many respects the very highest admiration. For two years I pleaded in vain with the statesmen of Spain in the hope of turning them from a path which I was sure would end in disaster. Therefore, whatever I may now feel compelled to say of a character apparently hostile to that country will be said in sorrow, not in anger.

REAL PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT EXIST IN SPAIN.

In Spain to a greater extent than in any other country in Europe the present is bound up with the past ; her greatest misfortune is that the French Revolution, terrible as it was, did not sweep on to Gibraltar. In that way she lost the opportunity of being really emancipated from her absolutist political traditions, to which she is still a victim. Although some of her progressive statesmen have attempted to robe her in modern political forms the effort has not been fruitful in practical results. The so-called system of representative government by which absolute monarchy was supposed to be superseded early in the century is nothing but an illusion ; Spain has to-day no national assembly which can act as a free and real organ of the national will. The obvious and indisputable cause of that condition of things is the fact that those who compose the two chambers of the Cortes are not the free choice of the people themselves. What purport to be national elections are always controlled by the political party holding the executive power, which so manipulates the electoral machinery by the use of fraud and undue influence as to predetermine the result. The people look listlessly on while the government officials, aided by the *caciques,* employ all the necessary methods to return as many of the government nominees as its managers deem necessary ; and if any officious person attempts to object he is simply sent to jail. As both parties employ the same methods there is no recrimination ; and if some unruly person like Cabriñana is imprudent enough to contest an election the matter

is silently adjusted by compromise. The natural result is that national assemblies thus chosen possess no real political authority; they are simply dead bodies into which the living spirit of popular approval never enters, and as such of course they cannot confer upon ministries the right to rule. Strange and anomalous as the statement may seem to be, the fact that a Spanish ministry is supported by overwhelming majorities in both branches of the Cortes is considered no reason why it should continue in power if a coterie of military officers or a combination of newspapers makes an adverse demonstration at Madrid. At the beginning of the present war Señor Sagasta, with large majorities in the Cortes over all the opposing parties combined, resigned power to Señor Canovas the moment that certain generals, ever ready to meddle in political affairs, began to be troublesome; and in the crisis last resolved before his death Señor Canovas himself, with majorities in the Cortes as large as those now controlled by Lord Salisbury, felt compelled simply by the opposition of certain newspapers to resign office and to call upon the Queen Regent to say whether or no he should continue to carry on the government. Such appeals to what is called the "*Poder Moderador*" reveal the all-important fact that the supreme powers of the state to-day reside in the crown and not in the legislature. The administration of affairs is still carried on under the old bureaucratic system by certain notables named by the crown, who call upon the phantom body known as the Cortes to clothe their acts in the forms of legality. In the light of these incontestable facts it is easy to understand that Spain cannot give to her colonies what she does not herself enjoy—popular government, as that term is now understood throughout the world.

SPAIN'S PATERNAL SYSTEM OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS FRUITS.

Spain's powerlessness to establish in recent times a genuine national assembly, into which her energies could be concentrated, goes far to explain why she has never been able to emancipate her colonies from the baneful system of paternalism, by which from their very foundation their progress has been obstructed and their people oppressed. All who are familiar with the history of modern colonization know that it really begins with the work of the Spanish adventurers in the New World,

who for a time won for their country the first place "as the discoverer, conqueror, and colonizer of new lands." Stimulated mainly by the desire to satisfy their thirst for silver and gold, the first-comers rapidly advanced their conquests, while the extension of their permanent settlements was gradual and slow. But when such permanent settlements were finally made, they were, unfortunately, subjected to a system of paternalism that rested upon the idea that colonists are mere children or slaves to be governed and controlled as such by a bureau at the metropolis. France, who about the same time possessed herself of that princely domain that stretched itself west of the Alleghanies from New Orleans to Quebec, fell into the same fatal error; and the inherent weakness and hopelessness of governing distant colonies paternally was first revealed when the French colonial system came in contact with the English, which rested upon a set of self-founded and self-governing communities cradled in self-reliance and practical independence by the very circumstances of their origin. By the very nature of their training a conflict between the two systems could not be doubtful. When the new self-governing soldiery, reared in the New England towns and the Southern counties, went out under the lead of the mother country to do battle with a colonial power that had never been trained in self-reliance, it "was like a Titan overthrowing a cripple"; France's dream of empire in the West was broken, and she was forced to retire from North America. Under a much lighter pressure Spain was forced to give up all of her vast colonial possessions on the main land, stretching at one time from Paraguay to California. The impulse in favor of entire emancipation which animated the movement at Caracas in 1810 was consummated by the independence of Mexico in 1829. The motive which prompted this widespread revolt is to be found in the irrational selfishness that impelled Spain to regard her colonies simply as instruments to be employed solely for what she conceived to be the interests of the metropolis. Her colonial system of restriction and repression as finally settled rested on two corner-stones; the one commercial, the other political. Under the mercantile system developed in Spain in the sixteenth century, and which England copied, it was held that colonists were to be prohibited under heavy penalties from trading except with the mother country;

while under the political system put in force about the same time the government of the colonies was retained by the crown at Madrid, and administered in the colonies by an oligarchy of home-bred Spaniards sent out for that express purpose. By the fierce and unbending enforcement of these two selfish and irrational principles Spain has lost all of her colonies in the New World except Cuba and Porto Rico, the first of which is now writhing in the death agony to which she has been reduced by their extreme application.

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

From the very beginning Cuba, despite her inestimable value and fidelity, has always been regarded by Spain, as Tacitus tells us Britain was regarded by Rome, simply as a place to be plundered and enslaved. Upon her devoted head has always fallen the full force of the mother-country's restrictive and repressive policy, commercial and political. Whatever of government she has to-day is carried on by an oligarchy of home-bred Spaniards directed from Madrid through a governor-general, who takes from her wasted treasury in pay and allowances, civil and military, a sum nearly twice as great as the pay of the President of the United States; while the economic laws which govern the now pitiful fragment of her once splendid commerce are constructed not in her interest but in that of the manufacturers of Catalonia, who regard her as a conquered province to be manipulated for their benefit. In that fact is embodied the essence of the Cuban question which, in its final analysis, is more economic than political. Despite all the bad usage to which she has been subjected by her rulers, Cuba, by virtue of her exceeding richness, had been able to accumulate wealth which at the beginning of the present war amounted to $850,000,000, or about $531 *per capita*. At the same date her total commercial movement amounted to $170,458,553, of which $69,444,287 represented imports and $101,014,266 exports. When these exports, out of which the Cuban people live, are analyzed it appears that four-fifths at least of the whole is made up of the proceeds of the sugar crop, the remaining one-fifth being composed of tobacco and other miscellaneous items. Cuba, therefore, is simply a great cane-sugar estate whose tenants depend for existence upon the proceeds of that industry. In the days when the sugar of commerce was made from cane only, Cuba was comparatively independent, because the markets of the world were

open to her. But when sugar made of beets came into competition with that made of cane her trade horizon began to narrow; and that process has gone on until, with the exception of a small quantity sold to Spain herself, Cuban sugars have been driven from every market in Europe. The result is that the one remaining market in which Cuba can now sell the one crop without which she cannot exist, is that offered by the United States. No matter whether our tariffs are high or low, into our custom houses must go the one product upon which Cuba is dependent for bread. It would seem, therefore, but just that the Cuban exporter thus limited to a single market should be permitted at least to buy in that market the manufactured articles and products which are for him the necessities of life. But, alas! even that boon is to a great extent denied him. In contemplation of Spanish tariff laws the primary object of his existence is to support the manufacturers of far-off Catalonia with whom he has no community of interest.

By the natural laws of trade the Cuban exporter is compelled to sell his one great product in ports where there is a tariff against him that any day may be made prohibitory, while by the restrictive commercial policy of the mother country he is forced to send a large part of his income thus derived over 3,000 miles of sea in order to reinvest it at a great loss in the products of Spanish protected manufactures. Thus overburdened by hostile tariffs and by the loss of freight, insurance, and exchange incident to the necessity of buying in a remote and unfavorable market, the Cuban producer has been ground to death between the upper and the nether millstone. The only thing which of late years has mitigated this sad condition of things was the reciprocity arrangements with the United States, the last of which expired with the passage of the Wilson Bill on the 27th of August, 1894. There can be no doubt that the economic crisis that followed that event precipitated the present revolution. When exposed without mitigation to two systems of hostile tariffs, at a time when the price of cane sugar had been reduced by competition to a very low point, the Cuban producers threw up their hands in despair, and the bands of laborers thus deprived of work were the first to swell the ranks of the insurgents. That fact was first impressed upon me by one of the ablest members of our consular service who was in Cuba at the time; and his statement has since been fully

confirmed by the Spanish government itself in a recent official publication in English in which the admission is made that the present revolt was "soon increased in magnitude, owing to the great number of negro laborers who were idle on account of a monetary crisis due to the low price of sugar." When, therefore, we arrive at the final cause that drove the Cubans into the present revolution, we discover that the rising really grew out of a struggle for bread—a struggle for bread in one of the most favored spots in the world, produced in the main by economic laws enacted by the parliament of the mother country still wedded to the obsolete doctrine that the commerce of a colony is a possession which the parent state has a right to manipulate in its own interest regardless of the fate of the colony itself. It is, therefore, plain that if the whole fabric of political and military oppression under which Cuba is now dying could be removed at a blow, the great economic difficulty would still remain, sufficient in itself to make her a desert, unless the power to enact commercial and economic laws is transferred, as in all the great English colonies, from the home parliament to a Cuban legislature.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

Having now indicated in general terms the nature of the economic question dominant in Cuba at the beginning of the present revolt, of which it was the direct and immediate cause, let us turn to the political question involved in the methods by which the island is governed by the parent state. The only unit of local political organization known to Spanish law is the *municipio* (the city or town), whose governing body is the *ayuntamiento* (the city or town council), whose powers of local taxation and legislation are very insignificant when compared with those vested in the municipal corporations known to English and American law. As the official publication recently put forth by the Spanish government has happily stated it: "Thus in the Spanish paternal method of keeping the colonies closely bound to the metropolis we find reflected the racial characteristic of close family ties, whereas the individual love of independence, which is a salient trait of Anglo-Saxon peoples, has shaped after a different pattern the formation, growth, and development of English-speaking colonies."

In Cuba, as elsewhere, the Spanish racial instinct founded

cities and towns of the home type, and in the course of time the island was divided into colonies which were united under a system of central administration absolutely directed by home-bred Spanish officials sent from the Peninsula and subject to the orders of the government at Madrid. That system of autocratic and paternal administration may be said to have reached its full growth with the promulgation of the royal decree of June 9, 1878, by which the island was divided into the six provinces that now exist. The mainspring, the dominant force, in such a colonial system is the governor-general, who represents the supreme civil and military power. Under normal conditions the only functionaries who can be regarded as anything like a restraint upon his authority are his home-bred Spanish subordinates who stand at the head of the departments and who constitute collectively what is called a central council of administration, an advisory body whose views the governor-general can always reject whenever they happen to conflict with his own. Under the system as it still exists in Cuba the island is given the smallest possible control over its own affairs. The old restrictive principle by which its commerce is manipulated in the interest of the mother country remains in full force—every tariff, every treaty affecting Cuba is made at Madrid. The old paternal principle that has always given the local government of the island absolutely into the hands of Peninsular Spaniards is also in full force; every Cuban budget is made up for the island by them before it is submitted for approval or rejection at Madrid. The most oppressive part of this system of paternalism has ever been the governors-general who, in the early days, seem to have been regarded as very disreputable men. At least such is the inference to be drawn from one of the highest and most modern of Spanish historical authorities,* from which we learn that "almost all the governors had been deposed and expelled. Some, such as Gaspar de Torres, were real highwaymen." The leading journals of Spain to-day, such as the *Imparcial,* the *Heraldo,* and the *Liberal,* have lately published accusations against the present governor-general, Weyler, in which the world has been told that he is more ruthless and unscrupulous even than Gaspar de Torres. It would hardly be respectful for us to reject the testimony of Spanish historians and journalists on these points. I have attempted to emphasize

* *Dic.-Enc. Hisp. Am. toma* 5, p. 1467.

these facts in order to dispel the illusion, if it anywhere exists, that there has ever been any real mitigation in Cuba of the primitive system of Spanish paternalism. That system was in full force when the present war began, and it would be in full force to-day if it had not been suspended by the military despotism under which Weyler has been striving to establish in Cuba "the order that reigned at Warsaw."

But at this point the suggestion will be made, no doubt, that I have overlooked the fact that in 1881 the Spanish constitution of 1876 was proclaimed in Cuba, and that as a consequence Cuban senators and deputies have since been admitted and still sit in the Cortes at Madrid. The idea that the island has thus been clothed with any real authority to regulate its own affairs does not enter for a moment into the minds of those familiar with the incontestable facts. In the first place, not only the current affairs of Cuba but great organic concerns are regulated as a general rule by royal decrees, and not by acts approved by the Cortes. For example, the majestic fabric of reform with which Señor Canovas lately coquetted with Cuba was simply the creation of his own pen, and embodied in a royal decree countersigned by the Queen Regent. In the second place, as heretofore pointed out, and as this very example proves, the Cortes of to-day is merely a phantom body, with no real authority beyond the power to give the forms of law to royal edicts, as the English parliament did in the latter days of Henry VIII. In the third place, both of the great monarchial parties that uphold the present dynasty agree in the conclusion that Cuba cannot be given anything like real autonomous colonial government, as that term is understood throughout the English-speaking world. It would therefore be impossible for the handful of Cuban deputies in the Spanish Cortes to repeat Irish tactics by playing off one of the great parties against the other, even if they were independent representatives devoted to the cause of home rule. As a matter of fact, they are generally mere men of straw, nominees of the home government, selected and returned by the governor-general to do its bidding. That the present Cuban representatives in the Cortes were returned by General Weyler at the dictation of Señor Canovas can be proven, if necessary, by the recorded testimony of Señor Sagasta, who made at the time a sharp protest based upon that fact.

If it be true, then, that Spain has never really done anything to modify the primitive system of paternalism by which the ever-faithful isle has been goaded into revolt by reason of the crushing restrictions imposed by the metropolis upon her natural right to regulate her economic interests and her local political life, the question of questions that remains is this: Does she really intend to end the dreadful strife now in progress by the making of adequate reforms in the near future? The ministry lately charged with the direction of Spanish affairs announced immediately after the tragic death of Señor Canovas del Castillo their unalterable purpose to prosecute his policy in Cuba just as if he were still alive; while the devoted and able Spanish minister at Washington at the same time declared that the ideas of Señor Canovas would live after him and govern Spain just as if he were present in the flesh. Any attempt, therefore, to answer the question just propounded must take into account the character, ideas, and motives of the remarkable, many-sided man who for a quarter of a century governed Spain as completely as ever Richelieu governed France.

After four years of careful observation of the mental and moral make-up of Señor Canovas del Castillo, I cannot draw of him other than a flattering picture, because, despite his one great mental defect, I was a genuine admirer of his genius. And I believe that few of his best friends will deny in their hearts what I have to say of him. A child of the middle class, he came into life under circumstances that should have embued him with popular sympathies; and his strong and precocious mind was soon subjected to a system of academic training that culminated in a brilliant career at the university. As he appeared in his famous library surrounded by books in every tongue, one could easily fancy that he was an ideal statesman whose one thought was to solve the problems of the present by the learning and experience of the past. With the history of all lands he was profoundly familiar, and as a student of the science of politics he had few superiors. Thus equipped, he marched into the political arena where his iron will, his superb courage, his consummate knowledge of men, his incisive eloquence, his caustic wit, his fidelity to his friends, his perfect conception of the mental temper of his country, to which he was devoted, gave him such a superiority over all rivals that he governed Spain, no matter whether in or

out of office. In the forum of debate he was as supreme as the famous Espada Guerita in the Plaza de Toros. Even when he led the Opposition no one dared to do anything without consulting him. The masterful force of the man was fully revealed in his leonine physiognomy; and, although as ugly as Mirabeau, there was a mesmeric charm about his manner that was sure to put a spell upon you. The one great defect in the organization of this subtle, high-thoughted, powerful personality was embodied in the fact that he was at heart a Spaniard of the past, an absolutist, a Cardinal Ximenez de Cesnaros masquerading in the garb of the nineteenth century. And yet his perception was so acute that he clearly understood that even in Spain the ancient principles of absolutism must be concealed beneath the constitutional forms that prevail to-day. As the author, the draftsman of the Spanish constitution of 1876, he has formulated principles that will satisfy the most exacting student of representative government; as a practical statesman, he emasculated his creation by taking away from the Cortes the power to represent the nation and to express its will. The fundamental principle which Señor Canovas continually impressed upon his countrymen was that the supreme powers of the state are vested in the crown and not in the Cortes; and to that idea, of course, he was as much devoted in colonial as in home affairs. After a careful study of the man in the light of his history, I cannot doubt that it was his settled purpose to govern the remaining colonies of Spain under the old paternal system, conceding nothing in the way of real autonomy except a few empty forms so designed as to conceal his real purpose. And I have very good reason to know that the enticing generalities embodied in the royal decree of February 4, 1897, in which he promised that some kind of a system of self-government should be given to Cuba, at some time in the future, were put forth under pressure as a mere *coup de théâtre* to divert and satisfy public opinion in the United States until Weyler could reduce the island to absolute subjection. I can at present state only part of the facts upon which that conclusion rests, trusting to time to vindicate it completely.

The first and really the only honest effort ever made in Spain to give to Cuba anything like a genuine system of self-government was that embodied in the reform bill drafted by Señor

Maura, then Minister for the Colonies, and submitted in 1893 for discussion in the Cortes, where the very genuineness of the attempt foredoomed it to failure. The Maura law was never passed; its author went out of office and was succeeded by Señor Abarzuza, an amiable gentleman who was charged with the task of emasculating the work of his predecessor. So perfectly was that task accomplished that in February, 1895, the Abarzuza law passed both houses of the Cortes unanimously. Ten days thereafter the Cuban insurgents rose in arms and began the present revolt. The plain and simple explanation of that event is to be found in the fact that the passage of the sham Abarzuza law finally convinced the Cuban leaders that no real amelioration of their condition was to be expected from the mother-country. As heretofore explained, at that moment there existed in the island an economic crisis intensified by Spain's restrictive commercial system; there was, as the Spanish government now admits, great suffering among the "laborers who were idle on account of a monetary crisis due to the low price of sugar"; the people were crying for bread. To that cry Spain responded by offering a stone in the form of the Abarzuza law, which was too worthless to excite even the flattery of hope. The only thing like a local legislature that it proposed to create was a "Council of Administration," half of whose members were to be appointed by the crown, the other half to be elective. The presiding officer of the body was to be the governor-general, who was expressly authorized not only to suspend the council as a whole, but also to "suspend individual members of the council of administration as long as a number of councillors sufficient to form a quorum remains." This phantom body, which the "vice-royal patron" could set aside at will, was only endowed with advisory powers. Whatever it might do was expressly declared to be subject to "the supervision and to the powers inherent in the sovereignty of the nation, which are reserved by law to the supreme government." Thus everything was left just as it was before. If the governor-general saw fit to permit this advisory council to act at all, the supreme government reserved the right to annul its proceedings. And yet that is the only form of a local legislature that Spain has so far actually offered to Cuba. Why, then, should anybody wonder that the Abarzuza law should have been contemptuously

set aside at the beginning of the conflict as unworthy of consideration?

Such was the condition of things when Señor Sagasta, the liberal Premier then in power, was called upon to put down the present revolt at the point of the sword. Experienced and adroit as he is as a mere political leader in quiet times, he was not considered capable of facing a storm—an estimate of his ability which no one accepted more promptly than himself. Although he had at his back large majorities in both houses of the impotent Cortes, he was intimidated by a very digraceful attempt made by a coterie of army officers at Madrid to forcibly suppress the liberty of the press. Instead of promptly sending the offenders to a court martial, he threw up his hands in despair and appealed to Señor Canovas as the natural guardian of the realm to take charge of the ship of state. Not for one moment did Señor Canovas hesitate or falter; with a cool resolve that would have done honor to Stafford, he entered upon his task with the clear and emphatic understanding that his policy was to be "thorough." He condensed his whole programme into seven words. "The last dollar and the last man," he said, was the only response he would ever make to those who had challenged the sovereignty of Spain in arms; until the rising should be absolutely crushed out he declared that no concession whatever should be made in the way of reform. Only those who have watched his course upon the spot can entirely appreciate the herculean effort he made to keep his word. After having majorities returned to the Cortes in the usual way, he dictated a set of statutes passed with little debate, putting at his disposal all the financial and military resources of the kingdom. In everything he had his way as completely as if he were dictator in name; and the terrible energy he displayed in transporting two hundred thousand armed men over three thousand miles of sea attested the fact that he was a born administrator. He was aided, it is true, by an able ministry, composed of his devoted followers who were ever ready to accept his commands as law without a whisper. There was only one man upon his horizon who could be considered in any sense a rival, and that was General Martinez Campos, the Governor-General of Cuba, who was the trusted counsellor and friend of the Queen Regent, and a special favorite of the army and the nation. If General Campos had been permitted to go on and

settle the present insurrection by means of justice and conciliation, as he did the last, there could have been no doubt as to who would have been the hero of the hour. But that was not to be. Señor Canovas tolerated no rivals; he permitted no man in his ranks to hold either ideas or policies in conflict with his own. And so, as the Abarzuza law provided as of old that the governor-general of Cuba shall "be appointed and removed by the president of the council of ministers," it was easy to substitute for Campos the new military chief who was down to the Premier's death the blind instrument of his will.

Before this fresh honor was cast upon him General Weyler had already lifted himself to a bad eminence as a brutal and corrupt soldier by virtue of acts some of which Spaniards themselves tell you cannot be put in print. An issue of the greatest newspaper in Spain, *El Imparcial*, was suppressed by the government not long ago because it dared to publish a part of his history. If Spaniards themselves can be believed, no more ruthless soldier than Weyler ever rode at the head of Spanish battalions since the dark days when Alva with his bloody hands strove to crush the life out of the Low Countries. The substitution of such a man for the brave, the wise, the chivalrous Campos was the certain harbinger of the carnival of death and destruction that has since swept like a simoom over what was once the fairest garden of the New World. And yet mankind has looked patiently on except when a cry of indignation has broken from the people of the United States harrowed by the tragic and inhuman scenes enacted almost in sight of their very shores. Despite such demonstrations, however, Señor Canovas marched steadily on with his work of conquest without concession until one day something happened—just what it was time must tell. In the meantime we can only indulge in conjecture based upon a few known facts, supplemented by the gossip of the newspaper press. We do know that after the death of Maceo near the end of last year, attended as it was by the pathetic fate of the brave young son of faithful old Gomez, had drawn together a great meeting at New York in favor of the Cuban cause headed by many of the first citizens of the metropolis, the government of Señor Canovas intimated for the first time its purpose to mitigate the strife by promulgating reforms. As a *ballon d'essai*, what purported to be reforms for the island of Porto Rico were published in the *Gazette* on the

first of January, 1897, and shortly thereafter the rumor went forth that Señor Canovas was busy in his closet drafting genuine reforms for Cuba; and on the fourth of February the royal decree in which they were embodied was proclaimed as a great event.

How the man of blood and iron had thus been suddenly converted from the error of his way was not clear at the time to those who were most familiar with his inflexible temper; it did not seem to occur to them that "he might have seen a hand that they could not see, that he might have heard a voice they did not hear." Certain it is that he either saw or heard something that convinced him that the time had come for him "to piece out the lion's skin with the fox's." And only a man of his consummate art could have performed the feat with such rapidity and dexterity. The plan to extend and give a wider scope to the Abarzuza law of 1895, embodied by Señor Canovas in the royal decree just referred to, is like his constitution of 1876; for the uninitiated it is fair to look upon, it is plausible on its face. But for those who understand its real character it is subject to three fatal objections. In the first place, it is an attempt by a mere royal edict to repeal a scheme of law enacted by the Cortes and to substitute in its stead one more comprehensive. It is just what an attempt would be upon the part of the English privy council to supersede the parliamentary statute by which Canada is governed by one of its own making. It was admitted, however, by the government of Señor Canovas that this plan could have no legal validity unless it should be ratified by the Cortes in a bill of indemnity, which I am told was afterward passed. In the second place, if the royal decree in question is now valid, it can of course be revoked and annulled at any moment by the power that made it. In the third place, the plan only proposes to lay down general principles (*bases*), which are hereafter to "be amplified and developed by means of rules and regulations." In other words, Señor Canovas' plan of reform, if it should ever be put into force, will mean something or nothing, according to the nature of the "rules and regulations" to be invented by the governor-general at the critical moment. It is hardly necessary to suggest that in that way the whole scheme can be instantly reduced to so much waste paper.

The one indispensable guarantee of the sincerity of his intentions Señor Canovas obstinately withheld from his shadowy creation. Instead of sending at once General Campos or some other of his kind to supersede Weyler, he met with a defiant refusal every attempt to bring about that result. So strong was the national feeling upon the subject not long ago that a cabinet crisis ensued whose solution turned upon that question alone. The event was precipitated by a buffet given to a noisy senator who had persistently harassed the Minister of State, the Duke of Tetuan, a Spanish O'Donnell, whose noble and generous nature has made him a prince of gentlemen for whom I entertain the greatest respect and affection. This trifling episode was the straw that finally determined Señor Canovas to ignore as usual his great majorities in the Cortes, and to appeal to the Queen Regent, as the *"Poder Moderador,"* to say whether or no he should continue to carry on the government of the country in accordance with his ideas. For days the nation waited with bated breath, for everyone perfectly understood that upon the decision of a noble and lonely woman hung the fate not only of Cuba but perhaps of the dynasty itself. The leading papers all emphasized the fact that there was but one question at issue, and that was whether there should be an instant change in the supreme command in Cuba, and a reversal of the whole policy of coercion without concession. At last the rumor gained almost universal credence that the Queen had resolved to call Señor Sagasta, and that he would instantly supersede Weyler with either Campos or Blanco. When expectation was thus at fever heat the capital was startled by the announcement that the Queen had resolved to retain Señor Canovas with his cabinet unchanged, and that she had thus emphatically approved his entire Cuban policy. And on the next day the triumphant Premier coolly assured the representatives of the press that there could be no question of the recall of General Weyler, as he perfectly represented the policy of the home government. Thus Señor Canovas at last showed his real hand, and in its palm was written in letters of blood his unalterable purpose to adhere to his original threat to crush the Cuban revolt by the unaided force of arms. Not the slightest change was ever made in that resolve down to his sudden and shocking death ; and after that event General Azcárraga firmly rejected the idea that

the policy of his predecessor, to which he always gave his hearty approval, would be modified in any material particular.

Since the failure of that honest and able soldier, who does not pretend to be a politician, to combine the warring conservative factions as a working unit, the Queen Regent has deemed it wise to recall Señor Sagasta to power, and the fact is already settled that Weyler is to be superseded in Cuba by Blanco. The probable effect of these changes upon the future of the Cuban problem has, therefore, become a subject of great practical interest. Whenever the question has been submitted to me I have invariably answered that I could not find in such changes anything upon which to base a hope for better things in the near future, for two reasons. In the first place, a mere change in the person who fills the premiership at Madrid amounts to nothing unless it signifies a change of policy. Is there any reason to believe that Señor Sagasta contemplates any substantial departure from the Cuban policy pursued by Señor Canovas? During the crisis that took place shortly before the death of that statesman Señor Sagasta was forced to show his hand upon that subject by a general demand that called upon him to define his ideas and intentions in that regard so clearly as to make them intelligible to everybody. His response was a cautious and timid manifesto that was received in the streets of Madrid almost with derision. Señor Canovas, ever ready with a stinging epigram, declared to the press that if his rival would withdraw a few phrases offensive to himself personally he was willing to sign the manifesto and reissue it as his own. The fact was that Sagasta had simply declared his purpose, if recalled to power, to follow meekly in the footsteps of Canovas, so far as Cuba is concerned. If any further proof is required of the utter unwillingness of Sagasta to grant anything like real autonomy to Cuba, it may be found in the fact that he is responsible for the sham Abarzuza law, of which enough has been said already.

It may be that the substitution of Blanco for Weyler is intended as a confession that the barbarous methods of warfare prosecuted by the latter are to be abandoned as a failure. But such a confession does not mean that strenuous efforts to prolong the war are not still to be made upon the old and hopeless basis of conquest without concession. In the second place, no matter

how willing Señor Sagasta might be to settle the war by a liberal grant to Cuba in the way of self-government, it would be folly for him to attempt to make such a grant as the Spanish nation as a whole would promptly repudiate. In the perverted national sentiment upon that subject is imbedded the real difficulty. I am satisfied, after careful investigation, that the ruling classes in Spain, civil, clerical, and military, are resolved, regardless of party, to refuse to make any such concessions to their rebellious colonists as would meet with their acceptance. I cannot doubt that any ministry that dares to undertake such a perilous enterprise will be at once discredited and driven from office; and it will be great weakness upon our part to be misled by any false hopes or promises in that regard.

The truth is that Spanish statesmen have no clear conception of the real meaning of the term "autonomous colonial government"; and the Spanish people are almost a unit in their resolve to lose Cuba by force of arms rather than permit such a concession to be made. Therefore I have said Spanish statesmanship is impotent to solve the pending problem; it has no idea beyond the blind prosecution of the dreadful "strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict" itself. In the presence of the final issue of death and destruction thus sharply presented by Spain herself, the people of the United States must take counsel as to their moral and legal rights in the premises under those incontestable principles of international law that govern the New World.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AS IT NOW EXISTS.

Hardly had we entered into the family of nations when the conservative founders of the republic became conscious of the fact that, by the legitimate force of natural law, we had been lifted to a position of supreme influence in the affairs of the New World. Not long after that position had become an accomplished fact, President Monroe, counselled by both Jefferson and Madison, was called upon to apply the new principle of international law necessarily resulting from our new position to two notable cases, which are instructive because they embody the embryo of a doctrine destined to grow with our growth and to widen with our destiny. Only superficial students of the science of jurisprudence who have never studied it in the light of its history imagine that

new principles of law come into being fully developed and fully armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. The great system of Roman law, extended by the use of a legal fiction to the greater part of the ancient world, was at the outset simply the municipal code of a single city ; the equitable jurisdiction of the English chancellor, which came into being as the means of adapting the unelastic code of customary law to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society, is still in process of evolution ; while the potent principle called the balance of power, by which the European nations guard the peace of the Old World, has just been applied by them in a novel form in order to save Greece from the iron heel of her Turkish oppressors. Who, then, shall attempt to say that the Monroe doctrine, that bears to the New World identically the same relation that the balance of power bears to the Old, shall not be developed and applied in like manner. Nothing is more remarkable about that doctrine than the mature form in which it was first applied when in December, 1823, we were called upon to give notice in general terms not only to Russia, but to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, combined in the Holy Alliance, that we would permit no new European colonies on these continents. In January, 1824, Mr. Clay offered in the House of Representatives a joint resolution declaring that the American people "would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible intervention by the allied powers of Europe in behalf of Spain" in order to aid her in reducing her colonies to subjection; and the House actually passed a resolution declaring that the people of the United States should be "left free to act, in any crisis, in such manner as their feelings of friendship toward those (South American) republics, and as their own honor and policy, may at the time dictate." One of our eminent authorities (Mr. John Bassett Moore, professor of international law in Columbia College) in a recent studied attempt to confine the Monroe doctrine within very narrow limits has been frank enough to admit that in the resolution last referred to "there is certainly great wisdom. To attempt to anticipate particular cases would be a futile experiment; while, if an effort were made to employ terms so general as to cover all future cases, contingencies might arise in which the government would find itself seriously embarrassed by its own unadvised declarations." Passing over President Polk's application of the doctrine in connection with the

dispute with Great Britain as to the Oregon territory, and in regard to the possible intervention of European powers by reason of our annexation of Texas, we find that President Cleveland declared in the recent controversy concerning the Venezuelan boundary, that "the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the governments of the old world, and a subject for our absolute non-interference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and government." He then adds that "the Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced."

Since that doctrine, originally acquiesced in by Russia and the Holy Alliance, has been frankly accepted by Great Britain in the recent Venezuela controversy, in which we clearly announced our purpose to arbitrate upon our own initiative between that country and the greatest of the world powers, and to enforce our award if need be by force of arms, we need not now concern ourselves with the ancient contention, whether or no the doctrine in question is really a part of the international law of the New World. The fact of its existence has been irrevocably settled; the only question that remains is as to its just limitations. Spaniards of all parties have concurred in the conclusion that President Cleveland was a wise and conservative statesman, so far as an observance of their international rights was concerned; and his memorable message to the second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress received at their hands almost universal approval. While he did not attempt to actually enforce our supreme power of arbitration against them, because he conceived that the proper time for its exercise had not then arrived, he, looking with a prophetic eye to the future, was careful to declare that, "When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in

Cuba *for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict,* a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereign of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge." This notable and eloquent passage is nothing but the expression in a clear and dogmatic form of a condition necessarily inherent in the admission made by us when the Monroe doctrine was originally proclaimed, to the effect that we would not attempt to seize upon or interfere with any European colony then actually existing upon this continent. In making that admission we necessarily reserved our right to protect our own interests in the event that the sovereignty of any European power should become extinct "for all purposes of its rightful existence;" or in the event that any such power should attempt to inflict irreparable loss upon us through the destruction of the colony itself. The sovereignty of any country over any colony is nothing more than a political trust which must be determined when the trustee attempts to destroy the subject-matter of the trust itself. If, therefore, Spain is now attempting to destroy Cuba, and thus to extinguish not only her own rights, but our own therein, her sovereignty has already passed under the jurisdiction of that fundamental principle upon which rests the international law of the New World. By virtue of that higher law we now have a perfect legal right to stay her hands, not only in our own interests, but in those of civilization.

THE MORE ANCIENT RIGHT OF INTERVENTION.

It is not at all necessary, however, that we should rely for the protection of our rights in the present case upon the Monroe doctrine; we can disregard it altogether and safely appeal to the more ancient principle of "Intervention," long recognized as a fundamental principle of international law by all nations. Phillimore* tells us that: "The right of self-defence incident to every state may in certain circumstances carry with it the necessity of *intervening* in the relations, and to a certain extent of controlling the conduct, of another state; and this where the interest of the *intervener* is not immediately and directly but mediately and

*Vol. I., page 554.

indirectly affected. This remark brings us to the consideration of the doctrine of Intervention." While Great Britain protested in connection with the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820 against the improper exercise of that right in that case, she at the same time stated that "no government could be more prepared than the British government was to uphold the right of any state or states to interfere where their own immediate security or essential interests are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state," provided the exercise of such right was "justified by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and regulated thereby." In 1827 the right of intervention in favor of Greece as against Turkey was emphatically asserted in a treaty signed in that year between Great Britain, France, and Russia, whose preamble declared that the three contracting parties were "penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracies, which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to considerable losses, but, besides, render necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression." A very graphic description of our own case! In October, 1861, a convention was made at London between Great Britain, France, and Spain, "professedly for the purpose of obtaining redress and security from Mexico for citizens of the contracting parties. . . . It is clear that this convention authorized a war of conquest upon Mexico, with no limitation except such as might be afforded by the agreement of the allies to leave the conquered people free to choose and constitute their own form of government. . . . The convention may therefore be said to have contemplated an armed occupation of Mexico, until the people should have adopted such a government as, in the opinion of the allies, would be responsible and stable." *

Under this well-established doctrine of intervention, which all modern nations, including Spain, have distinctly recognized and exercised, we certainly have the clear legal right to intervene in order to put an end to the war in Cuba, provided our own interests are sufficiently affected by Spain's inability to do so.

*Wheaton's International Law, page 126.

The vital question is one of fact of which, by necessity, we are the sole judge: Has the time arrived when the situation of affairs in Cuba, including the methods of devastation employed in the prosecution of the war, will justify us morally in the exercise of the right of intervention? If there was any reasonable doubt upon the subject heretofore, it has been entirely removed by the policy of the Spanish government described in the *Bando* of General Weyler of May 27th last, as "the concentration of the inhabitants of the rural country, and the destruction of resources in all places where the instructions given are not carried into effect." By that dreadful order has been drawn an ideal picture of "a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict," because thereby a methodical system of devastation has been established in which both the innocent and guilty are embraced in orders commanding the burning or unroofing of dwellings, the destruction of growing crops, the wasting of fields, the suspension of tillage, and the driving of the helpless rural population into the overcrowded garrison towns, where, as all the world knows, disease and want have celebrated a perfect carnival of death among them. Since Spain herself has thus resolved by fire and famine to destroy those she cannot conquer, the time has certainly arrived when the government of the United States must either discharge its duty to itself and to humanity, or it must abdicate the high office with which destiny has clothed it, and frankly declare that it is incapable of protecting its own interests and of guarding the peace of the new world. In its final form the question is for us one of moral dignity.

A SIMPLE MORAL REMEDY.

What are the wisest and most practical means to be employed in the discharge of the grave moral duty, which has been put aside too long already? In the light of my observation and experience, involving a somewhat intimate knowledge of Spain's internal condition and resources, financial, political, and military, I cannot doubt that the simple application by the government of the United States of moral pressure, provided that such pressure is exerted by the legislative and executive departments acting together in firm and hearty concert, will now be sufficient to accomplish the end in view.

The difficulty heretofore has been the unhappy differences of opinion that have rendered such united action impossible. The time has passed when the isolated action of any one department, or the discussion with Spain of any one phase of the question, or of any particular case of wrong to any of our citizens, can bring about that good and final result that will surely follow firm and decided action upon the part of our government dealing as a unit with the question as a whole. What I hope to see is the prompt adoption by Congress, upon its reassembling, of a joint resolution embodying three clear and definite propositions: The first, asserting our right and duty not only to ourselves but to humanity, by virtue of the universally recognized doctrine of intervention, as well as by virtue of the Monroe doctrine, to put an end to the dreadful conflict so long raging in Cuba, because it involves not only the constant disturbance of our internal peace but also the destruction of great commercial and property interests of our citizens; the second, asserting that, after enduring patiently all such evils incident to fifteen years of war in Cuba out of the last twenty-nine, the government of the United States has offered in vain its friendly offices as peacemaker to Spain in hope of aiding her without offence to her susceptibilities in bringing to a close a strife so destructive to the material interests of both countries; the third, declaring that the government of the United States, in view of Spain's refusal to accept such friendly and respectful mediation, has now resolved to exercise upon its own responsibility its entire moral influence, to the end that the war in Cuba may be brought to a speedy close, provided Spain fails to accomplish that result in a reasonable time to be clearly indicated.

The undertone of this resolution should then leave no doubt as to the fact that in the event the application of such moral means fails to produce the necessary result, we reserve to ourselves the right to take such other or further action in the premises as may be made necessary by future events. The mere passage of such a resolution by decided majorities in both houses, coupled with a hearty concurrence upon the part of the President, will, I cannot doubt, so completely prostrate the present Cuban policy of Spain that it will die in a short time, without further action upon our part. The Spanish people themselves, worn out and exhausted by an unfruitful strife of which the

masses who are mainly called upon for military service are thoroughly weary, will see that the continuance of the conflict under existing conditions is impossible; while foreign nations friendly to Spain will counsel her to pause in the presence of such serious contingencies. If, on the other hand, Spain should resolve to resist our moral authority in the matter, she could do no more than suspend diplomatic relations; the passage of such a resolution as has been indicated could not be justly regarded as a *casus belli*. And yet it would be surely fatal in its results; it would so completely hit the mark that the fierce bird of prey that is now whetting its beak upon the vitals of Cuba would fall from its perch pierced through and through.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SUGGESTION FOR A STABLE CURRENCY.

SHOULD the greenback system be continued, or should the greenbacks be retired? If retired, how, and what kind of currency should take their place? In other words, should the government of the United States continue in a kind of banking business, issuing money in the form of legal tender notes and being immediately responsible for their redemption in gold?

That the government of the United States should in some way provide for a safe, uniform, and permanent currency or medium of exchange for the transaction of business in this country, and one, also, that would be recognized in our dealings with other countries, I think no one will deny. The question now is, how this can best be done in the interest of business and the whole people. At present our currency is mixed—part being greenbacks or United States notes, part national bank notes, then treasury notes, silver certificates and gold certificates. The difference between these and the responsibility behind each class, the average citizen does not understand. That there should be a change made in our financial system, making a uniform currency of uniform value and uniform security, I think is evident to every business man. This cannot be done so long as the responsibility of the currency is divided up as at present. The United States should take the entire charge and management of the matter or let some one else do so. To my mind the government should not engage in the banking business, but turn that matter entirely over to the national banks under such rules and regulations and laws as would fully protect the interests of the whole people. To suggest a plan whereby that can, in my opinion, best be done is the principal object of this article.

The government has at this time outstanding greenbacks to the amount of $340,000,000 (in these calculations I omit fractions for convenience' sake), of treasury notes $152,600,000, of gold certificates $66,400,000. The aggregate of these is $565,600,000 of currency of the three different kinds issued by the government, all of which are liable to be presented for redemption in gold at any time. I do not speak of the silver certificates, as the silver to redeem them is now on deposit with the government. In order to get out of the banking business, the government must find some way to retire this $565,600,000 of its different kinds of currency, and at the same time provide a substitute for that amount of currency. Can this be done? I think it can in the following way.

The capital stock of the present existing national banks is $650,000,000, on which, under the existing laws, they have the right to issue $584,000,000 of their own national bank notes. By reason, however, of the present laws taxing their issue, the high price of government bonds which they are

obliged, under the law, to deposit with the government in order to issue their national bank notes, it is considered a loss to do so, and consequently at the present time there is in circulation but $206,800,000 of national bank notes, or $377,000,000 less than they are allowed to issue by law. National banks cannot afford to issue their own bills under the present law; therefore the law should be changed so that they could afford to do so. The tax on national bank notes issued should be repealed, and at the same time the government should provide a low rate of interest bond that national banks should deposit with the government as security for their outstanding circulation, and also require them to issue their own notes to the full extent of the capital stock of their bank, all of which should by law be made legal tender and redeemable in gold at the Treasury of the United States in the manner I will hereafter explain.

As I have before stated, the capital stock of the national banks now existing is $650,000,000. The present capital stock of the existing state and private banks is $260,000,000. I am assuming that if the suggestions made herein should be adopted by the government, then one-half at least of these private and state banks would convert themselves into national banks. This would increase to $780,000,000 the capital of the national banks which, under this plan, would issue $780,000,000 of their own currency to take the place of the present outstanding national bank notes, amounting to $206,800,000 and the $565,600,000 which the government should retire, or $772,400,000 in all. Thus practically no change would be made in the amount of the currency as a whole, which would all be legal tender and of gold value. Furthermore, it could and would be increased by the establishment of more national banks as the commercial demands of the country required it.

Now, the plan proposed to put this in force is as follows.

Let the government issue a long-term gold bond, bearing 2½ per cent. interest, with which to retire their gold certificates, treasury notes and greenbacks, and which national banks must deposit with the Treasurer of the United States as security for their bank note issue, to the extent of 80 per cent. of their capital stock. In addition to this, the banks should be required to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States gold to the amount of 20 per cent. of their capital, all of which is for the purpose of securing the note holder against loss and to redeem the notes in gold if any note holders desire it. Therefore, for this $780,000,000 of national bank notes outstanding there would be deposited with the Treasurer of the United States $624,000,000 of government bonds and also be $156,000,000 of gold, with which to redeem any of these notes upon their being presented for that purpose. These national bank notes would all be upon exactly the same basis, with exactly the same kind of security behind each, to be treated by the government as a common whole, regardless of the bank issuing them. Whenever this gold deposit should be reduced to one-half of the original deposit, then the Treasurer of the United States should have the right to call for 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. more gold as he might think best, to be by the banks deposited with him in exchange for that much national bank money, which had been redeemed; this call to be made upon every national bank in proportion to its capital stock.

Were this plan adopted by the United States government, our national currency all over the business world would be the same as gold and be received at its exchange value, like a Bank of England note.

It may be asked by some, why should the government retire $565,000,000 of non-interest bearing currency indebtedness and issue instead thereof interest-bearing bonds? My answer is that the interest on these bonds being but the small sum of less than $15,000,000 per annum, the United States could well afford to pay this, rather than keep the business interests of the country stirred up by the issue of more bonds and the uncertainty of financial affairs, as has been done during the last few years. Besides, with this plan established, there would be a perpetual basis for the entire banking and currency interests of the country, and the government could well afford for that sum to let that much of its indebtedness remain unpaid for all time, no matter what its ability to pay might be, in order to keep the currency of the country on a safe and permanent basis.

While this article has not attempted to solve the silver feature of the question in detail, yet, if the government would pass a law making silver or silver certificates legal tender for a limited amount, say $25, and providing that no national bank notes should be of a smaller denomination than $10, but that silver and silver certificates should occupy the field below $25, it would give a position to silver that should, I think, satisfy its friends, without being a threat to lower the value of our currency.

E. J. SANFORD.

BEAUTIFUL EVIL.

DON QUIXOTE was led to his career of burlesque knight-errantry by reading the extravagant romances of his time. Nowadays we often hear of youthful Quixotes who are led into no less absurd, but far less innocent, careers of adventure by a similar cause. The hero of La Mancha was turned into a ridiculous but harmless crank; his modern ectypes, unless they are sickened at the outset by some lucky disaster, for which their fiction rubbish has prescribed no remedy, become more or less desperate criminals. But, as is always true of fiction rubbish, they find no realization of its charm in actual experience. Instead of the picturesque perpetration of crime in heroic defiance of the law and its officers, which they fondly anticipated, they find themselves engaged in sneaking villany, and then in sneaking attempts to escape its penalties. Instead of the luxurious ease varied with romantic adventure so thrillingly described in the stories, they find themselves leading lives of ceaseless terror and self-contempt, hunted from hole to hole like the human vermin they have become.

If the revulsion from romanticism to realism which has taken place in the higher class of fiction could descend also to the lower, it would go far toward the correction of an influence baleful in the extreme to thousands of young lives. But, unhappily, such a reform is impossible in the very nature of things, for in proportion as fiction becomes true to life it takes rank with the higher order, and thus passes beyond the class of readers by whom it is most needed.

For this evil influence of low sensational literature the newspaper must share the responsibility with the cheap novel. A splendid villain is always a more interesting character than a disgusting brute, so whatever nature or fortune may have done to favor a criminal is usually grossly exaggerated. If he happens to possess comeliness of person, grace of manner, or intelligence above the common in his class, the public is usually regaled with rhapsodical descriptions of his beauty, refinement, and intellect, and even

visitors to his cell are apt to be so hypnotized by their reading and their own fancy that they fail to discover the exaggeration.

The typical rascal is never the hero that romance, whether in the dime novel or the newspaper, pictures him. His intelligence is, as a rule, of a very low order, confined to keenness and cunning, which act in the narrow circle of first preying upon his victims and then trying to outwit justice. Compare it with the intelligence which works for good. His courage is generally greatly overestimated. He rarely fights except when he has the overwhelming advantage, or when he is driven into a corner. His magnanimity and amiability—qualities especially credited to him by writers and readers of the low romantic school—are myths. They are no part of his business, save as they serve to cloak his villany. Pure selfishness, or at best physical temperament, is at the bottom of his good humor, apparent generosity, and even his family affection, for when the crucial test comes he will sacrifice anybody and everybody to self. The proverbial "honor among thieves" holds good only up to a certain point. The moment it becomes clear that no advantage, direct or indirect, remains to the individuals of the gang, the vaunted honor is thrown to the winds, the gang disbands, each clutches what he can from the wreck of their common fortunes, and henceforth preys upon his former pals with no more compunction than he feels in preying upon the rest of the world.

Better acquaintance with them would soon disarm the fascinating villains who play such havoc with susceptible hearts. George Eliot's "Tito" was the handsomest and cleverest of the whole precious fraternity. But she allows no one to be charmed either with his "loathsome beauty" or his fiendish cleverness. She makes you so intimate with him, and so soon, that you have no chance to be charmed before you are horrified and disgusted. One isn't inclined to pet a venomous reptile very long, however brilliant its scales or graceful its curves.

Beautiful evil! heroic villany! They have no existence save in the imagination of the poet and the romancer. In real life they are impossibilities. Such beings as Milton's magnificent "Satan" and Goethe's graceful "Mephistopheles" could no more exist than a hippogriff or a minotaur. Their nearest possible realizations would be simply detestable, horrible.

EDWARD C. JACKSON.

AMERICAN SCHOOL HISTORIES ON THE REVOLUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:

SIR,—It seems to me, with all deference, that Dr. Goldwin Smith in your September number does not give sufficient attention to the statement in Higginson's History: "Probably they would not have objected if they had been represented in the British government, so they could at least have had a voice in deciding what their taxes should be; *but this was not allowed them.*" Such representation was never asked for, and therefore it is surely a perversion of the facts of history to say it was not allowed. On the other hand, the colonies spurned in advance any contemplated offer of such representation. The circular letter dated February 11, 1768, addressed to the other legislatures by that of Massachusetts, cited in Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, Vol. II., p. 483, after urging the illegality of taxation without representation, proceeds: "This House further are of opinion that their constituents cannot by any possibility be represented in the parliament, and that it will

be forever impracticable that they should be equally represented there, and consequently not at all." Further on the statement is made: "This House think that a taxation of their constituents even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there." Nor do any of the school books cited by the Professor seem to point out that accredited agents of the colonies in London admitted that parliament could constitutionally impose on the colonies an external tax, by duties on imports, but not an internal tax, like that sought to be raised by the Stamp Act; that the latter was abandoned, and the admitted authority was not exercised in an oppressive manner.

The Professor says: "The acrimony and the space allotted [in the school books] to the vindication of the Revolutionary War diminished with the increase in the distance of the date of publication from that event." As time bears us still further from the period of the struggle perhaps some wiser and more impartial generation may decide that more moderation on the part of the popular leaders, and an honest and strenuous endeavor by them to suppress mob violence, and the wanton wholesale destruction of the property of innocent people, would have rendered the "great schism" as impracticable and unnecessary as a separation between the North and South was in 1861.

It does not appear what prominence is given in American school histories to the "Acts for the Pacification of America," passed by the British Parliament February 17, 1778. I have heard well-informed Americans say they never heard of them.

A. W. SAVARY.

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WHY HOMICIDE HAS INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES.—I.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

ONE of the surest and most confident conclusions I have drawn from a study of crime is that, in those countries which are supposed to be the most cultivated and civilized, crimes, if they do not decrease in number, are certainly decreasing in ferocity; whilst, on the other hand, crimes destitute of the element of violence, such as swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, and kindred offences, are constantly increasing. In other words, the assassin and the murderer become transformed into the thief, and the transformation involves a maximum risk to property and a minimum risk to human life. Belgium may be cited in illustration of this fact. Statistics show that in that country homicides decreased from 1 in 83,000 inhabitants in 1882 to 1 in 93,220 in 1892. England, during the same period, shows a similar ratio of decrease, namely, from 1 in 68,000 inhabitants to 1 in 92,000; but whilst sanguinary crimes in the latter country thus decreased 8 per cent., bankruptcies increased from 28 to 36 per cent., and robberies 30 per cent., the increase in population meantime being 13 per cent. Thus it is that when we read of any singularly atrocious crime in Europe we almost unconsciously attri-

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bute it to some community which still remains in barbarism, though in close contact with civilization, such, for instance, as Corsica as opposed to France, or the island of Sardinia as opposed to Italy. The statistics of homicide are a sure guide as to a people's state of culture, and it may be safely asserted that the latter increases with increased wealth, greater density of population and diminished illiteracy.* The following table shows the relative proportions of homicides in the countries named:

Italy	96	per 100,000	inhabitants.
Spain	58	"	"
Portugal	25	"	"
Hungary	75	"	"
Austria	25	"	"
Sweden and Norway	13	"	"
France and Belgium	18	"	"
Germany	5	"	"
England	5	"	"

The United States stand alone in offering an extraordinary exception to what may be called the rule, for, according to statistics (not always reliable, however) published there, homicides are of startling frequency in that country. This fact is of greater significance when we consider that, whilst in all other civilized countries homicides are yearly decreasing in number, in America the contrary is the case, such crimes being continually on the increase.

If we compare the results of the last census with those of the census of 1880, we find that in the latter year there were 4,600 arrests for the crime of homicide, whilst according to the figures published June 1, 1890, the number of similar arrests had increased to 7,500.† From this it would appear that homicides had increased 60 per cent. within ten years, while the population had increased but 25 per cent. And what is of graver moment is the fact that this growth of the crime referred to is progressive, that is, it is, as above stated, steadily increasing year by year.

While it is true that the proportion of twelve homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants in the United States is in startling contrast to the statistics of England, Scotland, and Germany, it is not so when compared with those of countries not so highly civilized as the latter, such, for instance, as Italy, Spain, Austria, and Hungary, over which the United States have a notable advantage.

* *Vide* Lombroso, *Criminality*, Vol. III., pages 59, 66, 209, 160-171.
† See Faulkner's *Crime and the Census*.

Inasmuch, however, as America prides itself upon being at the head of civilization, representing to-day what Europe will be in the course of a hundred years, the fact that the crime of homicide should be so much more general there than in Great Britain and Germany, and that not only is there no year showing a decrease in this crime, but on the contrary a continual increase, would seem to be so much at variance with the undeniable civil progress of that country, that it becomes interesting to ascertain what are the causes of this apparent paradox.

I will endeavor to explain what I believe these to be. To this purpose I have availed myself of documents furnished by Brice and Cook, and, especially, of Bosco's *Homicide in the United States* (which is probably the ablest work extant on the subject), as also of Faulkner's *Crime and the Census, 1896.* At the outset I hasten to say that I at once discovered arguments tending to modify the significance which might otherwise be attached to the statistics I have quoted. If we take the older States of the Union—those which are the most highly civilized, which possess a pure judiciary and which furnish us with reliable statistical information*—it will be found that these sections are almost as free from homicides as the most enlightened countries of Europe. The State of Massachusetts furnishes us with data showing not only the number of arrests, but also the number of deaths resulting annually from personal violence. The figures given for the latter are 0.5 to each 100,000 inhabitants, less than the proportion furnished by England, 0.9, or by Scotland, 1.6. The same thing is true of others of the New England States, viz.: Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, where the number of deaths due to homicide in the year 1893 reached only 0.6 per 100,000 inhabitants.

From this it would appear that, in some parts of the United States, conditions being equal with those of favored parts of Europe, there is a marked tendency toward diminution in the crime of homicide.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the legislation of almost all the States considers as murder or homicide nearly all cases of wounding followed by death, and, in fact, all crimes resulting in fatality—even when death is merely incidental and

* Cook, *Murders in Massachusetts.* Quarterly Publication of the American Statistical Association, 1894. Second Annual Report Upon the Births, Marriages, Deaths, and Divorces of the State of Maine. Augusta, 1896.

unintentional, such as, for instance, death resulting from incendiarism, or the duel, or other causes. The law even considers as a murderer him who by false testimony has caused another to be convicted of a capital offense, and as guilty of manslaughter any person who, by his negligence or by the commission of an illegal act, causes the death of another. Many persons, therefore, whom the law in the United States treats as homicides would not be so considered in Europe. Hence the homicidal statistics, which apparently are so discreditable to the United States, have not the same significance as similar statistics would have in Europe. However, notwithstanding this attenuation, the statistics of homicide in the Republic, as a whole, are so portentous that it becomes us to seek how we can account for the acknowledged evil.

Climate.—Let us begin by studying the effects of climate. In the United States, as elsewhere, the southern regions by reason of their warm climate are prone to engender violent passion; hence the greater number of homicides in such sections than in colder climes—an increase of from 17 per cent. in 1880 to 40 per cent. in 1890. A similar augmentation is noted in almost all countries more or less tropical. I may note here that Holtzendorf and many others who have made a study of such matters have shown that in southern countries homicides are fifteen times more numerous than in northern countries. Thus we find that, whereas in New England there is but one homicide to every 66,000 inhabitants, there is in Texas one to every 115. In the latter State even school children may be found with murderous weapons in their possession. A somewhat similar condition prevails in Southern Italy, the consequence being that while in Northern Italy there are but seven homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants, there are in the south thirty-one. In fact, so great is the effect of temperature, that even in England it has been found that during a given period there were considerably more homicides in the summer than in the winter; in other words, they numbered in July 1,043 and in June 1,071, while in January there were but 705 and in February 701. Hence the assertion of Ferri that in years when the average temperature has reached a higher than the normal degree there is a notable increase of this crime.

Immigration.—The increase in homicides is more notable in

the Atlantic than in the Central States, but this is due to a great extent to the character of the immigration. In the Atlantic States—especially New York and Pennsylvania—there is a great volume of immigration, consisting of Italians, Russians, and Hungarians, many of whom have already contributed powerfully to increase the volume of criminality in Europe. In the Central States, on the other hand, particularly Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, the principal immigration consists of Swedes and Danes, to whom the crime of homicide is repugnant.

Of the Italian immigrants, two-thirds in the year 1890 were found dwelling in the Atlantic States, while of the Russian immigrants one-half, of the Hungarian three-fourths, and of the Scandinavian two-thirds were to be found in the Northern Central States. It is curious to notice in this connection that ethnical statistics in America furnish us with the same reports as we are accustomed to in Europe. Thus, the homicides were found to be in the following racial proportions:

Scandinavians	5.8 per 100,000
Germans	9.7 " "
English	10.4 " "
Irish	7.5 " "
Austrians	7.2 " "
French	27.4 " "
Italians	58.1 " "
Mexicans	116.9 " "

That is, the several nationalities named furnished the same proportion of homicides in the United States as in their respective countries, and even the children of these immigrants supply an analagous proportion, although greatly modified, thus:

Scandinavians	1.3
Germans	3.2
French	10.3
Irish	11.4

The ethnical influence may become modified, but it is not eradicated, and it constitutes a coefficient of criminality which may readily escape the observation of the statistician owing to the generality of naturalization. It must not be forgotten, however, that immigration is of itself a coefficient of crime. Joly has shown that, conditions being equal, the richest departments of France furnish us with a greater number of homicides than the other departments, solely because they contain a greater number of immigrants, especially Italians and Spaniards.

Further, in France it is found that of 100,000 natives but 8

are brought before the courts, whereas of a like number of foreigners (immigrants) 41 are arrested for infraction of the laws. The same is the case in the United States, where criminality is found to keep pace with the growth of immigration.

California,	0.30	criminals	per	100	inhabitants	.....	33 per cent.	immigrants
Nevada,	0.31	"	"	"		.....	33 "	"
Wyoming,	0.35	"	"	"		.....	38 "	"
Montana,	0.19	"	"	"		.....	29 "	"
Arizona,	0.16	"	"	"		.....	39 "	"
New York,	0.27	"	"	"		.....	23 "	"
New Mexico,	0.03	"	"	"		.....	6.7 "	"
Columbia,	0.11	"	"	"		.....	1.3 "	" (*)

These figures would seem to dispose of the assertion that crime is largely due to density of population; for, as is well known, the population of Montana, Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona is exceedingly sparse, and yet, owing to the greater proportion of immigrants in those States, the ratio of criminality is far in excess of what it is in New York, Pennsylvania, and Columbia, where the population is a hundred times denser but with a smaller proportion of immigration. Nor need this greater tendency toward criminality among the immigrant class surprise us when we consider that those composing it are derived from a social element which is driven by poverty to overcome that habit of immobility which is common to the human race, and if they are possessed of greater enterprise and activity than their fellows, they are at the same time more anomalous, and are as a rule at that age (from 20 to 30) which furnishes the largest number of recruits to criminality. Separated from their friends and far from their native country, they are not restrained by shame from committing crime, and being often crowded together, nearly all of them young men, often without work and with no hope of outside aid, they are unable to resist the impulse to violate the laws. In their native cities nothing but some very exceptional circumstance would have driven them to crime, but in their new surroundings the slightest incident frequently serves as a pretext, and as opportunities for crime are being constantly offered them, they are dragged along by the current. These immigrants, in fact, represent that agglomeration of humanity to which is offered the greatest facility for and the strongest incentive to crimes of opportunity. It is owing to this fact that in many instances bands of brigands are composed of nomads and immigrants.

* Tenth Census (1890) of the United States, Vol. II., page 1659.

I should add here that, as very many of the immigrants referred to are of necessity employed in servile labor, they are frequently brought into close contact with wealth, which arouses their envy and cupidity.

Negroes and Mongolians.—But a much greater cause of homicide in the United States is the vast number of colored people in that country. If immigration tends to the increase of crime even among the descendants of immigrants who may have become assimilated, how much greater is it increased by the presence of a race which finds itself in a state of civil inferiority. If we are to accept the statement that 60 per cent. of the homicides are furnished by the whites and the remaining 40 per cent. by the colored race, it must be remembered that the former constitute 88 per cent. of the population and the latter but 12 per cent. ; therefore it is clear that were it not for the negro population the crime of homicide would be almost as rare in the United States as it is in the most civilized countries of Europe. The colored race furnishes to the statistics of this crime, proportionately, more than five times as many cases as the whites ; in other words, among the former there are forty-five homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants, while among the latter there are but eight to every 100,000. It should not be forgotten, however, that the proportion of colored criminals, according to population, is apparently always greater because the average term of imprisonment is frequently longer than for the white criminal. This tends to increase the number of those in prison in proportion to the colored population. Moreover, such is the prejudice against the negro, especially in the Southern States, that it is reflected even in the administration of justice, with the result that the colored offender against the law is judged and condemned with greater severity than the white offender. If we add to this disadvantage the negro's greater shiftlessness, his greater carelessness to conceal his crime, his greater proneness to confess, we can understand how much his chances of conviction are increased.

But the greatest obstacle to the negro's progress is the fact that there remain latent within him the primitive instincts of the savage ; for notwithstanding that the garb and the habits of the white man may have given him a veneer of modern civilization, he is still too often indifferent to and careless of the lives of others ; and he betrays that lack of the sentiment of

pity, commonly observed among savage races, which causes them to regard homicide as a mere incident, and as glorious in case it is the outcome of revenge. To this latter the negro is frequently impelled by a spirit of resentment of the prejudices of his white fellow-citizens ; and just as frequently the motive for his crimes may be found in the gratification of his brutal instincts.

Further, there may be adduced in explanation of the negro's tendency to crime the fact that he is still practically in servitude ; for while the law has emancipated him, it cannot be denied that the law in this respect is to a great extent a dead letter. It has been amply demonstrated that from a servile condition spring the greatest of criminals.

Again, a supreme cause of the homicidal tendency found in the negro race of the United States may be sought in their moral and material conditions, which in some respects are rendered worse by the abolition of slavery, producing, as it did, a ferment in the minds of the colored people and exposing them to social problems in the presence of which even a stronger race would have stood appalled and powerless. With a diminished surveillance, and an increased antagonism between whites and blacks, rendered inevitable by an emancipation which was not due to but in spite of the Southern whites, it is not difficult to conceive that the law decreeing equality of the two races must inevitably have become practically ineffective, the negro still remaining morally, if not bodily, the white man's slave. Even in the British West Indies where the negroes have long enjoyed ample liberty, they still preserve their primitive habits, with a marked tendency to homicide and a rarity of suicides.*

As to the Chinese, they are more given to infanticide, which they do not regard as a real crime. Considering their restricted numbers, they furnish a large percentage of criminals ; but while the prisons have for years been full of these Mongolians, their contribution to criminality is not increasing, for the law prohibits Chinese immigration, and there is little or no natural increase of such population in the United States, owing to the very limited number of women of that race in the country.

CESARE LOMBROSO.

(*To be continued.*)

* See Hoffmann, *The Negroes in the West Indies;* Strahan, *Suicide and Insanity*, 1896.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GOLF.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

GOLF is generally regarded as a hobby which should be followed with a single mind, and some enthusiasts may possibly resent its being used as a kind of philosophic stalking horse for approaching certain shy problems in psychology. I have found, however, when conversing with many confirmed golfers that any subject which has a colorable connection with their favorite sport is treated with tolerance. Hence I trust that a brief discussion of some of the nervous and mental processes involved in the game may interest the golfing readers of this REVIEW.

It must be evident to every one who has watched a golfer's progress that there must be some remarkable affinity between th human mind and the royal and ancient game. Every golf club becomes a mission centre for the surrounding district and one continually sees that those who come to scoff remain to play.

It would be easy to justify the game of golf on rational grounds and to show that it affords one of the most beneficial forms of relaxation for brain workers who are not able to indulge in violent or fatiguing sports. But, as is generally the case in human affairs, the tyro's impelling motive is seldom based upon reason.

At present, although the game is played the whole world over, one finds that it has not obtained a firm foothold except where the English language is spoken. Hence, if we wish to enquire into the psychic idiosyncrasies which conduce to golf contagion—in the way that physicians enquire into the predisposing causes of disease—we must seek them among the mental peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon race. Now, to the outsider who has never handled a club the game looks ridiculously easy. The object which has to be struck is stationary; hence the man who has played cricket, or fives, or baseball, thinks that it is the simplest thing in

the world to hit it in the direction in which he wishes it to go. He takes hold of a club (which he generally handles as if it were a cricket bat) and strikes at the ball. As often as not he misses it altogether, and even if he chances to aim correctly he finds himself completely outdriven by men whose athletic capabilities he holds in contempt. On following up his first attempt with the stern determination to better it, our beginner, after striking with all his might three or four times and plowing up the ground around his ball, manages at length to move it fully two yards. The difficulties seem unaccountable. Although the ball sits still to be hit he cannot hit it; and, the more he sets his teeth and exerts his muscles in attempts to send it soaring forward after the manner of his opponent, the more complete is his humiliation.

Now, I think we have discovered the first element of golf-mania in the stiff-necked and pig-headed Caucasian. After such a defeat it is absolutely impossible for him, consistently with retaining his self-respect, to leave things as they are. To give up golf at this stage is to acknowledge that he cannot do something which is obviously and ludicrously simple. He must either go on or else acknowledge himself an impotent paralytic. Yet, the more he concentrates his soul upon the game, the greater becomes the contrast between his miserable attempts and the feats of the players whom he lately despised. Although in the very slough of despond he grimly (and literally) plows his way onwards, determined not to be beaten. At length—usually when his humiliation is complete—by a lucky chance he makes an effective stroke, and the ball springs away from his club-head like a thing of life and flies an incredible distance. It was the one thing needed to weld the fetters of golf slavery. He goes home with blistered hands and aching shoulders, and before he sleeps he has re-struck that miraculous stroke a hundred times. Next morning finds him again upon the links. Ere a week is out he is armed with all the complex paraphernalia of the game, which he formerly regarded as contemptible superfluities, and is practising "approach shots" in his garden to the ruination of the sacred turf. He buys sundry handbooks on golf and spends a small fortune in lessons from the club professional. All his thoughts and conversation are saturated with golf, and his friends sum up his condition by saying that he has "got it badly."

Having thus suggested the chief reasons why the game is so

seductive to most people who allow themselves to tamper with it, I will now endeavor to explain what takes place in the brain and nervous apparatus of the learner before he becomes an adept. Perhaps it is taking rather a liberty with the word *psychology* to apply it to nervous processes in which conscious thought has but little share, but at present we have no other term which can be used in its place. The nervous processes to which I shall refer are by no means peculiar to golf; in fact, they come into play on almost every occasion when we perform any act requiring the combined efforts of various muscles. Probably it is because they seem so much a matter of course that they have hitherto received so little attention from students of mental science. They belong, in fact, to that animal or automatic part of us which it has been the fashion of nearly all moral philosophers to ignore, and which we are only beginning to understand. He who takes up golf in early life probably learns to play as unconsciously as he learned to walk, and if the game were a development of any other branch of athletics in which most youths acquire proficiency, most of us would probably drift into it in an automatic fashion and acquire a fair amount of skill without knowing how. It is because golf compels those of us who take it up in adult life to begin again at the beginning that it helps us to appreciate some of the elementary conditions of semi-automatic acts. Another peculiarity of golf which renders it useful as a revealer of psychic methods is the fact that each player acts independently and pursues his course without let or hindrance, except from his own want of skill and the condition of the ground. In football, cricket, and almost all popular athletic sports there is a continual interaction of wills and the constant excitement of opposed endeavors. Hence the mental and nervous processes involved are extremely complex, and no chance offers for calm introspective analysis while the game is proceeding. But the golfer, from the time he leaves the first "tee" until he finally "holes out," usually has the ball solely at his own disposal, and there is abundant time for meditation as he follows it after each stroke. Proficiency in other games instead of assisting the golf player rather stands in his way. The driving stroke at golf is utterly different from a stroke at cricket, hockey, tennis, or baseball. In all these, vigorous action of the flexor and extensor muscles of the arm is necessary, but the golfer who would drive "a long ball"

must reduce the muscular action of the arm to a minimum and do all with a turn of the body and a pendulum-like swing of the club. This is why even the accomplished all-round athlete has practically to begin over again when he becomes a golfer. The muscular habits which he has acquired during his boyhood, and which give him easy skill in other games, are worse than useless, and an entirely new set of automatic actions must be evolved.

Probably, few of my readers are conscious of the extremely complex nature of some of the simplest muscular acts. A little thought will show that both in ourselves and in the great majority of the lower animals elaborate calculations are unconsciously performed almost every time the body is put in motion. Look how exactly a beast of prey calculates the distance of its quarry before it makes a spring, and what a complex business must be the adjusting of all the muscular forces so as to enable it to alight upon the back of its victim. Mental science has now arrived at a stage when we can no longer be content with the explanation that such actions are "instinctive." Every athlete is perfectly aware that as he approaches a jump a calculating process is going on within him, and he knows before he arrives at the obstacle whether the forces he can summon are sufficient to carry him over. Like the beast of prey above alluded to, he can without difficulty estimate the propulsive force required so that he can alight at any point he pleases within the limits of his jumping distance. That this capacity for mental calculation is something quite distinct from the ordinary mathematical faculty is shown by the fact that it exists in great perfection in early life, before the power to deal with figures develops.

As I have said, golf compels those of us who take up the game after we have arrived at manhood to fall back upon subconscious mental processes which are common in young children and in the lower animals, and I shall show that most of the well-worn maxims of professional instructors are calculated to aid us in this attempt. Take, for instance, the two phrases which are dinned into the ears of every beginner, "Keep your eye on the ball," and "Slow back." Every tyro finds out that it is by no means easy to estimate the distance of the ball correctly enough to enable his club to strike it. We find, however, that among the lower animals this power to estimate distances is very widely distributed. Even as low down in the scale as the chameleon, or

the serpent, the distance of any object to be struck seems to be reckoned with unerring accuracy. Undoubtedly, the majority of savages possess this instinct in a much more perfect form than does the average civilized man. Skill in this direction has scarcely any relationship with ordinary mathematical aptitude. I once knew an extremely thick-headed farm laborer, unable to read or write, who possessed the faculty to an extraordinary extent, and who would tell you on the instant how many yards an object was from where he stood. I once had the curiosity to ask him how he made his wonderful calculations, which were almost always justified by subsequent measurements. He replied that he did not know, but while he looked at the object he felt the answer coming, and by and by it came, and when it had come he felt perfectly sure of it. This seems to be very like the reply given by several of the calculating boys whose remarkable mathematical powers have astonished the world. Now, the simple act of staring hard at the ball while preparing to strike enables the golfer to judge its distance with exactness, although no conscious effort to form such an estimate is occupying the mind.

When one begins to analyze the physiological processes involved in driving, one soon becomes astonished at their complexity. Almost all the muscles in the limbs and trunk have to take their share in the action. Each must act in concert with all the others and not one must shirk or overdo its part. Obviously, the message which each receives as to the expenditure of power expected from it must proceed from some central source. Think of the generalship required by the nervous head-centre in controlling such complex manœuvres! Von Moltke's historic combinations at the outbreak of the Franco-German war are mere child's play in comparison. It is obvious that the innumerable orders telegraphed down the motor nerves are sent off practically at the same moment, yet the second precept ("Slow back") to which I have alluded shows that an appreciable time is required for a successful solution of the problem to be worked out. I have seen several of our great professional champions make their strokes with a very rapid back swing, but to the beginner this is absolutely fatal. While the club is being slowly lifted a tremendous amount of business is being done in the telegraph department of the golfer's body. Doubtless it is because of the unaccustomed character of the movements required in golf that

an appreciable amount of time is necessary to enable groups of muscles, not habitually working in concert, to act harmoniously together. The fact that the eye must be kept upon the ball during the whole swing suggests that the controlling agency within the skull is all the time watching, criticising and adjusting all the forces marshalled at its command.

I have heard many people who are not golfers, and who know nothing about the difficulties and refinements of the game, make great sport of the "preliminary waggle" of the club when a player is "addressing his ball." If I have succeeded in making myself intelligible so far, I think the use of this manœuvre will now be fully appreciated. In all probability the immediate problem before the golfer is worked out theoretically, or, at any rate, is "enunciated" during the "preliminary waggle," and the time taken up by the slow backward swing is occupied by the work of turning theory into practice.

Now, if the ball always lay in the same position relatively to the player, and he always used a club of the same length and weight, one can understand that he would soon acquire mechanical accuracy in making his strokes. But, as a matter of fact, as soon as a golfer has driven from the tee he hardly ever gets a ball lying in such a position as to be able effectively to reproduce the action which was successful at the outset. As often as not, when playing through the green, he finds himself obliged to stand upon a slight eminence above the ball or in a slight hollow below it, and that he must use a club of different length and weight from his driver. Hence, on each occasion, the calculation has to be based upon fresh data, and it is only by observing the same two principles which guide him at the start that he can hope to make a successful shot with his "iron" or "cleek." How independent the whole proceeding is of the mental faculties which habitually obey the will is shown by the disastrous result of bestowing too strenuous attention upon the strokes. True enough, it is essential to give one's whole self to each stage of the game if anything like success is to be hoped for. But one must do it in a kind of passive and animal fashion, committing the business as it were to that sub-agent of the will who has charge of the automatic department. Any attempt to bring the conscious will into play, as one is often tempted to do after a series of exasperating failures, at once sets the automatic department on strike. Hence a third motto that

is repeated *ad nauseam* by all instructors, "Don't press." It is not altogether easy to give a sufficing verbal definition of "pressing," although all practical golfers know perfectly well what is meant by the term. Broadly speaking, a player who "presses" endeavors to enhance the effect of the swing of his club by a vigorous use of the muscles of his arms. This, however, is only the mechanical part of the vice. It really originates from the interference of the active will with the plans of its automatic deputy. The proceeding and its results remind me of what I once observed in a well organized factory, when the principal partner, who knew but little about practical details, threw a whole department into confusion by appearing personally on the scene in order to hurry on work during an important crisis.

The invariable failure of a stroke to which too much conscious will and attention have been given greatly puzzles the average beginner. In most of the affairs of life we find that a victory can be gained over difficulties by strenuous endeavor, and usually the powers which we desire to bring to bear are so fully under the control of the will that they yield obedience to its imperious mandates. But in golf, at any rate in the case of the beginner, this is not the case. Still, it does seem extraordinary that stroke after stroke may be made by a novice with the whole strength of his muscles without the club-head once chancing to meet the ball in the proper manner. Probably, the explanation is that the conscious will and the automatic calculating department are pulling in different directions.

One vice of almost every novice throws an interesting light upon the nervous processes which we have been discussing. Every beginner fails in many of his strokes by striking the ball upon the top. He may have observed the instructions of his teacher to the letter, especially as regards the three principles which I have already dealt with, and yet time after time he somehow finds himself striking half an inch short, and therefore failing to touch the ball at the necessary spot. In reality, the precept rather than the player is to blame for this fault. It seems due to a too exact and scrupulous observance of the rule, "Keep your eye on the ball."

Now, naturally, when one is standing over a small object, such as a golf ball, and looking at it steadily, one sees the upper surface. Hence, the automatic calculator within takes the dis-

tance between the top of the ball and the player's body as the guide for the length of the stroke. Obviously, if we wish to move such an object as a golf ball in a horizontal direction, we need to strike it about on a level with its centre. But the centre of the ball being invisible, and its horizontal equator but dimly seen, these do not receive the recognition which is their due. Hence, it becomes necessary for the golfer to keep not only his eye upon the ball, *but his mind's eye upon the ball's invisible centre,* otherwise the stupid exactitude of his automatic calculating machine will make his stroke too short.

Probably, the best style of golf is acquired not through any special efforts to assume correct attitudes on the part of the learner, but simply by association with really good players. We all know how remarkably independent of the rational intelligence is that faculty for mimicry which we share with our arboreal cousins. One continually notices that tricks of speech and of expression have been acquired in this way, not only without the knowledge of the imitator, but even against his will. The eye does not report to the conscious *ego* all that it observes. In common with other departments of the frame, where various functions proceed without the cognizance of the proprietor, it has certain independent duties. Many an impression received by the eye is passed on to the storehouse of memory without the conscious intelligence being aware of the fact, and, more than this, information so acquired is continually acted upon in such a manner as to bring into play nearly every part of the system except that central conscious particle which we call "I." This is remarkably shown in unconscious mimicry. Two people living together may gradually grow almost exactly alike in feature, through the organs of expression in each bringing themselves into conformity with the impressions received through the sense of sight. This is all done not only without intent, but without the least rumor of the change reaching the consciousness of either person. One can therefore understand how it is that, since most of the actions required at golf require the free use of the automatic forces of the body, it pays for the learner simply to attach himself to some superior player in order to absorb his style.

Unfortunately the precept, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," applies especially to golf. I have seen a novice acquire some vicious habit, such as a hurried or jerky swing,

after a single round with a player whose style was bad. In a club where I sometimes play, there is one gentleman who, in spite of an abominable style, achieves considerable success. He, therefore, frequently plays with some of the other leading golfers of the district, and it is not difficult to observe in those who have been most often upon the links with him the results of his evil example. This unconscious mimicry is notably displayed in single acts. One often observes during a match that if one player "tops" or "slices" his ball when driving, the other does likewise. The fault of the first may be so exactly reproduced by his opponent that the two balls are found lying within a few feet of one another, although both are far away from the line to the next hole.

The automatism which we have been discussing shows itself in many interesting ways. We all know how inveterate is the tendency to repeat some act which is performed under the auspices of this department of the mind. In this way most of the habits are formed which go to make up our manners and our morals. Now, most players discover that if they strike a ball wrongly once, either by "topping" it, "slicing" it, or "pulling" it, they are extremely prone to fall into the same error over and over again. I remember seeing a man who was a fairly competent player, and who usually drove with force and accuracy, strike his ball from the tee into a pond just in front. He teed up a new one and tried again; this also went into the pond at almost exactly the same spot. With increasing exasperation he put down four more and apparently took infinite pains with his driving. They all splashed into the water within a radius of about three yards. This tendency to repeat any vice in method is so fully recognized by golfers that some players make a habit of at once changing their club when they have made a false stroke. Although the one they select may not be so well adapted for the immediate purpose, the slightly changed conditions enable them to escape the risk of repeating the failure.

It is a common experience also that on successive rounds upon the same links the mistakes of the first round are repeated. Thus, supposing a player "slices" his ball at the first tee, "tops" it at the second, and "skies" it at the third, he will be very likely to do exactly the same when making his second round. Apparently this is due to some miscalculation dependent partly

upon the player and partly upon special external circumstances. Such a case is very similar to the experience of a schoolboy, who, on going over the same mathematical problem over and over again, makes precisely the same error at the same spot. Does not the fact that all the innumerable component acts of a faulty drive are thus reproduced, so as to place the ball twice in succession in almost the same spot, prove the astonishing precision of automatic psychic processes?

A good deal of instruction can be gathered from a careful study of the causes of "foozling." Probably an incorrect attitude on the part of the player is the most common, and it is easy to see how this will interfere with any attempt to adjust the various forces to be brought to bear upon the ball. Probably the most exasperating experience of the golfer is when he drives his ball into some awkward hazard which he is especially desirous of avoiding. This is often done over and over again during a single round, and the apparently malign perversity of the ball appears due to some diabolical agency. The explanation is, I think, somewhat as follows. In spite of his miraculous generalship over the muscular forces, our mechanical Von Moltke often shows himself ludicrously stupid. To do him justice I believe that he is always exceedingly anxious to carry out orders correctly, and is quite incapable of playing tricks with his superiors. If he acts in apparent disobedience to the wishes of the conscious *ego*, it is because he fails to understand his orders. When we direct our attention to some particular object, just at the moment when our forces are being marshalled for action there seems a great difficulty in making it clear to this inward agent whether this object is to be aimed at or avoided. Hence if some particularly awkward hazard in front occupies the attention of the player when "addressing his ball," although he may desire above all things to avoid it, his orders are misinterpreted by the zealous servant within, much as the words of King Henry III. regarding Thomas à Becket were misinterpreted by his knights. The very fact that the attention is directed toward any object is often sufficient to send the ball spinning in that direction, although the hazard was in reality looked at merely that it might be avoided.

I remember on the old links of the North Surrey Golf Club (a club, by the way, which has always been popular among the Americans resident in London) there was one short hole with cer-

tain sheds and a cycle track just to the right of the course. Seeing that a ball "sliced" in this direction was almost certain to be lost, most players scrupulously endeavored to drive straight or even to "pull" slightly when playing from the tee. Here the objects to be avoided were so conspicuous and so ugly as almost perforce to occupy the attention at the very moment of driving. The result was that innumerable balls found a resting-place in the ground beyond the cycle track, and one seldom passed the spot without seeing some frugal-minded golfer groping among the rubbish and weeds in the hope of recovering his lost treasure.

When the golfer's soul is torn with discord after repeated failures of this kind, and one side of himself curses the other side for its confounded stupidity, one can understand the brow-beaten Mechanical Superintendent of Automatic Acts replying somewhat as follows: "But if you didn't wish me to direct the forces at my command so as to drive the ball in that particular direction, why in the world did you turn your attention thither just at the moment when I had everything prepared for action?"

It would be easy to show that this identical hitch in the nervous process of translating thought into action is responsible for much "foozling" and failure in other spheres besides that of golf. On making enquiries of various old stagers as to whether they were subject to this infirmity, and if so how they overcame it, I was told that such errors are best avoided by fixing the mind solely upon the object to be achieved at the moment of driving, to the exclusion of all else. Thus, supposing we were addressing our ball upon a tee with a yawning quarry in front, some trees to the left, and a water hazard to the right, but with a fair piece of the green within easy reach of an ordinary drive, the mind should be fixed upon this spot absolutely, and the perils to be passed should be studiously ignored.

Probably, many other points will occur to the minds of golfers, especially if they have but recently learned the game, which offer food for reflection to those who are curious about the working of that wonderful and intricate machine, the human nervous system. I have merely selected a few which seemed to throw a little light upon the nature of those semi-automatic actions which seem so simple at first sight, but which, when analyzed, astonish us with their wonderful complexity.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE CENSUS OF 1900.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.

ONE of the first acts of Congress on convening in December should be the passage of a preliminary law for the purpose of putting in motion the machinery for taking the Twelfth Census. The work of preparation for a census such as that of the United States is as vast and important as the actual enumeration itself. The demand for exact statistics is constantly increasing, and the importance of greater accuracy and care in securing statistical data of all kinds would seem to indicate that as soon as the volumes of one census are published the preparatory work of another should commence. Under the present system it is impossible to keep the avenues of information open, and the skilled statisticians, experts, and trained clerks become scattered. Unless Congress acts immediately there is great danger of repeating mistakes and attempting costly experiments.

Those who have examined into the subject know that whatever the mistakes of the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, they were the result of imperfect laws, and not the result of inefficient management. Those who for partisan or even more unworthy motives criticise the results of either of the last two enumerations of the population of the United States, seem to forget that the best available statistical talent in the country was employed. Of the thirty statistical experts in charge of the several branches of inquiry on the Eleventh Census, twenty-five were capable experts who performed similar work for the Tenth Census. Of the five or six new men brought into prominence by the Eleventh Census, one is to-day the statistician of the Agricultural Department, another is his first

assistant, a third occupies one of the highest places in the Labor Department, a fourth is chief of an important division of the Geological Survey, and a fifth was called to occupy a place of great statistical responsibility in the Treasury Department. Every one of these experts, appointed by the alleged partisan management of the Eleventh Census, stepped from the Census Office into the several departments referred to during the last Democratic administration. Of the other men in charge of the several divisions of both Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, may be mentioned Dr. John S. Billings, now in charge of the Public Library of New York, and known throughout the world as the best authority in the United States on all matters appertaining to vital statistics; Henry Gannett, not less distinguished in geographical research, and geographer of the United States Geological Survey; Dr. Fred H. Wines, secretary of the State Board of Charities of Illinois, the recognized authority of the country on all questions relating to the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes; Dr. David T. Day, the well-known mining expert of the Geological Survey; S. N. D. North, of Boston, secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, a statistical expert of wide experience and recognized ability; Professor Henry C. Adams, statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a dozen other men whose names are not so well known publicly, but who in statistical circles have reputations for as thorough and as honest statistical work as any critic of either the Tenth or Eleventh Census. When, therefore, ungenerous critics are clamoring for an "honest census" for 1900, and an "accurate census" for the "last decade of the century," and thereby insinuating that the work heretofore was neither honest nor accurate, they overlook the fact that the superintendent or director of the Twelfth Census, if he performs his duty, must organize his office on precisely the same lines as his two immediate predecessors did, if he hopes to attain an equal degree of success. There was absolutely no partisanship, in the narrow spirit, about the Eleventh Census. It was organized from beginning to end, as such a great work should be organized, on the broadest possible plan, and the best known statisticians and experts were invited to take part in the work, irrespective of their political or economic faith. The Eleventh Census, however, needs no defence, for the twenty-five volumes

speak for themselves, and they have been separately and collectively endorsed by those best qualified to pass judgment on such work. The methods of tabulation which were inaugurated in 1890 have been subsequently adopted by nearly all the principal European countries, and M. Troinitski, the eminent statistician of Russia, is using precisely the same system in the tabulation of the imperial census of that country. Indeed, the machines for the Russian census were made in the United States, and some of the identical devices used in the Eleventh Census are at this moment doing duty in St. Petersburg.

The defects of the Eleventh Census—and no one realizes them more keenly than the writer—did not arise from the direction of, nor could they have been remedied by, the capable corps of experts. They were, in fact, the result of delayed legislation, hasty preparation, and an overburdening of the office with inquiries irrelevant and unnecessary. In his testimony before the House Committee on Census, when the question of a permanent census office was under consideration, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in referring to the Eleventh Census, said :

"I believe the present census to be as good a one as any one could take under the present system. I know Mr. Porter has done as well as any one could have done under the faulty system."

The faults of the present system may be thus enumerated :

1. Inadequate time for preparation.

2. A hard and fast law rushed through the day before the adjournment of Congress, calling for innumerable statistical investigations and inquiries, many of which are useless and impracticable and some of which are impossible.

3. Supplemental questions for the twenty million or more schedules, called for by Congress ninety days prior to the actual enumeration.

4. Placing upon the shoulders of the superintendent, whose mind should be fully occupied with his experts in planning the work, the responsibility of the appointment of an office force of several thousand clerks.

If Congress in its wisdom will remedy these defects, there will be no trouble with the Twelfth Census, beyond those complaints which arise from too great local expectations in the way of population, and here and there defective enumerations necessarily incident to the employment of an army of sixty thousand persons. How can

these defects best be remedied ? First, by making the census a permanent office of the government, and applying to it precisely the same rules and regulations as to the employment of clerical help as are in vogue in other departments. If this were done, special civil service examinations might be held for the work, prior to the time the clerks would be needed, and the Census Office would then have a sufficiently large eligible list to draw from. In 1890, I accepted civil service examinations of the higher grades, but that did not do away with the necessity of examining 2,700 clerks in the office ; and this, with the work of appointment, literally took up all the time of the superintendent, whose mind should have been free for his purely statistical duties.

The examinations of the Eleventh Census were fair and just, and conducted by a man whose partisanship was of so inoffensive a nature that he was retained through the Cleveland administration, while the Appointment Clerk of the Census Office—a Democrat, by the way—was promoted by the same administration, and still occupies a responsible government office. The clerical force thus gathered together proved most efficient, and the work accomplished greater in quantity and superior in quality to that of any other bureau of the government. It should be remembered that hundreds of these people were engaged in addressing envelopes, numbering cards by machinery, punching cards, working electrical machines, and in work that practically had to be learned after the clerk came into the office. As a matter of fact, some of the most expert of these men and women, "record breakers," as they were called, were those appointed as laborers, who were unable to pass the examination, but whose manual dexterity made up for inability to fill out technical examination blanks. There was a great deal more money lost to the government in consequence of insufficient time for planning the work and the inability to secure expert and well-trained division chiefs, than in consequence of the lack of ability of the clerical force. It will be better in my opinion, to draw the clerks for the Twelfth Census from the classified service, but chiefly because by so doing it will strengthen the faith of the public in the census. The examinations of the Eleventh Census were much stiffer than those of the Civil Service for the same grade clerks ; yet because they were left to the discretion of one man, they have been called a

"debauch of the public service." And then again, why transform the Census Office at its busiest season into an examination department for clerks, and the director of a vast scientific investigation into a dispenser of political patronage? It is simply unjust to such an official. Having passed through the ordeal once, I am satisfied that the other way is more practical, and in the end will be better for all concerned.

It is not necessary to dwell on the advantages of a permanent census office, for the subject has been thoroughly investigated by both Committees of Congress.* In 1893 the House Committee on Census, after having the matter laid before them by the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, and hearing the testimony of many experts, including the late Gen. Francis A. Walker, reported in favor of a permanent bureau, and submitted a bill for that purpose. It was shown in this inquiry that in all branches of census work, but especially in preparing for the important work of enumeration, great injury necessarily results, both as regards accuracy and economy, from the hurried and hastily considered methods incident to a system where sufficient time for careful and deliberate work is not given. A permanent census bureau would result in great economy as well as better work.

At least two millions of dollars can be saved by abolishing certain inquiries such as those relating to mortage indebtedness and those which can be more satisfactorily conducted by other departments of the government. Note the following:

	Estimated Cost Eleventh Census.
Farms, Homes and Mortgages	$1,500,000
Veterans of the War	100,000
Fish and Fisheries	150,000
Transportation	150,000
Insurance	75,000
Indians (condition of)	75,000
	$2,050,000

The first two of these inquiries will not be called for again. The Fish Commission is abundantly able to take care of the statistics of that industry. The Interstate Commerce Commission

* For arguments in favor of permanent census see Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1889; also Report of the Superintendent of Census, together with draft of a bill in response to Senate Resolution, February 16, 1891, Fifty-second Congress, first session, Ex. Doc. No. 1; also Report in favor of Permanent Census by House Committee on Eleventh Census, Fifty-second Congress, second session, Report No. 2393; also Report of Commissioner of Labor on plan for Permanent Census, December 8, 1896 Fifty-fourth Congress, Doc. No. 5; The Eleventh Census, by Robert P. Porter, an address delivered before the American Statistical Society, Boston, October 16, 1890. These documents contain the views of leading statisticians at home and abroad and cover all phases of the subject.

gives all the statistical information the government requires on steam railways. The several States of the Union prepare annually elaborate reports in relation to insurance, and, aside from the bare enumeration, there is no necessity for the Census Office to make elaborate reports on the condition of the Indians. Yet the act of March 3, 1889, made all these inquiries mandatory upon the Superintendent of Census. For this reason, I believe the Superintendent should be appointed first by a preliminary act, and that he, in conjunction with certain experts, should frame a simple, practical bill, and submit it, with accompanying report setting forth in full the reasons for its adoption, to Congress. The measure which then became a law would be carried into effect by its originators, and not by a superintendent suddenly called upon to administer an act loaded with impracticable schemes for statistical inquiry, many entirely foreign to the census.

In conclusion, let us hope not only that the special inquiries will be limited in the Twelfth Census, but the schedules simplified and such investigations outside of population statistics as may be necessary taken out of the hands of the enumerators and given to the special agent.* The census of 1900 should be, first of all, a scientific and accurate count of the people of the United States. To accomplish this, it is absolutely necessary to discard such inquiries as I have indicated above and as far as practicable relegate the "special investigations" or inquiries that do not require a house-to-house canvass, to special agents. The schedules must be brief and simple, and not be burdened as heretofore—by act of Congress—with inquiries relating to individual indebtedness, chronic diseases, and other inquisitorial questions. In other words, if Congress expects an intelligent census it must not compel its director to chase all over the United States after mortgages on the one hand, and on the other to be chased morning, noon and night by applicants for office. Remove these obstacles to efficient work, give the bureau time enough to perfect its plans, and opportunity to secure division chiefs capable of training the office force, and the census of 1900 will be all that can be reasonably hoped for by the most exacting statistician.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

* For further information on this point together with samples of schedules, see an address on the Eleventh United States Census, by Robert P. Porter, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. LVII., Part IV. (December, 1894).

EDMUND BURKE AND HIS ABIDING INFLUENCE.

BY J. O'CONNOR POWER.

THE year which marks the centenary of the death of Edmund Burke finds his authority among political students higher, perhaps, than it ever stood before. In an age which was prolific of great statesmen he was pre-eminent as a statesman. The place which he occupied is sufficiently indicated by his contemporaries. Dr. Johnson said that Burke was "first in the House of Commons, because he was first everywhere," an opinion shared, I have no doubt, by all the members of the Literary Club—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, Goldsmith, and the rest. Mackintosh, in reference to a comparison between Burke and Gibbon, went so far as to say that the historian of the Roman Empire might have been "stolen out of a corner of Burke's mind without being missed." Wyndham referred to him as the man of all men then living whom he most revered. Fox's tribute to him has become classical. "If," said he, "all the political information I have learned from books, all which I have gained from science, and all which my knowledge of the world and its affairs has taught me, were put into one scale, and the improvement which I have derived from my right honorable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, I should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. I have learned more from my right honorable friend than from all the men with whom I ever conversed." Pitt's sense of his public services may be gathered from the handsome provision which he contemplated making for Burke's last years, and which included a peerage and a suitable pension; and Canning, in announcing his death, said it was "an event for the world." Testimony of this description might be multiplied; but if we had not a scrap of it, if Burke had wholly failed to gain the appreciation of his own age; if, on the con-

trary, he had gone down to the grave under the curses and calumnies of those whom he loved and served—a fate which has more than once befallen geniuses misrepresented and misunderstood—the student needs only to make the acquaintance of his works to discover that he was the greatest of the political philosophers, and that the product of his massive intellect is an imperishable part of a great literature.

To complain that Burke is not more widely read would be as unreasonable as to complain that the readers of Shakespeare, or of Milton, or of Bacon, are not more numerous. The measure of the popularity of great authors, such as these, is the measure of the intellectual culture of the time. They will be most popular in whatever age the highest art, the largest knowledge, the ripest wisdom, and the broadest humanity, as embodied in literature, are most appreciated. Burke's themes are too great and his treatment of them too profound for the understanding of persons of limited views and narrow sympathies. Many, however, who do not read him pay him the homage of liberal quotation, and probably not a single day passes that the stores of his wisdom are not drawn upon by some writer or speaker, eager to appropriate his ideas if not always willing to acknowledge their source. The subjects upon which his mind was engaged can never lose their human interest, for they are bound up with the constitution of civil society, the mysteries of law and order, of religion and civilization, the struggles of liberty and authority, and the conflicts of rights and duties, embracing, in a word, the whole domain of social controversy, with all its tragic passion and wrestling aspiration. The mere enumeration of them enables one to realize the mental range of Burke, and his extraordinary power, which dazzled his own age, and which, after the lapse of a hundred years, provokes the wonder and admiration of posterity.

His influence on public affairs extended, in his own lifetime, to all parts of the British Empire, and to Europe, in the momentous period of the French Revolution. If we take note of the principles which he sought to enforce in Ireland, in America, and in India, we shall be able to form some idea of the character of his work as a Member of Parliament. With regard to Ireland: He had mastered all her problems, and his devotion to her interests cost him a distinction which he greatly prized—the representation of the ancient city of Bristol. On the national ques-

tion Burke was opposed to separation, but in favor of legislative independence. He held that "a natural and cheerful alliance is a more secure link of connection than subordination borne with grudging and discontent." On the religious question he was on the side of equal civil rights for all denominations; and on the commercial question he was for free trade, which, in his time, meant the right of Ireland to trade with the colonies on the same footing as Great Britain, and to enjoy full reciprocity with Great Britain herself. It was in connection with the two last questions that Burke came into conflict with a section of his constituents. He had voted for the removal of restrictions on Irish trade, and for a slight modification of the disabling laws against Catholics. His vindication of himself before the electors of Bristol forms a noble episode in a noble career. I doubt whether Burke's moral grandeur was ever more conspicuous than it was in this hour of a glorious personal defeat. Not when he sought to maintain the rights of the American colonies against unjust taxation; nor when he denounced the corruption, cruelty, and tyranny of the East India Company; nor when, speaking as the oracle of Europe, he uttered prophetic warnings against the crimes of the French Revolution. Here are the words of dignity, power, and eloquence in which he concluded what proved, alas! a vain appeal to the constituency of that day:

"And now, gentlemen, on this serious day, when I come, as it were, to make up my account with you, let me take to myself some degree of honest pride on the nature of the charges that are against me. I do not here stand before you accused of venality or of neglect of duty. It is not said that in the long period of my service I have in a single instance sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alleged that, to gratify any anger or revenge of my own or of my party, I have had a share in wronging or oppressing any description of men or any one man in any description. No! the charges against me are all of one kind—that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life—in pain, in sorrow, in depression—I will call to mind this accusation and be comforted."

I do not suppose that Burke was troubled by the distracting claims of a dual allegiance—to England as the sphere of his duty, and to Ireland as the place of his birth. In this very Bristol speech he raises the point himself, and disposes of it effectually by declaring that he was an American in the affairs of America

as much as he was an Irishman in the affairs of Ireland. We may infer from his sympathy with America and with India, that his devotion to Irish interests was the effect of his principles and not of his nationality. He would have voted, I believe, for the relief of Irish trade and the emancipation of the Catholics if he had not had a drop of Irish blood in his veins.

The electors of Bristol could not affect any surprise at the independent spirit of their member, for when he first solicited their suffrages, six years before, he had claimed the exercise of an independent judgment as an inalienable personal right. His colleague on that occasion opened the subject of the relations between a member of Parliament and his constituents, and declared that he should regard the instructions of the people of Bristol as binding. Burke, as Mr. John Morley observes, "upheld a manlier doctrine." The passage is indelibly engraved upon my memory, and I confess that I have never ceased to feel the influence it exercised upon me when I first read it many years ago, at the time of my own election to Parliament. Burke said :

> "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him, their opinions high respect, their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions to theirs, and, above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living."

Burke, as he said of himself, "was not swaddled and rocked and dandled into a legislator," and his power to serve the commonwealth was inseparable from the independence to which his abilities entitled him, and which he so manfully claimed.

His speeches on America entitle their author to be regarded as the greatest of imperial statesmen. They are brimful of the highest maxims of good government and of the soundest rules of policy, and the whole history of the colonies since his time makes it as clear as the light of day that the separation of America was largely due to the rejection of his counsels, and to the proud and stupid obstinacy with which the dominant party in Great Britain sought to govern the expatriated of their own race on principles incompatible with freedom. Foresight is an unfail-

ing characteristic of a true statesman, and surely no public man ever possessed that quality in a higher degree than Edmund Burke. It is astonishing, when we look back to-day, from the tranquil standpoint of a long retrospect, on all that occurred during the struggle with America, with what unerring precision he foretold the consequences of a mistaken policy. His foresight was justified not only in the general result, but in every particular. What, in one sentence, was the grievance of America? It was that she was taxed without her consent, by a Parliament in which she was not represented. What, in a word, was Burke's remedy? It was to allow the Americans to tax themselves, and to give or withhold supplies according to their own sense of their obligations to the empire. This was the old principle of the British Constitution, and which had been tried successfully in these very colonies. Burke protested against the Revenue Act of 1764, and the Stamp Act of the following year, as innovations upon the old practice of the Constitution. He showed that the right to determine the mode and character of supply was a central principle of British liberty. "On this point of taxes," he urged, "the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered." He traced the descent of the colonists to show that they were hereditary lovers of freedom. He argued from their temper and character, from their history, religion and education, from the practice of their free local assemblies, that the colonists were "not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles;" and thence by an unbroken chain of reasoning, of illustration, of multiplied precedents and accumulated experience, he deduced the conclusion that, while they could be conciliated into loyalty, they could not be coerced into servitude. Lord North and Grenville and their majority, on the other hand, were simple enough to imagine that among British colonists British rule could survive the abrogation of the British Constitution. They persisted in treating the question of America as a question of constitutional law merely; Burke dealt with it as a great question of state policy, and the principles he laid down were not the less constitutional because they were more politic and practical and humane than those of the majority. "The question with me," he said, "is not whether you have a right to render your people

miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity, and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them." . . . "Nobody shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation." . . . "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." These are sentences which will outlast many constitutions, and, like so much of what Burke said, they bear the double character of being strictly applicable to the matter in hand, and also worthy to rank as permanent additions to the wisdom of politics.

The separation of the American colonies was a lesson which one would have thought could not be lost on the rulers of the empire, but the pride of domination survived even that disaster, and for a full half century afterward England continued in Canada, in another form, the experiment which had so disgracefully failed in the other American colonies. Canada, without constitutional government, was in rebellion when the Queen ascended the throne. It is now reputed to be one of the most loyal parts of the empire; and I shall not soon forget the effect produced by the present Prime Minister of the Dominion when, addressing a London audience composed mainly of Englishmen in this jubilee year, he declared, pointing to a flag which had waved over the Canadian rebels sixty years ago:—"We are loyal because we are free." When I heard that manly utterance I was reminded of Edmund Burke, and I could not help thinking that he had not lived in vain, nor help rejoicing that throughout the British empire his principles of colonial government universally prevail.

The mere thought of Burke's prolonged fight and herculean labors on behalf of the oppressed peoples and princes of India, is almost enough to strike a speaker dumb and to cause the pen that would portray them to drop from the hand. I confess that if I were asked suddenly, and without any previous warning, to describe my impression of Burke at this period of his splendid career, I should be unable to utter a word without a great effort. I should plead for time to adjust my memory and collect my ideas. Then, perhaps, the image of the great statesman, and his

magnificent cause, would slowly rise before me. I should behold him at the outset of that gallant struggle, which he waged for twenty long years, devoting himself to the education of his party and the instruction of Great Britain ; entering, without rank or wealth or hereditary prestige—the three great instruments of political power in his day—upon a contest in which these were all arrayed against him, in order to bring relief to the unrepresented millions of a remote dependency. I should see him putting on the armor of truth and justice and humanity, to do battle with colossal oppression, and to overthrow a system which was supported by robbery, torture, and murder, and by crimes even worse than these.

During many years he champions the cause of India in the House of Commons, and is instrumental in carrying measures designed to mitigate, at least, the severity of her rulers. In that interval he has explored the annals of the nations of India back to the first glimmerings of the dawn of history. Their religions, superstitions, literatures, manners and customs, industrial and social conditions, have occupied his thoughts, and dwelt in his profoundest meditations. Again and again he appeals to Parliament to rescue India and save the honor of Great Britain, till at last the Commons resolve upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the foremost of the tyrants and oppressors whom he has arraigned. We follow him to Westminster Hall, and the Court of Britain's Peers, where, with Sheridan at his side, he opens the greatest trial of all time, before the most powerful of human tribunals. We take our seats in the old hall, and accompany him through every stage of an indictment which gradually unfolds the story of Hastings' crimes and India's degradation. We hear of a British Governor exercising not merely arbitrary power, but arbitrary power accompanied by the open encouragement of notorious criminals and the persecution of innocent men ; of widows and orphans, of princely families, suddenly robbed of their wealth, and obliged to beg the necessaries of life from the servants of their despoilers ; of women and children hunted and outraged by a licentious soldiery ; of whole nations being sold to the highest bidder, and resold over the heads of the recreant purchasers, to supply the coffers of a British company ; of treaties made only for purposes of deception and fraud, and we hear the tones of indignation in which the defender of

afflicted peoples declares : "I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors ; I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, whose parliamentary trust he has abused, whose national character he has dishonored ; I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate ; I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured and oppressed in both sexes. And I impeach him in the name and by the virtue of those eternal laws of justice, which ought equally to pervade every age, rank, condition, and situation in the world." Then, remembering all that the orator has to contend with and all that depends upon the issue, we surrender our judgment, affections, and emotions to his absolute control, and feel that we are overwhelmed, not by speech alone, however eloquent and transcendent, but by the resistless moral force of heroic action.

Though Burke never attained high office, his abilities were so versatile as to qualify him for any post which a cabinet minister could fill. His practical wisdom was as conspicuous as his power of generalization. No one had a clearer comprehension or a firmer grasp of great principles of universal application; at the same time his policy in every department of English politics rested on a wide and solid basis of information and experience. He was steeped in the history of the past, yet penetrated through and through with the reality of the present, and ever and always mindful of that future in which the speculations and measures of the day were to be tested, and finally approved or condemned. His prodigious activity in public affairs sprang not from an intellectual source alone, nor from his imperial patriotism; it was constantly fed from an inexhaustible store of moral energy. He was animated by a detestation of all forms of oppression, whether by kings or governors, parliaments or peoples, which was in him a consuming passion, from which his noble nature could only obtain relief by denunciation of the oppressor and the destruction of his power. I cannot help thinking that Burke must have been stimulated, too, and sustained by delight in his studies and in his work. It is impossible, without counting this as an additional incentive, to understand the amazing industry which he devoted to the elucidation of all the great questions dealt with in his speeches and writings. How his method reproves the habit, too

common in our day, as in other days, of debating subjects affecting the fate of millions of our fellow-creatures as if they could be disposed of by echoing the chatter of ignorance, or prejudice, or vanity, or self-interest. When we read Burke's speech on Fox's East India Bill we say, What a great pro-consul he would have made! When we read his speech on conciliation with America we feel that the greatest of colonial ministers was lost in him; and when we read his speech on Economical Reform we exclaim, Here is an ideal Chancellor of the Exchequer!

Let me dwell for a moment on the last-named of these, for it throws a vivid light on Burke's attitude towards popular government. The object of his plan of administrative or economical reform was to cut off the sources of corruption which sapped the independence of the House of Commons, by the abolition of certain offices, and the application of the emoluments connected with them to the public service. Burke did not believe in popular government such as, in this day of democratic suffrages, exists in all constitutionally governed countries. His idea of what good government required was not the enlargement of the constituencies but the purification of the representation. Doubtless, he was right at the time; but if the idea were to be laid down as a settled principle it would be necessary to point out that nothing is so fatal to corruption as publicity and discussion, and that wide franchise promotes both. I cannot believe that Burke would be satisfied with the doctrine that, in the sphere of government, everything should be done *for* the people, but nothing *by* the people. He had more faith, I apprehend, in the formative influence of self-government than such a doctrine implies. The doctrine is, nevertheless, one which in our own day has many able upholders, and I remember reading a speech of Charles Dickens's in which he announced it as the fruit of all his study and observation in politics. "Everything for the people" is at all events a sounder maxim than "everything for a class," or "everything for the rulers," and in its way it marks a stage in the progress of political science and social responsibility. It may be that Burke could no more conceive a perfect state with manhood suffrage, than Plato could conceive one without slavery.

In the *Reflections on the French Revolution* he advances and supports, by the authority of Aristotle, the dictum that neither

an absolute democracy nor an absolute monarchy is a legitimate form of government. But in the same place he says wisely: "I reprobate no form of government merely upon abstract principles." The attempt made by the French, at the time of his writing, to establish a pure democracy on the Athenian model, he knew to be foredoomed to failure, and all theoretical constitution-making excited his contempt.

The most vulnerable part of Burke's work is undoubtedly his essay on the French Revolution. Students who read it for instruction should also read Sir James Mackintosh and Tom Paine on the other side, not forgetting, however, that Mackintosh called on Burke, when lapse of years had confirmed many of the views and predictions of the latter, to recant what he had written. I have never heard of Tom Paine's recanting anything on any subject. It is, perhaps, vain to hope that the time may come when the *Reflections* will cease to be criticised as a party pamphlet, loudly praised by one party and bitterly censured by the other. One can understand and forgive the violence with which it was assailed on its publication, and as Burke's own language degenerated into violence, it was natural that he should be answered after his own manner. But one-sided criticism of the essay seems to me to be out of place at the present day, and I think much of what Burke wrote would require to be eliminated altogether to make it a safe text-book for the out-and-out partisans of traditional authority. There is no want of power or of light in the *Reflections*, but it is often power without measure or restraint, and it is the light that dazzles, and not the light that makes things clear. We rise from the study of Burke's earlier work with the feeling that every argument he has used is justified by the strictest reasoning, by a logic which is absolutely unimpeachable. We feel that all his premises repose upon unquestionable facts; and if we are tempted at any time to suspect that his zeal is prompted by the interest of party, we are startled out of our distrust by some generous admission, some broad and manly sentiment or some bold and comprehensive generalization, which convinces us that the cause of the pleader and of truth are one. Our emotions are attuned to such noble feeling, our ears to such perfect utterance, and our judgment to appeals so fair and rational, that we are not prepared, when we take up the *Reflections*, to encounter the author in the *rôle* of an advocate,

who strains every point in order to prove his case. That Burke sank to the level of an advocate in this essay is undoubtedly true, but a mighty advocate, nevertheless, whose meteoric eloquence roused the attention and excited the passionate interest of the civilized world.

If the partisans of absolute authority have no right to appropriate the work, the friends of constitutional liberty would be unwise in discarding it. Indeed it is, in large measure, a plea for constitutional liberty against tyranny in any form. Burke admitted a right of revolution in an oppressed people, and was himself the eulogist of the English revolution of 1688; but with him the methods and the circumstances were all important; and he condemned, for the same reasons, the Cromwellian revolution of 1641 and the French Revolution of 1789. While approving what took place in England in 1688, he stoutly champions the principle of hereditary succession on the ground that, although there was a "temporary deviation" from the strict order in the person of King William, "it is against all genuine principles of jurisprudence to draw a principle from a law made in a special case and regarding an individual person." He rejected the doctrine that the crown is held by divine right, while maintaining hereditary succession as based on law and custom and good policy. He upheld an inheritable crown and an inheritable peerage, but he also maintained equally the liberties of the Commons and the franchises of the people, as an "entailed inheritance" and an indissoluble part of the British Constitution, and to the defence of their liberties the most arduous labors of his life were devoted. "A disposition to preserve and a desire to improve" was his definition of statesmanship. And both by temperament and reflection he was a genuine reformer.

"Far am I from denying in theory," he said, "full as far is my heart from withholding in practice (if I were of the power to give or withhold), the real rights of men. In denying their false claims of right I do not mean to injure those which are real and are such as their pretended rights would totally destroy. If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in polite function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making their industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life, and to consolation in

death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favor."

Because Burke broke away in the *Reflections* from the judicial self-restraint which usually characterized him we are apt to forget that, in that wonderful composition, he deviates again and again into his earlier and better manner, and rewards the persevering reader with passages of calm wisdom and solid, fruitful speculation. I have, I think, given an example of these in the passage I have just quoted, and a hundred such might be added. The truth is that although he allowed himself to be carried away by his sensibility, in contemplating some of the terrible incidents of the greatest event which has occurred in the secular history of man, he was swayed, in his main contention, by the convictions of a lifetime. The prudent student will not, therefore, put away that work, but examine it with even greater care than the others, in order to sift the gems from the dust in which they are imbedded, and thereby complete the measure of his acquisitions from the rich store which Edmund Burke has bequeathed to the literature of the world.

Burke's views of the French Revolution would have been greatly modified if he had taken his usual precaution to fully inform himself of all the essential facts before pronouncing judgment. That he had made inquiries, and had long pondered upon the condition of France, we have on his own assurance, and during his visit to that country in 1773 he foresaw the tendency of events which culminated in revolution sixteen years later. But not then, nor at any later period, did he realize that it was not the literary movement only that was undermining the old order, but also the intolerable sufferings of the tillers of the soil. In his defence of the French Monarchy he enters into an elaborate argument to show, by the increase which had taken place in the wealth and population of France, that the old government had not wholly failed in its duty. But the aggregate wealth of a nation and the growth of its population do not settle the question. These are quite consistent with grinding poverty among large masses of the people. To be satisfied that any nation is fairly prosperous, we want to know not only that the amount of the national income is considerable, but that the great body of

the people enjoy their proper share of that income. Nor is a high rate of wages any criterion, for everything depends upon the purchasing power of money. And the surest test of material prosperity is the facility with which food, clothing, and shelter may be obtained. As Adam Smith—a contemporary of Burke's —justly says, "accumulation makes a people rich, but distribution makes them happy."

His last appearance in the House of Commons was on the 20th of June, 1794, when he replied to a vote of thanks passed by the House to himself and his fellow-managers of the impeachment of Hastings. He accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and retired from Parliament, where he had sat for twenty-nine years. The remaining three years of his life were spent at Beaconsfield, where he died on the 9th of July, 1797, and where he sleeps in an unnamed grave. The injunctions of his will prevented his interment in Westminster Abbey, a circumstance which serves to illustrate the dignified humility which was not the least conspicuous trait in his character. To intellectual qualities, the exercise of which has made his name immortal, he united great good nature, and a readiness to help others. He had a keen appreciation of homely joys, and cherished the family affections so tenderly that the death of his only son is said to have broken the spirit which thirty years of political strife had been unable to bend.

His performances as a statesman were so various and far-reaching, and their influence has been so wide and so continuous, that it is yet too soon to fully estimate their worth. He vindicated with a clearness and force never equalled the principles of civil and religious liberty in all parts of the empire. He manifested a profound reverence for the sanctity of the individual conscience, whether he was dealing with the members of his own church in England or the Catholics of Ireland, or the dissenters of America, or the Mohammedans and Hindoos of India. He asserted the liberties of the colonies. He annexed morality to politics, and held states and governments, equally with private persons, amenable to its dictates. In him the British Constitution has found its ablest interpreter, and he has rendered it the inestimable service of fixing the conditions on which alone it can be preserved. Irishmen especially have reason to be proud that their country has sent forth a man who was not only a great statesman himself but the teacher of great statesmen, and one whose re-

corded word has, for more than a hundred years, been a fount of inspiration to those who succeeded him in the service of the state.

The average schoolboy may learn a lesson of hope from the circumstance that Burke was not distinguished at college. The serious student and the general reader will be interested to know his method of acquiring knowledge; and, fortunately, we have it described in his own words. He took up one subject at a time and stuck to it at a white heat till he was satisfied. That is, I believe, the only method for any one who reads not merely for the occupation of the moment, but in order to get to the heart of the matter and form a judgment upon it that will stand the test of adverse criticism. The literary aspirant will note that he was in the habit of writing by dictation, which is an easy and pleasant habit when it is thoroughly acquired. A man who is full of his subject, and who writes by dictation, ought to be able to compose three times as fast as one who wields his own pen.

His literary quality has been described by critics without number, and when one who is not a critic, but a plain reader, comes to consider it he is reminded of the varied, but not contradictory, estimates of Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Mackintosh, Brougham, Hazlitt, Dugald Stewart, Erskine, Jeffrey, Whately, Macaulay, Morley, and many others.

Passing by the critics and venturing, as an ordinary reader, to say how Burke's style affects me: My first impression of it is that of dignity tempered by familiarity; a stately march of phrases and sentences lightened by a certain harmonious ease, and combining the accuracy of the written with the freedom of the spoken word. One notes in it a wholesome disdain of that mere smartness which some writers mistake for originality, and, in its best examples, an absence of those affectations and conceits which not even the loftiest eloquence can make tolerable. Its robust directness and grave simplicity are its distinguishing features in one place, while in another it ascends to the realms of fancy without for a moment slackening its firm grip of the subject-matter. At its highest elevation, this noble prose exhibits a wealth of imagery, which the great poets might envy, and a power of illustration, dazzling in its brilliance, and in its fertility inexhaustible. Its effect is manifold; it refines the taste; it exalts the imagination; it edifies and stimulates the moral nature, and it enlarges, invigorates, and ennobles the understanding.

The political writings rank with those of Aristotle among the ancients, and among the moderns with those of Montesquieu. To estimate their scientific superiority one has only to compare them with such merely clever productions as Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*; and they can be mentioned in the same breath with Machiavelli's *Prince* only for the purpose of contrasting their perfect morality with the sinister statecraft of the Italian author. It would not be correct to say that Burke's conception of politics was a struggle of opposing principles. That would be carrying the question into the region of the abstract, and of those metaphysical distinctions the very sound of which, he tells us, he hated. But it was undoubtedly a struggle of right and wrong, in the broadest acceptation of those terms—a struggle between what was right in essence and in form, in occasion, in circumstances, and in opportunity, and what was wrong, either because it was manifestly unjust or oppressive, or because it had neither past experience nor present conditions, nor the assured hope of improvement, to recommend it. Hence it is that Burke's work is free from personalities; and that although he well understood the value of party organization, and gave us the best defence of party that ever was written he would not make fidelity * to party the test of patriotism. There is always a number of people of considerable influence who regard politics as a struggle of personalities, and in no sense a struggle of rival principles. These persons may be easily singled out in any community, for their politics consist simply in abuse of political opponents. I could give a long list of distinguished men of the past, and some of the present day, who stand in this category. The list would contain party leaders by the score; not a few Prime Ministers, and, notwithstanding the virtue inherent in the popular vote, some elected Presidents of Republics! Now, Edmund Burke was not of this type. He was not only a great politician; he was a great man—a man for whom power had no attractions unless he was free to use it for the advancement of some cause in which he believed. Read the short, but eminently appropriate, inscription on his statue at Bristol and you have his character in a glance. It is composed in his own words: "I want to be a member of Parliament in order to take my share in doing good and resisting evil." Doubtless there were contemporaries of Burke's

* Concluding pages of *Thoughts on the Present Discontent.*

who thought he had missed greatness by missing high office, and who plumed themselves on their good fortune in possessing the favor of the court, or of the Parliamentary majority, which was denied to him. Who thinks of them now when great principles of government have to be expounded, and the rights of nations to be saved? Their dim lights have gone down to rise no more, while the star of Burke shines with a pure and steady light above the horizon. It is due to Sheridan's candor and perception to remember that, although his exceptional gifts as an orator secured him a more attentive hearing in the House of Commons than Burke was able to command, he predicted that Burke's speeches would be quoted when his own were neglected or forgotten.

Among statesmen of our own day who have acknowledged their indebtedness to Burke are to be numbered Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. The acknowledgment made by the latter occurs in a speech delivered by him during the debates on the extension of the suffrage some thirty years ago. But, with or without acknowledgment, Burke's influence has been a constant, and is, I am convinced, an increasing force in British politics. His method and his very phraseology have entered into the proceedings and the speech of the statesmen of the present day. I do not suggest that this is to be attributed solely to the soundness of his political theory. It is, perhaps, due in part to the fact that he has left behind him, as Moore says in his *Life of Sheridan*, an armory of opinion from which both Whig and Tory may furnish themselves with weapons the most splendid that ever genius and eloquence have condescended to bequeath to party. The historical value of his work is, like its literary merit, indisputable. From no other speeches or writings can we so easily reconstruct the social and political life of the second half of the eighteenth century. The philosopher from whom his posterity daily seek instruction did not shirk the practical duties or fail to meet with an intrepid spirit the events of his own time.

J. O'Connor Power.

ENGLAND'S ABSORPTION OF EGYPT.

BY HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, LATE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL IN EGYPT.

THE Egyptian question is perennial. But American and English readers know only that side of it which British writers prepare for them. Egypt's side of the Egyptian question is but seldom stated in cold type. All opinion coming by way of England is so treated that the casual reader is led to believe that by some diplomatic arrangement, long forgotten by him, the ancient land of the Pharaohs had been severed from the Ottoman Empire and incorporated as an integral part of Queen Victoria's realm.

This is essentially what has been done, not by diplomatic arrangement, but by methods and devices sufficiently adroit to form a dangerous departure from recognized rules in the conduct of international affairs—the acquiring of territory and dominion therein by military "occupation." As a scheme of national expansion it has no parallel, and by reason of its audacity the acquisition of Egypt by Great Britain attracts the attention of readers and thinkers throughout the world.

The time-honored principle, teaching that territorial extension should be accomplished by discovery, conquest, treaty, or purchase, has been thrown to the winds by England. For years she has been familiarizing herself with the advantages of getting area by simple seizure and boundary dispute. These methods, direct, and at times defensible, do not carry an iota of the stigma attaching to acquisition by the specious process called "occupation," of which the British are the ablest exponents, if not the inventors.

In matters of international comity, it has long been supposed that the term "occupation" had a significance quite as unmis-

takable as "annexation" and "protection." "Protectorate" is the name fitting present conditions in Egypt, with acknowledged dominion to follow, if the English have their way.

It is nearly sixteen years, it will be remembered, since the revolt in Egypt, which led to the sending of a military and naval force by England to suppress Arabi Pasha and his followers, who had arrogated to themselves the government of the country. The Khedivial authority was trodden under foot, and the Khedive was a prisoner in one of his palaces, the Egyptian army having sworn fealty to the fanatical Arabi. Riot and rapine were rampant, and the situation was critical.

Then came the massacre of Europeans in Alexandria, and the subsequent bombardment, in which the French declined to take part; and consequently, in 1883, the dual control of Egyptian finances by England and France came to an end. Since that time, Egypt has been in everything but name a dependency of England, the French in the meantime trying to recover their share in its control. They have more than once asked the Sultan, the actual suzerain of Egypt, to order the English from the country, and for many years they have doggedly obstructed Great Britain's administration of affairs.

The Gladstonian government, which sent the troops and ships to Egypt, asserted that British intervention was to be made solely in the interests of humanity, and for the purpose of restoring the authority of the Khedive. These pledges were accepted in Europe in good faith.

A few hours before opening the bombardment of Alexandria, the commander of the British fleet said, in a formal communication to the Khedive:

"I deem it opportune to reaffirm to Your Highness that the government of Great Britain has no intention to effect the conquest of Egypt, nor to interfere in any way with the liberties or religion of the Egyptians; its sole object is to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people from the rebels."

Admiral Seymour must have spoken with the authority of his government in this momentous matter, as did General Wolseley, who led the campaign on shore, when, to hasten the restoration of law and order, after the rebellion had been crushed, he said in a proclamation to the people of Egypt:

"The government of Her Majesty has sent troops into Egypt with the sole object of re-establishing the Khedive's authority."

Even that able diplomatist, Lord Dufferin, then ambassador to the Sultan, formally announced, over his signature, that England, by her interference in Egypt, was

> " . . . Seeking no territorial advantage, nor the acquisition of any exclusive privilege, nor any commercial advantage for her subjects which cannot be obtained equally for the subjects of any other nation."

The revolt, being a half-hearted affair, was quickly suppressed. Arabi Pasha was tried in Cairo for treason, found guilty, and sentenced to death. His campaign cry of " Egypt for the Egyptians" in a way stamping him as a patriot, and the people enrolled under his banner having some show of reason for their objection to the frequent interference of foreign powers, Arabi's sentence was promptly modified to banishment for life.

English influence was responsible for the commutation of the sentence, and Great Britain, which takes upon itself the task of policing the world, sent Arabi and his chief supporters into exile in British territory, for a crime in no sense committed against England. For usurping the Khedivial prerogative—which, plainly stated, is the right to direct the administration of Egypt —Arabi was guilty of an offence punishable by death or deportation.

The British government announced, after the crushing of Arabi, that its " army of occupation" would be withdrawn as soon as law and order could be restored, and a date was actually fixed for the departure of the troops. Her philanthropic task not being completed, in her opinion, at the end of the six months, an extension of time for another six months was made. At all events, the occupation was only to last for the brief period necessary to teach the Egyptians the easy art of self-government.

But the soldiers have never left Egypt, and have been there nearly sixteen years. When pressed for a reason why the reins of government are not restored to the Khedive, and the farce of " occupation" terminated, most Englishmen will say it is because evidence is wanting that a stable administration of the country can be had without British aid. Many other reasons are given in justification; but it is only when discussing the situation with each other that they are honest enough to admit that they have no intention of ever quitting the Nile country.

Thus the word " occupation" promises for many years to be applied to a wholesale operation in territorial expansion, entered

upon in the name of humanity; and the right of ruling Egypt, taken from the Khedive by Arabi the rebel, and wrested from him by Great Britain, will probably never again fully reside in the family of Mehemet Ali. Military occupation, indefinitely extended, as illustrated in Egypt, amounts to annexation, except for the saving clause of a shambling pretence of upholding the Khedive.

There is now and then a spasmodic demand in the British Isles that England's hands be lifted from Egypt; that the Tory policy of grab be reversed. Mr. Gladstone declares that Britain has no right to remain in Egypt, and politicians of the Dilke, Harcourt, Courtney, Labouchere and Marriott type frequently raise their voices in condemnation of a continuance of British rule in Egypt. These men only talk when their party in Parliament is in the minority, however; should one of them find himself a member of the government he would in all probability be as silent on the subject of the evacuation as the Sphinx itself.

Englishmen make a point of recalling that the Sultan declined to send troops to quell the Alexandrian disorders in 1882, and likewise love to point to Tunis, and assert that France is doing with that country exactly what the British are doing with Egypt. Her Egyptian policy has brought more censure upon England, perhaps, than any other movement in her external affairs during the century. By it the inherent dislike of France for England has been provoked to open hatred, and every nation in Europe has an illustration at hand whenever wishing to prove British bad faith.

Does England sufficiently profit from her retention of Egypt to warrant this defiance of public opinion, and the open hostility of such powers as France and Russia?

Great Britain has well-nigh made an English lake of the Mediterranean; the outlet of this lake, the Suez Canal, is the key to the whole scheme of British rule in India and the East. To control the canal, by force of arms if necessary, is the predominant reason why England remains in Egypt. It serves her purpose to have 4,500 British soldiers within a few hours' journey of the great international waterway, and a British guardship at either terminus of it. Without the absolute control of this connecting link between Occident and Orient, thirty-six million people in Great Britain could not expect long to hold in subjection four hundred millions in India, and to govern a quarter of the globe.

Monetary considerations have as much weight with an Englishman as with another. As perhaps half of Egypt's bonded debt was held in England when the occupation began, the gradual appreciation of the value of Egyptian securities has seemed to Britishers another justification for continuing their sojourn in Egypt. When they went there Egyptian credit was as low as it well could be, for Khedive Ismail had played fast and loose with national solvency from his accession to the day on which he was deposed.

English people owned bonds to the face value of $275,000,000 in 1882, it is estimated, and these could not have been sold then for more than half that sum. "Egyptians" are now quoted at a premium of from three to six per cent., and the difference between the estimated value in 1882, and the value to-day, of England's supposed financial stake in Egypt, is the comfortable sum of $140,000,000—sufficient to pay for the army of occupation for more than a century! This restoration of Egyptian credit has benefited all bondholders equally—French, German, Italian, Austrian and Russian, as well as English.

An incidental reason why Great Britain retains her hold upon Egypt is that the cotton crop of the Nile valley reduces more and more each year the dependence of British spindles upon the cotton-fields of the United States.

There are also several considerations of minor importance which have influenced the Egyptian policy of England. The conquest of the vast region lying south of Nubia can better be prosecuted from the north than from any other point; and geographers are agreed that whoever controls Equatorial Africa and the sources of the Nile becomes the natural holder of Egypt. Further, without Egypt firmly in hand, the ambition of British map-makers for a zone of territory stretching continuously from the Cape to Cairo, and bringing more than half the African continent under British influence, must of necessity be abandoned.

Are the people of Egypt materially benefited by English rule? Unquestionably they are. Unpopular as it is with nearly every class in Egypt, and condemned throughout Europe, the occupation has done vast good. No fair investigator can witness the present condition of the Egyptian fellaheen, knowing what it was before the advent of the English, without conceding this. For half a dozen years Egypt has fairly bristled with prosperity.

The story of that country's emergence from practical bankruptcy, until its securities are quoted nearly as high as English consols, reads like a romance; and there is no better example of economical progress, through administrative reform, than is presented by Egypt under British rule.

Security is assured to person and property; slavery has been legally abolished; official corruption is almost unknown; forced labor for public works is no longer permitted, and native courts have now more than a semblance of justice. Hygienic matters have been so carefully looked after that the population has increased from seven to nine millions in a decade or more. Land taxes have been lowered and equalized, and are systematically collected, and scientific irrigation is so generally employed that the cultivable area has been considerably extended. Egypt was probably never so prosperous as at the present time.

The debt is being slightly reduced, and will be made less burdensome as time goes on, by the increased productiveness of the soil. Taking the present population at nine millions, the *per capita* debt of the Egyptians is close upon $60. When it is borne in mind that the population is almost entirely agricultural, with whom the wage standard is about fifteen cents a day, it will be seen that the Nile fellah is mortgaged for generations to come, and the mortgage is held by European money-lenders who have no real interest either in him or his religion.

The present external debt is approximately $508,000,000, and it is a popular error that it has been reduced since the coming of the English. On the contrary, it has been increased by $40,000,000. This went to indemnify Alexandrians whose property had been destroyed at the time of the rebellion and bombardment, to defray the cost of the military campaign thirteen or fourteen years ago which resulted in the loss of the Soudan, and for certain public works deemed imperatively necessary.

By her management of affairs England has, nevertheless, so improved the conditions in Egypt that European bondholders have been satisfied to have the interest on their securities reduced from seven to three and a half and four per cent.

England possesses a capacity for conducting colonies, and rehabilitating exhausted countries, which amounts to genius. Overbearing and arrogant as the British functionary out of England often appears, he must be scrupulously honest and capable

to find a place in the perfectly organized machinery guided from London. Frenchmen say that Egypt's restoration to easy prosperity could have been better accomplished by them, and they allege that this prosperity is more apparent than real, charging that much is neglected in the desire to make a favorable showing in the yearly balance-sheet. But investigation of what France does with her own dependencies, nearly every one of which is administered at a loss, gives support to the belief that Egypt is better off under British guidance than she could be under that of France. No alien power could have done better in Egypt than Great Britain has. But readers who have that inherent respect for right which Americans possess may see scant justification for Britain's absorption of Egypt merely in her ability to do good work there.

Is England educating the Egyptians to govern themselves?

Emphatically not!

The occupation was begun in good faith, no doubt, but the British had not long weathered the first outburst of indignation over the non-fulfilment of their promise to evacuate (ingeniously addressed to no specific government or personage), when they began to trim their sails for a protracted, if not permanent, stay in Egypt. They would as soon think of giving Gibraltar back to the Spaniards as of restoring Egypt to the Egyptians, one being as necessary as the other to British aggrandizement in the East. England's desire to remain could not be better served than by making her functionaries appear essential to the well-being of Egypt; in fact, by making progress dependent upon her administrators, accountants, and irrigation experts. This she has done, and the "understudies" of these clever servants, those who could best take their places, are Englishmen. There are many hundreds of native subordinates doing the simplest routine work, who perceive the splendid results, but contribute thereto chiefly by their submissiveness. They are not being instructed sufficiently to keep Egypt from retrogressing should they find themselves in charge of affairs.

The Khedive is compelled to yield to England in choosing a ministry, even. This results in his having a partisan cabinet—made in London—about him, whose counsels must necessarily be acceptable to the British. On occasions when the Khedive has selected a minister without first securing the consent of England,

he has been promptly called to account, and menaced by a display of power in the streets of his capital by thousands of British guns and bayonets, which has not been abated until the office had been filled by an Egyptian practically named by the British government.

Obviously, this system renders any ministry a time-serving body, and it is a depressing picture of personal effacement which is presented by an Egyptian statesman in these days who must play the dual *rôle* of being loyal at once to his "Effendina," and to the foreign nation absorbing his country. Some of the ablest men in Egypt are kept in private life by their unwillingness to acquiesce in these conditions.

The real business of important executive departments in Cairo is directed by the under-secretaries (assistant ministers), who are English, and their utterances and plans formally receive the sanction of their Egyptian chiefs. The native minister is the visible and signatory power, but the creative and actual force is the English assistant. Everything financial is dictated by an "adviser," as is nearly everything judicial, and the "advisers" are British. Similarly, the ministry of the interior, presided over by the educated and capable Egyptian Premier, is also directed by an "adviser," translated from a very subordinate position in the British diplomatic service to this department dealing with all questions concerning the internal policy of the oldest nation in the world.

Each year sees an augmentation of the number of Britishers on the pay-roll. It is true that one Englishman can perform the work of two native clerks, but he gets the pay that would go to three. All foreigners are lavishly paid, wholly from the Egyptian exchequer. The salary of an "adviser" is about $10,000 a year, and under-secretaries receive $7,500.

Sixteen years is a considerable lapse of time anywhere ; in the East, where people mature early, it represents a generation. Those who were children in the year of the bombardment are now in the prime of their faculties, and England has had ample time to fit them for fair administrative work.

Uninfluenced by political motive, the schools of the American Presbyterian Mission have done a hundred-fold more for the cause of education in Egypt than has Great Britain. These schools, distributed throughout the country, are yearly elevating

hundreds of youths to a better condition, teaching them in particular the value of order and system.

Since England does but little to develop a class that may in time take the positions now filled by her own countrymen, Anglophobe critics point to that fact as confirmatory evidence of the insincerity of the statement that England ever intends the Egyptians to resume the helm of state.

An apparent failure has been the omission to introduce the English language into general use. Egypt is a polyglot country, and the incorporation of English as an "official language" might with propriety have followed the introduction of the present system of affairs. French, consequently, remains the only European language known to any extent by the educated natives; and where there is one Egyptian who knows English, forty who read and write French are to be found. Only one of the Khedive's ministers knows English, yet all six are proficient in French.

The official language of the government has been French for many years. Official publications and correspondence are in French. It is the European language of the railways and postal department. Postage stamps, railway tickets and telegraph forms, actually printed in England, express their values and conditions in French and Arabic. English employees in governmental bureaus write officially to each other in French, frequently to the confusion of the ideas intended to be expressed. An entire department, having charge of museums and the conservation of antiquities, and employing thousands of natives, is exclusively French in administration, although supported in great measure by English-speaking visitors. So long as the European language of the Egyptian official remains French, his mode of thought and action will be French also.

In Cairo and Alexandria ten or more newspapers are printed in the French language, purveying opinion bitterly hostile to the occupation. One of these, published at the capital, prints daily in displayed type a list of Great Britain's broken pledges in connection with the occupation, quoting from Blue Books and like documents such extracts as appear to prove its case. Only one English journal is published, and that is forced to print its news and editorials in French as well as English to secure remunerative publication.

All the journals printed in French are antagonistic to British rule, and being regarded by thousands as oracles, their influence is far-reaching. From their columns European opinion favorable to the anti-English cause is translated into Arabic by native journalists, and finds currency in the native papers penetrating to every village. Public measures are acrimoniously reviewed and made to appear to the native reader as added evils, and any reform introduced by England can have its merits so distorted as to be always regarded as absurd or tyrannical. This is a conspicuous reason why England's work in Egypt has never been effective with the masses.

Last May, 256 students from governmental schools presented themselves in Cairo for examination, prior to receiving diplomas. Each had to undergo examination in an European language, chosen with a view to best equipping himself for a career of usefulness. Although the British had long dominated their country, and with indications wanting that they will ever retire, only 55 of these students had acquired English; all the others, 78 per cent. of the whole, had learned French. From the time of Mehemet Ali, the sympathies of the people of Egypt have been essentially French. It has long been the policy of the French government to encourage Egyptian youths to enter their educational establishments; the matter of compensation has ever been a nominal consideration.

English has never been made an official language of the International Courts of Egypt; yet advocates can plead therein, in Italian, the principles of the Code Napoleon. Every young Egyptian aspiring to the profession of law qualifies therefor at the Cairo School of Law, maintained by the French government, and takes his degree in France. All these conditions, by which France is hourly in evidence, to the almost total effacement of England, contribute to the opinion, concrete in the minds of the natives, that the British occupation is meretricious and insincere. British trade follows the British flag—but British opinion never follows the French language.

The administrative blunder of the English in not bringing in their language with their intelligent reforms, is half responsible for the unpopularity of the occupation, whose benefits would surely be obliterated and forgotten six months after the departure of the last British functionary. This is one of the

best reasons given by Englishmen why the occupation should not be terminated, and any member of the so-called National Party in Egypt, if asked for his opinion, would assert that the omission to introduce the English language into his country was a triumph of statecraft, and not a blunder thereof. "Having no intention of going, the Britishers want an excuse, even a lame one, for remaining, and the influence of the Anglophobe press, which they purposely refrain from counteracting, creates one," the Nationalist would say. Travelers have long known that it was a part of Britain's policy in India to allow native discontent to vent itself through the local press. It relieves the Indian grumbler, and doesn't hurt the English official.

Will England ever be compelled to quit Egypt?

If the British persist in clinging to the theory of effective possession constituting a title, it may be assumed that they will never voluntarily relax their hold upon Egypt; it is more probable, even, that they would fight to retain it. England has withstood the sneers and opposition of France, and fears nothing from that country alone. Germany, while regarding England's methods in Egypt as forming a dangerous precedent, has not enough at stake to initiate any campaign in connection therewith. Italy is in spirit England's ally in more than one African enterprise; and Austria, the Sultan's nearest neighbor, chooses to keep her hands free from the Egyptian imbroglio from politic motives.

When the alliance between France and Russia was mooted, the quidnuncs of Paris saw in it an immediate prospect of forcing Britain out of Egypt—this was to be France's greatest gain. But a sentimental and showy friendship between two nations—and this probably is all that binds France and Russia—is insufficient in these times to cause the stronger to take up arms for the sake of accomplishing a cherished desire of the other.

When Russia chooses to use an active hand in Egyptian affairs, it will be as a principal; and it is from the Muscovite only that England stands in any fear of having force—or diplomacy backed by force—aimed at the evacuation of the Nile country. Russia's diplomacy for three years has been as triumphant throughout the far East and Asia Minor as it has been in Constantinople; while that of Great Britain has been worse than impotent. It will never be forgotten that it was England

who inspired the Armenians with those hopes which led to the terrible massacres, and that England abandoned them to their fate. The Czar aims at becoming the dictator of things Asiatic, possibly omitting India for the present. By brilliant diplomacy Russia acquired nearly all the increment of benefit going to Japan as a result of Japan's victory over China, and her influence over Korea is well-nigh paramount, as it is also in Persia. If the Russians decide that the great transcontinental railway to Vladivostock is not going to secure to them the hoped-for control of Eastern matters, they may have something to say to England in connection with that country's ingenious policing of the Suez Canal. Russia has various means of reaching the East, it is true. But no route can offer a fraction of the advantages—commercial, political, or strategic—of the Suez Canal. That must be the favorite avenue to the East.

Were Russia to conclude that the presence in Egypt of a British armed force was inimical to her own ambition for Eastern dominion, and spoke as sharply as did the President of the United States in the Venezuelan affair, England might reluctantly readjust her foreign scheme sufficiently to allow her redcoats to leave Egypt and the Canal. It goes without saying that France would co-operate in any movement looking to the dislodgement of *perfide Albion.*

The masterly victory of Turkish troops in the recent Greek war was a blow to Englishmen who believed that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was near at hand. They had already experienced a check when the Armenian disorders failed to shake the Sultan's throne, and the result of the Greco-Turkish war caused a painful awakening as to the health of the "Sick Man of Europe." A break-up of the Sultan's empire may come in time, and Egypt fall to England in the general parcelling-out of Turkish possessions. But the "Sick Man" is convalescing so rapidly, and is so watchful on the Bosphorus, that the scramble for Ottoman territory may be postponed for many years.

Is Egypt capable of self-government?

The candor prompting one who has made a long and disinterested study of Egyptian matters in the country itself to say that England has performed her self-appointed task in Egypt better than any other nation could, likewise compels one to state that Egypt is not capable of complete self-government at the present

time, for she has no class of officials trained in the higher ranges of administrative work. Certainly no other nation should ever be permitted to supplant the English as administrators or "occupiers" of Egypt.

The Khedive, far from being the stubborn and unruly youth that British newspapers are prone to represent him, is competent to guide an enlightened policy in carrying on the affairs of his country, without any European intervention. He would have at his command a group of progressive assistants like Tigrane, Boutros, Fakhry, Cherif, and Yakoub Artin, each qualified to render excellent service as an independent minister. As in times prior to the coming of the British, the Khedivial government could employ technical assistants of any nationality it chose. American military officers, before England's assumption of power, gave Egypt as good an army as it ever had. British or other engineers, having services to sell, should be as willing to labor for Egypt under a self-governing administration, as they are under a *régime* upheld by British soldiers. In this way, perhaps, good government by the Khedive might take the place of that now furnished by England, and the "running shriek of denunciation" of the army of occupation be silenced.

Egypt might, and might not, prosper under these changed conditions. But there is little likelihood of her being permitted to try the experiment, and "Egypt for the Egyptians" must remain, in all probability, a sentimental illusion.

The Khedive has the undoubted right to govern his country, at least until it is demonstrated that he is incapable, or until his inheritance has been acquired by purchase or other arrangement based upon equity and honesty.

It is no reckless hazard, however, to predict that a dozen years hence all that portion of the Nile Valley extending from the Mediterranean to Khartoum will be British soil. If so, Arabi Pasha should be liberated from his exile in Ceylon, and hailed as one of the makers of England's proud empire.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

THE DREAM OF NAVIGATORS.

BY CAPTAIN A. S. CROWNINSHIELD, U. S. N.

LET any interested person take an atlas, open the covers at the page entitled "North and South America," and, as a reminder of his school days, trace with his finger the route which a ship must follow to pass from any one of our Atlantic or Gulf seaports to reach any one of the harbors of the Pacific within the boundary of the United States. As he follows her lonely course let him try to realize the enormous distance which this ship must travel, the wild waste of waters over which she must pass. Let him note the inhospitable point of land designated upon the map as Cape Horn, apparently so near, in reality so many thousand miles distant; so familiar by name and in locality to every school boy and girl, so utterly unknown, except to those unfortunates who have weathered its icy promontory, and have safely withstood the bitter fierceness of its Antarctic gales. Now let our enquirer retrace his imaginary course and turn his attention to another easily possible route between our Atlantic and Gulf ports and those upon the western shore of our continent—the route by Central America—and he will perceive at a glance the enormous saving in distance of the proposed Isthmian waterway over the old, time-worn, life-destroying and wealth-devouring track.

To those who have been waiting for the arousing of public interest in this great project, it seems as if the time had at last arrived when thinking men as well as many who are not of a serious turn of mind, admit the imperative necessity of a highway of rapid transit between the two great oceans which all but encircle our continent.

The developments of the past few months have caused our thinkers to think yet more profoundly, and they begin to realize

that until there is a way, easy of access, from each of these oceans to the other, should certain contingencies arise, as a nation we are helpless. Supine is a strong word, but it seems the one best fitted to characterize the state of inaction and apathy which has been our condition as a nation during the unprogressive years that are past.

We Americans pride ourselves upon the rapid development of our country, upon its great trade and commerce, which have arisen from its wonderful resources through the activity and business qualities of our people. But there is a country whose development has been much more rapid than ours—a country which remained for untold centuries isolated from the rest of the world, but which, within the past few years—mainly through our aid and example, it is true—has burst the web of ignorance and inactivity which bound it, and emerges to-day before the eyes of the world as a civilized nation, making quick progress in all that proves a people strong. Suddenly, therefore, we are brought to face the fact that a new power has arisen in the Pacific, that Japan is already claiming imaginary rights within the Hawaiian Islands, islands civilized and peopled by those of our own blood, whose intelligent citizens speak our mother tongue, and we realize on the instant that here is a power with which we must reckon in the settlement of serious questions.

Japan was formerly looked upon as a far-distant country, composed of a group of islands inhabited by an interesting people, having no political relations with the western world. Presto! and all is changed. With new rulers, a new and liberal government, a desire to expand, followed by the adoption of western methods, railroads, steamships, with a foreign commerce, an army, and, what particularly concerns us, a modern navy, she appears at our doors as a power demanding recognition.

It is true that Japan is several thousand miles from our western coast, that the whole width of the Pacific Ocean lies between us, but the Pacific Ocean is a highway open to everyone, and out into the Pacific Japan must go, if she is to expand at all. To her west and north she is barred, for Russia and England will not permit her a lodgement upon the Asiatic Continent. In taking the island of Formosa she has already gone south, and her action regarding Hawaii has brought her east. Hawaii is thirty-four hundred miles from Japan, but there are

now twenty thousand of the Mikado's subjects settled in Hawaii, and the interest of Japan in the status of these people is so great that it has caused her to protest vigorously against the suggestion of the annexation of these islands to the United States.

In thus recognizing the necessity of possessing a powerful fleet of war vessels as a factor in defence or aggression, her statesmen, themselves apt students of history, have read to us a lesson which we might well commit to memory and to practice.

Beyond Japan, a few hundred miles to the west, lies the Chinese Empire, with its *four hundred millions* of people! While Japan has advanced China has remained dormant. But will this continue? Given new rulers, a new form of government, and the adoption of Western ideas, and China will throw off its yoke of conservatism, and then our Pacific States will be confronted with a second Asiatic power many times greater than Japan.

With these possibilities to be considered it behooves this country to make itself strong where it is now weak; in other words, it should be our first effort to develop our Pacific Coast States.

Let us glance for a moment at the effect of an Isthmian Canal upon this development.

The moment that a waterway is opened across Central America, the producers of our Pacific States will be brought eight thousand miles nearer to a market! It is a well-known law of trade that nearness to a market will stimulate production. The enormous grain products of California and Oregon are now taken to Europe round Cape Horn in sailing vessels, a long voyage of one hundred and thirty days, which the canal would at once reduce to fifty days! What other argument than this statement is required to show the importance of the canal as a factor in developing our Pacific Coast States? The opposition of the trans-continental railroads to the construction of the canal is based upon the fallacy that its existence will operate to their injury. This is a fear without foundation. On the contrary, the canal will be of benefit to those roads, for whatever tends to increase the population of our Pacific Coast and develop its resources, as the canal will surely do, must necessarily help the railroads, which have never been able to carry any of the grain and lumber products from California, Oregon, and Washington to an Atlantic port.

Grain and lumber, the reader must understand, have not a value in proportion to their weight, which will allow their transport by rail across the continent to an Atlantic port, where they must go on their way to a Europeon market. For years past there have been exported annually from California and Oregon nearly a million tons of wheat, every bushel of which has gone around Cape Horn! All grain exported from California is at present taken to the Pacific port of shipment by the railroads. Through the existence of the canal there will undoubtedly be an increase in the quantity exported; in other words, there will be more for the railroads to carry to the shipping point. Add to this the increase in the population of the Pacific States soon to follow the completion of the canal, and it is difficult to understand why the construction of the canal should be opposed by those who control these railroads. Such opposition is unreasonable to a degree, and is entitled to little consideration when we recognize the enormous benefits that must accrue to the United States through the completing of a waterway that will connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean.

This projected waterway will also induce immigration, and thus develop that section of our country far more than it has ever been developed by the transcontinental railways.

It is well known that our Pacific Coast States possess many features that usually attract immigration. Notwithstanding this fact, they have not increased in population as rapidly as many of the Northwestern States, and not at all in proportion to their great area. The European emigrant before coming to America may have heard of California, with its attractive climate and its diversified products, but landing at an Atlantic seaport, he finds a suitable resting place long before he can reach his Mecca; for between our Eastern and Western shores lie numberless large and attractive cities, teeming with busy life and innumerable industries; many snug farms and homelike villages, in some one of which our immigrant knows that he will find a friend from his mother country. As the overflowing train speeds on its way across the wide continent, it loses a passenger at this town, another at that hamlet, so that when its ultimate destination is reached, it gives up less than one per cent. of the number which started with it from the Atlantic seaboard.

Should our immigrant set sail in a vessel, bound by way of the Isthmian Canal for California, he reaches the goal of his hopes without temptation to disembark *en route*. The ship which conveyed him to his future home, having discharged him and hundreds of his kind at her port of entry, fills up with a part of the grain and lumber awaiting shipment, and with little delay returns over the same quick and practicable route to deliver her cargo at a welcoming foreign market.

As a political factor in increasing the influence and power of this country in the Pacific, the canal will be far-reaching. To-day, if the United States were forced into a war with Japan over possession of the Hawaiian Islands, which to her are stepping stones to our continent, we should be placed at a great disadvantage; for it is a fact that at this moment Japan's naval force is greater than our own Pacific and Asiatic squadrons combined. To reinforce our Pacific fleet, we should be obliged to send ships from our Atlantic Squadron, forcing them to make a voyage of twelve thousand miles, thus consuming many weeks, whereas, with the canal in existence, our powerful North Atlantic Squadron could be *put into the Pacific within a week!* Thus would the canal enable us to more than double our naval strength in the Pacific.

From every point of view, whether political or commercial, it is plain that the Nicaragua Canal is a necessity to the United States. It will build up our Pacific Coast States, as they *must* be built up, if we are to properly face the Orient. It will add immeasurably to our naval power, and it will increase our influence not only far out into the Pacific Ocean, over the islands and waters of that vast region, but also over the Caribbean Sea and adjacent waters.

Commission after commission has reported favorably as to the feasibility of the Nicaragua Canal. Exhaustive surveys by our government, as well as by private companies, have been made, all showing that this route is not only practicable, but that it possesses natural advantages far above all others. It is true that estimates of cost have varied; but ten, or even twenty, millions, more or less, is not a matter worthy of consideration when compared with the importance of the canal to us.

It is undoubtedly a fact not only that the American people believe that any canal that shall connect the Atlantic and Pacific

shall be controlled by the United States, but that our government has given, upon more than one occasion, expression to this sentiment.

It has been truthfully stated by Vattel that nations, like individuals, control that which they own. If, therefore, the United States government should construct the canal, or should aid, by the use of its credit or guarantee, in its construction, this country would then in the eyes of the world occupy a very much stronger position in the final settlement of control than it does at present. Certainly no stronger argument in favor of control of anything has ever been advanced than ownership, for ownership represents an interest so high and so binding that control must necessarily be conceded.

We should be wise in our generation, and by legislation and such other steps as may be necessary, inaugurate without further delay the work of completing the Nicaragua Canal. Let us pierce the Isthmus at the one spot which nature has already pointed out, and thus fulfill what has been for centuries the hope of commerce and the dream of navigators.

A. S. CROWNINSHIELD.

TENNYSON IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE Isle of Wight is not what it was when Tennyson came to Farringford with his young wife and child in 1853. Then it was little known to the outer world, and it was too inaccessible for the holiday-makers and the business men, who now make it a home, and impart to it some of the prosaic and unlovely qualities of a London suburb.

While he was at Bonchurch he had heard of Farringford as a place which was both beautiful and far from the haunts of men, and, with his wife, he went to see it one November evening, crossing the Solent in a row-boat, when "one dark heron flew over the sea, backed by a daffodil sky."

"Next day, as they gazed from the drawing-room window out through the distant wreath of trees toward a sea of Mediterranean blue, with rosy capes beyond, the down on the left rising above the foreground of undulating park, golden-leaved elms and chestnuts, and red-stemmed pines, they agreed," says their son, "that they must, if possible, have that view to live with."

Tennyson had just begun to taste the honey of prosperity after a long delay which had kept him waiting ten years or more for means to marry on, and as if to justify what he thought might be regarded as an extravagance, he wrote: "By buying safe debentures in the East Lincolnshire Line for £2,500, with that and £500 a year" (the amount which since 1850 he had been making from his books), "I think we ought to get on."

So they rapturously settled down to a country life. "In the afternoons they swept up the leaves, mowed the grass, gravelled the walks, and he built what he called 'a bower of rushes' in the kitchen garden. The primroses and snowdrops and other flowers were a constant delight, and he began a flower diction-

ary. He also bought spy-glasses through which he might watch the ways and movements of the birds in the ilexes, cedar, and fir trees. Geology, too, he took up, and trudged out with the local geologist, Keeping, on many a long expedition."

They made Farringford their home for forty years, and many of his best-known poems, including "Enoch Arden" and "Maud," were written there, though before the close of his life, to escape the intrusive cockneys whom he despised, he built Aldworth, a more lordly pleasure-house near Haslemere, where a part of each year was spent.

First leased, Farringford was bought three years later with the proceeds of the sale of "Maud," and his wife wrote on April 24, 1856: "This ivied home among the pine trees is ours. . . . Such beautiful blue hyacinths, orchises, primroses, daisies, marsh-marigolds and cuckoo flowers! Wild-cherry trees, too, with single snowy blossom, and the hawthorns, white with their 'pearls of May.' The park has for many days been rich with cowslips and furze in bloom. The elms are a golden wreath at the foot of the down; to the north of the house the mespilus and horse-chestnut are in flower, and the apple trees are covered with rosy buds. A. dug the bed ready for the rhododendrons. A thrush was singing among the nightingales and other birds, as he said 'mad with joy.' At sunset, the golden green of the trees, the burning splendor of Blackgang Chine and St. Catharine's and the red bank of the primeval river, contrasted with the turkis-blue of the sea (that is our view from the drawing-room), make altogether a miracle of beauty. We are glad that Farringford is ours."

One of the earliest signs of dissatisfaction occurs in a note to the Duke of Argyll, written from Haslemere, in 1867: "My wife has always had a fancy for the sandy soil and heather-scented air of this part of England, and we are intending to buy a few acres, and build a little home here, whither we may escape when the cockneys are running over my lawns at Freshwater."

The "few acres" expanded into several hundred and the little home into a palace.

Though many changes have taken place since 1853, the Isle of Wight is far from being wholly spoiled, and it is less changed at Freshwater and Farringford, which are to all intents and purposes one village, than elsewhere, the access to them being less convenient and less speedy than to other parts.

The island is very small—so small that Tennyson seeing it from Bournemouth with its white cliffs and encircling sea, could say of it that it looked like a water lily in a blue lake. Twenty-two miles from east to west, and thirteen from north to south, it is separated from the mainland by the Sound of Spithead and the Solent, beyond which, like luminous clouds, roll the chalk bluffs of the Hampshire downs.

On the north it is low and woody. There Osborne is embowered, and Cowes sits with its fleet of yachts dancing on an amethystine flood. The interior is undulating and the hills are often bare, though the valleys are grooved with typical English lanes and set with old-time homesteads and manorial parks. It is on the south, where it drops into the sea, that the island is most beautiful. There it faces the English Channel, with a bastion of magnificent chalk cliffs, which slope inland with wide reaches of treeless but flower-bestrewn downs, over which one walks as on an elastic cushion, breathing air "worth sixpence a pint," as Tennyson, quoting Keats, once said of it.

At the eastern end, Reculver Cliff juts into the sea, and westward of it Sandown, Shanklin, and Ventnor, prosperous watering places, are strung along the shore, their architectural temporalities of red brick and stucco making a regretful contrast with the crouching, thatched, rose-enwreathed cottages of earlier days, which were their nucleus, and their piers streaking the sky at night with the lambent flame of electric lights. The brown-earthy mass of Dunnose Head flanks Shanklin on the west, and thence to Blackgang Chine extends the famous undercliff, which might better be called the overcliff—a great natural terrace high above the rustling surges and the lower roads, which was formed in the unrecorded past by the seaward slipping of the upper strata. Along the undercliff the foliage gushes out like a green waterfall; houses, gardens, and hedges are masses of bloom, and wherever there is an opening the sea shows itself like turquoise glass in a painted window. Bonchurch, loveliest of English villages, with its ancient church that could be put into the chancel of an ordinary chapel, and its many literary associations (John Sterling is buried in the gardenlike graveyard), suns itself peacefully here, and until Blackgang Chine is reached the scene is comparable to that of the Riviera, which, in its blending of water and woodland, it much resembles.

The Chine is a chasm with variegated walls of chalk and sandstone, above which the undercliff ends, and then an embayed stretch of low, wind-swept moor opens to the westward, rising again to the height of Afton and Freshwater downs, which sloping inland front the sea with some of the noblest cliffs in the island, or for that matter in the world.

In the distance they glimmer like icebergs or promontories in a mirage, and sometimes seem to be caught up and mingled with the clouds. In the gray they glow with pale phosphorescent flame. Nearer, as from the sea, their blanched escarpments are fringed around the summits with brown tassels from the washings of the earth above, and veilings of moss and grass. There is a gap between Afton Down and Freshwater with a beach and a village sheltered in it—the village of Freshwater itself—and beyond it the cliffs soar to their loftiest point, where they open out to St. Alban's Head and Portland Bill, and are crowned by Tennyson's beacon, the memorial of the poet who made the ground his own and gave voices to its sea and heather, its gorse and sky.

Tennyson said, "Somehow water is the element I love best of all four," but in the recent Memoir he is also credited with saying that he "never cared greatly for the sea on the south coast. "It is not a grand sea, only an angry, curt sea."

Probably that was a view expressed before he became familiar with the locality, for though the Atlantic does not plunge against the Isle of Wight as against Cornwall and the West of Ireland, he himself has proved how much power and enchantment the sea reveals from the downs. Let the weather be fair or foul, Nature is never dull from the vantage-ground of those convexities which seem like the rind of the earth and give an illusion of vastness and openness beyond their actual area. Men striding on ridges and etched against the sky indeed seem "as trees walking." The wind rustling in the ear, the sheep bleating, the sea churning among the boulders, the occasional bellowing of a steamer for a pilot, the swallows crying in their low flights and the gulls screaming give the only sounds. When the mist closes over the scene, a strange sense of being disembodied possesses us as we are lost in the impenetrable vapor, and the gulls pass over our heads, visible but for an instant as they float from obscurity into obscurity. In times of storm one seems to be at the seat of the elements and a

witness to all their processes. The clouds roll and break against the cliffs like another sea, and sunbursts flashing from them leave a silver swath over the vexed and sombre billows. On sultry days a waterspout, whirling like a dervish, is no uncommon sight, and he who makes the downs his observatory becomes wise in all the phenomena of sea and air. Climbing them at night gives one the feeling of scaling the walls of heaven itself; they slope like the sides of a pyramid, and the apex of the pyramid impales the stars. On sunny days the sea below is purple and every shade of blue and green that can be thought of, even (to use one of Tennyson's own descriptions) "like a peacock's neck."

Rarely was there a visitor at Farringford that he was not brought up to the beacon, and shown all these wonders and beauties. Except in his closing years, the poet was found upon them in all weathers and at all seasons, and from them and the surrounding scenery he drew many of the landscapes of his poems.

I have seen a picture of him standing on such a summit as High Down, where the beacon is, as an illustration to "Break, break," but those lines were not inspired or written there; they were written in a Lincolnshire lane, at five o'clock in the morning, between blossoming hedges. He left a definite record in regard to "Maud," however, and says, "Many of the descriptions of Nature are taken from observations of natural phenomena at Farringford, although the localities in the poem are all imaginary." He observed not merely with the eye of a poet, but as a man of wide scientific knowledge, and he had much more than a fair acquaintance with geology, botany, and astronomy. Flowers and birds were the burden of much of his talk in his rambles, and he was constantly making notes. "I generally take my nature-similes direct from my own observation of nature, and sometimes jot them down, and if by chance I find that one of my similes is like that in any author my impulse is not to use that simile." His son adds that if he was in the vein during a walk he would make dozens of similes that were never chronicled.

His walks were usually along the downs towards the Needles, those picturesque spikes of chalk which have been lopped off the cliffs at the entrance to the Solent, and from which vessels leaving Southampton take their departure. "The birds that made their homes on the chalk ledges, the peregrine falcons, the

ravens with their 'iron knell,' the kestrels, the carrion-crows, the different kinds of sea birds, from the cormorants drying themselves on the pinnacles of rock in heraldic attitudes, to the seagull sunning himself among the tufts of samphire and of thrift, were ever a fresh interest. A special corner that he liked above all was a platform over Scratchall's Bay looking up to a dazzling white precipice seen far away by ships at sea, which he named Taliessin or 'the splendid brow.' At other times he would wander at low tide among the green rock pools on the shore and curiously examine the 'branching seaweed' and the brilliant sea anemones; or, when high tide coincided with sunset, would watch the great waves flinging their 'rosy veil of spray' behind them and 'shouldering the sun.'"

"The madden'd beach dragg'd down by the wave," "the spirts of wild sea-smoke," "the vast sea-cataracts," "the gray skirts of a lifting squall," and many other vivid illustrations were drawn from the downs.

Rain and wind did not restrain him, and he scorned an umbrella. With his long, dark mantle and thick boots and huge wide-awake hat he defied all storms. When Mary Anderson was tramping with him and his hat became soaked, he stopped and shook it, saying, "How much better this is than to be huddled over the fire for a little weather!"

Sometimes his two boys were harnessed to their mother's bath chair when she was an invalid, and the poet pushing behind she too was given glimpses of the swelling downs that were so rich a source of inspiration and delight to him.

The house is so completely shut in by its groves that even from the ridge of the downs nothing can be seen of it, and the curling blue smoke rising over the trees alone indicates its existence. The straggling village rambles down to the shingly beach by a lane of hawthorn hedges, and is flanked by the pale cliffs, which, as at the Needles, have cast off fragments in the form of pillars and arches with their bases in the sea. The roses in the gardens of the nearer cottages have nothing between them and the surf but a narrow bench of pebbles. Many ugly little houses have sprung up, and, like parvenu neighbors, elbow and tower above the earlier and prettier habitations. But the crescents and terraces feared by Tennyson have not yet come, and Freshwater impresses those who are seeking

the gayeties of the ordinary watering-place as being stagnant and boresome.

The journey from London turns one's thoughts towards eternity. There are expresses as far as Brockenhurst, but there the traveller for the Isle of Wight is shunted on to a branch line, and the rest of the distance is through a country of crabs and tortoises. The train takes a nap of fifteen minutes at Lymington Town, and then softly steals on a quarter of a mile to Lymington Pier, where ancient mariners, who only need pigtails to connect them with Trafalgar, transfer you and your baggage to a prehistoric boat, which creeps across the Solent on the tips of its toes and cautiously lands you at Yarmouth. Still you are far away from Freshwater, reckoning by the clock. Octogenarian porters smile at you and your "boxes," and then have a good, long chat among themselves and with the boat's crew. Later—never sooner—perhaps in the course of an hour, the coach is ready to start, but never until the purple-faced, husky-voiced half-brother of old Weller has had his "drop," and used up all his resources of conversation with the octogenarians. When the coach starts it stops, and starts to stop again to deliver a cabbage here, a newspaper there, a baby half-way down the lane, somebody's "washing" at the end of the lane, a soldier at the path to the fort, and a voluminous old lady with a tin hat-box and ten or a dozen bursting paper parcels at the gate of one of the many little houses with "apartments" in the window. When you reach Freshwater the day is done and you feel that Switzerland might have been nearer.

What Mr. Gosse said of the poet himself in the last number of the REVIEW could be applied, if one were disposed to sarcasm, to the natives, and especially to the men. They have "a singular slowness of progression," and a sort of "premonition of great length of days" makes them very lazy. They are grave and slow, and speak with the rising inflection of the Hampshire dialect. They look after their skiffs and canoes and bathing-houses, and brood by the hour on the sorrows of the sea, solacing themselves with their frequent "drops" at the tap of the "Albion," while their wives and daughters attend to the needs of the summer visitors. In earlier days Tennyson and some of his famous visitors were not above dropping in to this cottage or that for a chat and a pipe with the humble neighbors, and more than one modest dwelling is adorned by Mr. Cameron's photographs of the poet

and his friends, even by that celebrated one of Tennyson himself, which he called "the dirty monk."

"Ah, there do be this, and there do be that," the beachmen will say with solemn faces. Sometimes in calm summer evenings, when the sea is lacquered with bronze and without a ripple, it breaks on the beach and against the cliffs with the crash of falling masonry, while at Compton Bay it has the constant roar of a cataract, though the surface is as smooth as oil. Pausing between the hedgerows, we were listening to this thunder and its reverberations, when an old beachman shook his head: "Ah, when she do roar like that, changes be coomin'." Tennyson records the effect in the line, "There came so loud a calling of the sea," and that calling can be heard far into the interior of the island.

The house is invisible from the road as well as from the cliffs, and to see it one must either be invited or become a trespasser. Tennyson's Lane is the nearest approach to it, a glade separating the home park from outlying meadows, and from a gate here one can gaze on the same prospect which opens from the drawing-room window, and which Tennyson called "his bit of Italy." In the far distance are the buttresses of the undercliff, blending in the haze with billowy clouds; nearer, the intervening pale-green moor and the dells, which shelter such ideal villages as Brightstone or Brixton, where Ken and Wilberforce once preached; then the red and gold cliffs of Atherfield Point melt into the bluish white of Compton Bay and the yellow-fringed precipices of Freshwater Gate. All of these lie beyond a foreground of meadow, edged by tall, graceful cedars, and all dip into a sea, changeable, but as constant blue as any sea can be.

A narrow rustic bridge spans the lane, and this gave the poet access to Maiden's Croft and the little summer house, where "Maud," "Enoch Arden," "The Holy Grail," and many others of his poems were written, and where, in his closing days, he could see the downs when he was too feeble to climb them.

The estate is not of many acres and the house is plain, but a poet lived there as a poet should. His son has given a picture of him which can never fade, so vivid is it and so charged with appeal to the loftiest and most enduring of human interests. He has revealed to us not only a poet, but a great and most lovable man in a struggle with the problems that beset and harass the

soul. Any curiosity not ignoble cannot fail to be satisfied with the opulence of detail which the son employs in depicting his father, and hereafter all pilgrims who come to Freshwater for their interest in the poet will have, through the biography, the new privilege of seeing him not as a stranger from afar, nor as the dim, illusive figure that shunned observation, but as an intimate.

The book fills the mind with pictures of him and the long roll f illustrious friends who visited him at Farringford—Darwin, Gladstone, Kingsley, Sumner, Dufferin, Garibaldi, Swinburne, Millais, Owen, Newman, Longfellow, Maurice, Tyndall, Holmes, Bayard Taylor, Prince Albert, and Jenny Lind.

We see him star-gazing from the roof of the house, and we hear his infant son asking, in childish bewilderment, "Am I dead?" as he is held out in the darkness to look at a comet. When Darwin is leaving after a call the poet says, "Your theory of evolution does not make against Christianity," and the man of science replies, "Certainly not." We see and hear him reading his poems to special friends ("Maud" oftener than anything else), slow and unwilling at the outset, but once started voluble and ready to keep on until midnight. Once when he is reciting "Maud" he turns upon a listener and asks what birds are meant by the line, "Birds in the high hall garden calling 'Maud,' 'Maud,' 'Maud.'" "Nightingales, sir," is the timid answer. "Pooh, what a cockney you are! Nightingales do not say 'Maud.' Rooks do, or something like it, 'caw, caw, caw.'"

He can be brusque at times—almost as savage as his friend Carlyle—but the disclosure of his foibles leaves him more human and not less lovable. He has a lively tussle with George Eliot on mind and matter, and as they part he smilingly says, "I wish you well with your molecules," and she as gently replies, "I can get on very well with my molecules."

There is an amusing story of his meeting some children in one of the Freshwater lanes. Expecting to amuse them, he stopped before them and barked like a dog, but the children could not see the intended humor and only responded with long faces and alarm. He was scornfully indifferent to superficial appearances, especially to his personal appearance. On one occasion, when William Allingham was visiting him and they

were holding a candle over some books or pictures, Tennyson's hair caught fire and Allingham attempted to put it out. "O, never mind," said the poet, "it depends on chance burnings."

"One of the finest-looking men in the world," said Carlyle of him to Emerson. "A great shock of rough, dusky-dark hair, bright, laughing, hazel eyes, massive aquiline face, most massive yet most delicate ; of sallow-brown complexion, almost Indian-looking; clothes cynically loose, free-and-easy; smokes infinite tobacco." He had a study, bare except for books, at the top of the house, and to this den the chosen few were invited. Tyndall found between fifteen and twenty pipes in the rack over the chimney, and the drawers of the table were crammed with tobacco of various kinds. "With few words, with many or with none, it need not be an ineloquent pipe," said Carlyle. And up here the poet would unbosom himself of the many interests that filled his mind, a mind of extraordinary variousness. Here, said Palgrave, one felt, was a man who, like Wordsworth, had lived, not indeed exclusively, but essentially, among the highest mountains, the purest air, the region nearest heaven.

Tennyson died at Aldsworth, not at Freshwater, but it was at Farringford that, when the end was nearing, he wrote "Crossing the Bar," and it was the moaning of the sea there that inspired it. He explained the pilot as meaning "that Divine and Unseen Who is always guiding us," and a few days before his death he said to his son, "Mind you put 'Crossing the Bar' at the end of all editions of my poems."

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE ENGINEER AND HIS WAR ENGINE.

BY PROFESSOR R. H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

OUR present fleet—magnificent in quality, but still small in numbers, exemplifying the marvellous ingenuity of the American mechanic and inventor, the wonderful constructive skill of the marine engineer and naval architect, and the most extraordinary of all modern combinations of accurate design with beautiful and exact construction, and demanding the highest skill of most thoroughly trained officers for its management; concentrating in minimum space maximum power, and uniting offensive and defensive power as does no other product of science and skill—is the outcome of but about ten years of work on the part of our engineers, naval constructors, and ship-builders. This fleet includes the most perfect of modern steam engines, the most graceful of hulls, the most resistant of armor, and the most penetrating of ordnance. Ships like the "Columbia," the "Minneapolis" and their type are among the swiftest war vessels on the ocean. The fleet is the grandest triumph of the engineer and his aids that the world has seen. Its *material* is the most perfect, on the whole, yet known; it only remains to make its *personnel* correspondingly complete and effective.

In this task no difficulty can arise from lack of good men available for such a purpose. Whether in skill as mechanics, in knowledge as engineers, or in scientific preparation for their work, no nation can produce a body of men superior to that which, the right way being taken, may be readily collected to complete the requirements of a well-built and well-manned navy. The finest navy the world has seen becomes useless without an ample and well-proportioned *personnel*.

We have the ships, but we have not the men. To secure them

ways must be found and opened for their introduction, and inducements commensurate with the talent and character required must be offered to bring them into the service of their country, in time of peace, when, if ever, we must prepare for war. It is as insane to expect to secure an efficient *personnel* on call, in the event of a sudden outbreak of war, as to anticipate that ships, which require years to build, may be improvised on demand. In this respect the difference between the modern and the ancient navy is as great as in character and power. At this moment, not only have we a very dangerous deficiency in numbers of engineers for the effective manning of the fleet, but there exists no legal path by which the needed reinforcement can be brought into the navy list.

The Naval Academy cannot produce the men either in sufficient numbers or with the high training which is to-day always demanded, even in civil life, of those who enter the profession of the mechanical engineer; and the schools of engineering of the country and the profession itself are to-day helpless to serve the nation in any emergency, simply because every legal avenue of entrance has been closed by the same influences which have reduced this magnificent fleet to its present condition of threatened failure in any such emergency.

The two principal corps of officers, by the progress of events, under unfortunate influences and with inefficient legislation, are reduced, the one to the condition of an army consisting of excessive numbers of generals with few privates, the other to the condition of an army with few privates and vastly fewer generals in proportion to privates.

The work of development of the modern engine of war is mainly attributable to a few great men of science and of inventive and constructive genius. James Watt and his successors have given us the heart of the machine, its powerful steam-engines, without which all other elements of power would be helpless; Armstrong in Great Britain, Krupp in Prussia, and Broadwell, the American—honored as a prophet, except in his own country—and their followers among later inventors and engineers, have produced the ordnance of our time, capable of driving its ton of projectile through thirty inches of iron at a thousand yards range, of attaining a muzzle-velocity of a third of a mile in a second, and of sending its shot a dozen miles and over an ele-

vation, *en route,* as high as the loftiest Alpine peaks. Robert Fulton, the American engineer, in 1815, brought the steam-engine into the service of our own navy; Robert L. Stevens, the ablest engineer of his time, and Ericsson and his recent disciples, have covered the sides of the iron hull with armor, and thus the naval architect, co-operating with the engineer, has produced a ship, an instrument of propulsion, a battery and a fort combined —the greatest wonder of the whole modern world of engineering.

The ship-of-the-line of the days before the advent of the iron-clad was seldom of more than about a thousand tons rating, carried a hundred or more guns—consisting of 32-pounders and smaller calibre, with a few 8-inch shell-guns—in the later ships, had a speed entirely dependent upon wind and wave and rarely exceeding ten knots, and was penetrable by the smallest ordnance of the time. The battleship of to-day displaces ten times as many tons of sea water; carries a few, but vastly greater, guns; steams, in smooth water, over twenty knots—24 miles—an hour; crosses the ocean at two-thirds speed without regard to wind or weather; defies penetration except by the largest of modern ordnance, and her own enormous guns drive their shell and their solid shot through from one to two and a half feet of solid iron, while her automobile torpedoes, themselves marvels of ingenuity and skill on the part of the contemporary engineer-inventor and mechanic, destroy with a single explosion the noblest, grandest, and most powerful of her adversaries. The steam-engine, the motive power of this leviathan, concentrates within a small fraction of the volume of the ship the power of thousands of horses, and is itself the embodiment of the highest skill and intellect of contemporary man. In fact, to replace the thirty-thousand horse-power engines of the latest transatlantic "liner" would require the most severe exertion of forty-five thousand horses, and their constant maintenance of such power would demand at least three relays, probably more, in the twenty-four hours—a stud of one hundred and thirty-five thousand horses. Allowing ten feet to each, as a "string-team" they would stretch a distance of about two hundred and seventy miles. The actual engines doing this inconceivable work weigh but a small fraction and occupy a still less minute proportional volume of the ship. The horses would weigh not less than seventy thousand tons, and with their pro-

vender would load several ships such as their steel and iron representatives propel. It is this almost automatic machine, designed, constructed, and operated under the direction of the engineer that makes the modern war-ship possible.

The revolution which constitutes the evolution of the past generation has attracted the attention of every statesman. As the matter is stated by Rear Admiral Colomb, R. N.:

"What we have to do in the navy is really to welcome the coming, speed the parting, guest. The parting guest is the seamanship of the past, that which confined itself to the management of the ship under sail alone. The coming guest is steam, mechanism, and forces of all kinds other than the winds. Now, instead of frankly going out, shaking hands and bidding good-bye to the parting guest and wishing him well, and going down the steps to meet the new one and bring him in, we are holding on to the coat-tails of the old one and trying to shake hands with the coming one with the left hand, or perhaps with only one finger."

Senator Squire, addressing his colleagues, recently remarked when speaking of his visit to a lately constructed iron-clad:

"Going through the vessel, below the water-line, I observed the vast amount of machinery, the complicated elements that enter into its construction, making the care of a modern vessel of war very important as regards the future of steam engineering. One passes through compartment after compartment and is almost lost in bewilderment in the mazes of the complicated machinery around him. It occurred to me that not enough attention has been paid to the *personnel* as respects steam engineering. Truly the propelling power is the soul of the ship! Without it the ship cannot be handled and is perfectly useless. This power is under the supervision of the engineer officers; therefore it is needful to have a high order of *personnel*, a larger number of officers, and those of great attainments and proficiency." . . . "We are building in this country vessels such as were unknown in former times, and we need adepts in the art of engineering and of marine architecture. There is no way of obtaining a suitable class of men except by preparing them in the various educational schools. Ships can be built, but men cannot be built. . . . The only way to have such men is to educate them in advance."

When the first "Monitor" was battling with her comparatively gigantic antagonist, the "Merrimac," in Hampton Roads, her engineer staff took the greatest risks in the fight of the Ericsson machine with the larger craft, and the handling of her guns by Chief-Engineer Stimers saved the fleet and the coast to the country.* When the ironclad "Tecumseh" sank, torpedoed in the

* In a letter from the late Admiral David D. Porter, addressed to Engineer in-Chief W. W. W. Wood, the former wrote: "I have had more than two thousand engineers under my command during the rebellion, and I have never known them to shrink from any service."

harbor of Mobile, it was the engineer corps which suffered most, in proportion to numbers. When the British "Victoria" sank, she carried to the bottom her whole engineer department.

As Engineer-in-Chief Isherwood wrote of the States' insurrection in 1861-65 :

"Our antagonists had neither engineering skill nor resources in themselves, nor could they, owing to the efficiency of our navy, obtain them from others, and the want was fatal. They had despised the mechanical arts and sciences, and by those arts and sciences they fell.

"During the four years of the war, 115 of the officers of the engineer corps are recorded as having died in service, the majority of them being killed in battle or having died from wounds and exposure incident to their duty. In proportion to the numbers employed, it is believed that no other corps suffered so severely. The facts of the history of the corps during the War of the Rebellion are unquestionably sufficient to redeem from error every fair-minded person who may have been led to believe, from partisan arguments, that the engineer officers of the navy occupy a non-combatant status, or that the engineer corps is not a necessary and essentially military arm of the service. The truth of this must be known to even those who imagine it to be to their interest to deny it. It was freely admitted by scores of commanding officers, who had experience in war and who did not hesitate to do honor to whom it was due, in their official reports, irrespective of corps."*

When the engineer corps was organized, the engineer officer, not unnaturally, was regarded by the older class of sailor-officers as an interloper. His machinery excited dismay and disgust, as occupying space which had been available for other purposes, restricting the storage, the conveniences, above all the comfort of the men who felt that their rights of possession were not nine-tenths but ten-tenths of the ship. The new officer was designated on the books as "an idler," although then, as always, the most business-like and most unintermittedly busy of all the members of the uniformed list.

The proportional number of officers actually required in the engineer corps and in the "line" have, since 1866, continually changed in the direction of growth to the former. The civil war, which necessarily compelled the appointment of a fairly efficient body of engineer officers, brought up the proportion to about equal numbers—2,279 to 2,463 in 1865—and this proportion was retained when the navy was placed on a peace footing—379 to 395 in 1866. Since that time the size and power, and the numbers, of steam engines and boilers and accessory machinery, great and small, have been constantly and enormously increased, and the correct proportion should probably be, for the highest effi-

* Bennet, *Steam Navy of the United States.*

ciency of the navy as itself a great machine, one giving considerably the larger number to the engineer corps.*

At the present time, with our great iron ships, weighing 10,000 tons, filled with machinery developing twice as many horse-power, the requirements would be about double the existing number of engineer officers, assuming the numbers apportioned for a peace footing, and the number of sailors and their officers, especially the latter, somewhat less than at present. For a war footing the numbers of both should be increased, the engineer corps to several times its present magnitude, the other corps very considerably. The proportion of the one to the other, so far as officers are concerned, should be, on such ships as we are now adding to our navy, about four engineer officers to three deck officers. The rank of the men in either corps should be practically the same for similar ages and periods of service, and the pay of the former must necessarily, for highest efficiency, be considerably larger for similar grades, as it is vastly more difficult to secure and maintain able men where competing with a lucrative and in all ways agreeable and seductive profession, than where sentiment and freedom from competition in business permit the selection of good men and their retention even at rates of compensation that prove unequal to the ordinary demands of their families.

The extraordinary and fearfully dangerous condition of naval affairs at present is seen in the fact that to-day, when we should have, for a navy of 108 vessels and of 320,000 horse-power, about 600 deck officers and 700 engineer officers, we actually have over 700 of the former and less than 200 of the latter; while the list is continually being reduced by deaths, resignations, and prostrations by nervous and physical exhaustion. The engineer officers number less than in the year previous to the outbreak of the civil war. Were we compelled to go into a war in our present condition, the consequences could not but be disastrous if not absolutely fatal, and that very promptly.

In 1896, with the "new navy" afloat, with about 100 vessels in commission, nearly 300,000 tons displacement and over that figure in horse-power of engines, the number of deck officers was double the figure for 1866; the number of engineer officers

* It is of course to be remembered that all influences, even in time of war, have favored undue proportion of the sailor, as compared with the engineer, branches of the *personnel*.

one-half as great as then. There were about 2½ of the former per 1,000 tons, and only two-thirds of the latter, over four to one, where, with the quantity and power and intricacy of machinery so enormously increased, there should have been a larger proportion of the latter than in 1865. Where, in 1866, each member of the engineer corps took charge of 300 horse-power of machinery, 2,000 were assigned to each in 1896.

In March, 1896, Britain was endeavoring to keep up her quota of engineer officers, precisely the opposite of the policy so suicidally pursued on this side the ocean, and was seeking 318, while but 85 were at the time available. The British navy at that time listed 3.52 deck officers per ship, when our own listed about ten. With all conditions vastly more favorable to success than with us, that service was nevertheless experiencing serious difficulty in obtaining needed men in its now most essential corps—most essential because, were either to be extinguished, it would be vastly easier for the younger corps to learn and to assume the duties of the elder than the reverse.

For thirty years this process of emasculation of our steam navy by the constriction of its engineer corps has been going on, in spite of all protests of its best friends and the continual representation of the case to Navy Departments, Congresses and successive administrations. As long ago as 1869 the writer, then "out of the hurly burly" of the active service and with no intention of ever returning to it, and having some ambition to aid in the building up of an effective new navy, collected some figures relative to this subject, from among which are selected the following statistics:

We had before the war closed, in 1864, at a time when the exegencies of war had compelled at least some slight approximation to that correct proportion of numbers of the two great corps which, even under such circumstances, was not completely attained, in consequence of the restraining effect of the old, and still persistent, prejudices and traditions, over 2,800 officers in the line, and 1,700 in the engineer corps—a ratio of 8 to 5. In 1865 the maximum became nearly 2,500 in the line and 2,300 officers in the engineer corps—a ratio of about 5½ to 5, or nearly equal numbers. Had the natural demand been met entirely without prejudice, in favor of the one and against the other corps, the numbers even with the then comparatively small

displacement of sails by steam that characterized the navies of the world would undoubtedly have been reversed in their proportion. The natural numbers to-day would be unquestionably such as would still further reduce the proportion of the older, and increase in marked degree those of the newer corps.

In September, 1896, the newspapers recorded the fact of the breakdown of one-half the force of engineer officers on board the "Indiana," one of our most formidable war vessels—*two* good officers! A little later news came from the Asiatic squadron of the disablement of two of its engineer officers, leaving but ten in that whole fleet, on the other side of the globe. They are compelled at times to stand watch twelve out of the twenty-four hours; while the deck officers stand watch but four hours in the twenty-four. The magnificent iron-clad "Minneapolis" was sent to sea with but three engineer officers and three boys—cadets under instruction—to manage her engineer crew and her ninety steam-engines, of a total of 21,000 horse-power. Contrast with these facts the similar statistics of, for example, the merchant steamer "St. Louis," a ship of about the same steam-power, on board of which are to be found twenty-four engineers and a half-dozen cadets. It has been sought, contrary to the advice of all those who are competent to understand the necessities and the risks of the case, to make up the list on the war-ship by putting seventeen enlisted men in the engine-rooms; but even these men are not paid respectable wages, and neither the rank nor the pay provides inducements sufficient to bring into these trying positions and responsible berths a valuable and reliable class of men. Able and reliable men will not submit to the hardships, the annoyances, and the dangers attaching to such work under such circumstances. Good pay and proper respect are the only inducements that can be offered to good and self-respecting men. Consequently the "Minneapolis" was sent to sea with vacancies in these berths of about twenty-five per cent. of the assigned numbers.

The most extraordinary fact in connection with this aspect of the whole sad and threatening situation is that, even here, the pay and ratings are fixed, not by the bureau of steam engineering of the navy or by appointed boards composed of engineer officers, but by officers of another corps, and, as shown by the very

wording of the orders issued, by men having not even an amateur knowledge of the requirements, and having absolutely no conception of the tremendous responsibilities and dangers for which they are thus assuming a personal responsibility. Not an officer can be placed in the fire-rooms in charge of boilers; and machinery worth a million and a half of dollars, and hundreds of lives, depends upon the securing of competent management by the employment of men glad to accept $40 to $55 a month.

So far depleted has become the engineer corps that not an officer can be detailed for duty to inspect the iron and steel furnished for ordnance; only one is detailed for inspection of armor; but two are to be found at the Boston Navy Yard, only seven at League Island, and a baker's dozen or so at the New York Yard. Not an engineer officer is on the list of lecturers at the War College at Newport, and not one at the torpedo-station. Meantime, of the deck officers, 338 were, at the time when these figures were gathered, at sea, and nearly 400 were on shore duty, of whom *ninety* were in the city of Washington. The iron and steel inspection boards, altogether, include but one-seventh engineer officers. The remainder are professionally inexpert.

The tremendous strain which has come upon this splendid body of officers, through the gradual increase in the extent and difficulty of its work and the decrease in its numbers, is reflected in the following instructive and pathetic figures: On the first of January, 1886, there were only 293 officers in the corps, and of these 71, or one-fourth, were already on the retired list; but by January 1, 1896, the previously terrible record had become 173 on the active and 104 on the retired list—nearly two-thirds as many on the latter as on the former list. No such startling statistics are to be found in the annals of our own or of any other navy. At this rate the retired list will soon become longer than the active list, and destruction of a faithful and patriotic body of men must, under existing circumstances, go on with continually increasing rapidity, until a final crash disables the whole naval service more completely than would the explosive destruction of all its guns.

The greater transatlantic "liners" are the most highly-powered class of ships in the world at present, and they may, perhaps, be fairly taken as illustrating the necessary provision of officers and men in the engineers' department. In such

ships, when carrying a total of about 400 officers and men and 1,600 passengers, there are found twenty-five engineer officers ranking with the half-dozen deck officers who are sufficient to care for the navigation of the ship and for the orderly conduct of routine outside the machinery departments. These great steamships are owned and operated by business men for the purpose of making a profit, and were it safe and practicable to replace this body of officers by enlisted men at so much less a month it would certainly be done. These officers are not employed as a matter of pure sentiment. On the "contractor's trial" of the United States iron-clad "Minneapolis," the builders employed 232 men, of all classes and grades, in the engineers' department. Her speed was 23.073 knots, which exceeds that of any transatlantic liner. But this ship was sent to sea by the United States Navy Department with but three commissioned engineer officers on board.

Complaint has sometimes been made—and with undoubtedly too much reason—of ungenerous and even unlawful discrimination in favor of the older body of officers and against the newer; but this was to be expected, and must be expected to continue, in lessening degree, as the country, the Congress, the Navy Department, and the navy officers on duty come to recognize the still unrealized nature of the evolution which is converting the older navy into the new. Off duty all officers are, or should be, alike gentlemen, whatever the rank or the corps; and the three distinguishing characteristics of the true gentleman of the day, good morals, good manners, and fine culture, will be found to be no less characteristic of the newer corps, once its proper standing is fully established, and rank and pay such as should be conferred upon so important a body of officers are assigned in such manner as to secure and preserve as high an average in all corps as is demanded by the nature of their duties. No profession compels a higher order of intelligence for its successful pursuit than that which enrolled Hero and Archimedes, Michel Angelo Buonarroti, Leonardo da Vinci, the second Marquis of Worcester, Papin, Smeaton, Watt, Fulton, Stevens, Corliss, and Ericsson among its members, and which has already furnished to the naval service men like Haswell, Copeland, Isherwood, Shook, and Melville. The writer, in four years of active war service in the fleets of Dupont and Dahlgren and under John Rogers and others, and in six years of service on the instructing staff of

the Naval Acadamy, under Porter and Worden, and with Luce and Walker and Harrison, and most of the later chiefs of bureau, made the acquaintance of almost all of the most famous of the great men of both corps of the past generation, and found among them a full proportion of noble men, fine tempered and cultured gentlemen, and observed little cause for criticism as to personal relations in any one of the various divisions into which the naval service is divided. Once all are given their proper standing, actual and relative, all will be found working for the common good of the service and of the nation.

The cost of educating the graduate of the United States Naval Academy is reported to be a half-million dollars for thirty graduates, or about $16,000 per annum per graduate. At Harvard, the cost is less than one-eighth this amount for its four-years course; at Johns Hopkins the figure is about one-tenth, on the average, and at Cornell University the same total expenditure for the year graduates about fifteen times as many men.* It would be perfectly practicable for the government to secure this class of men, with vastly better training for the purposes of the engineer corps than they could be possibly given, at ten times the cost, at the Naval Academy, and with absolutely no charge to the government for education. The country could provide more than 200 cadets to this corps for the anticipated cost of graduating at the Naval Academy the twenty that are proposed to be added to the corps annually.

The same serious problem confronts the administration of the navy department of every naval power. The same conservatism, the same traditional prejudices, the same selfish interests impede every attempt to make this mighty engine of war efficient.

The first naval engagement into which the ships of modern fleets are hereafter plunged will reveal the weaknesses of their war vessels, and that nation which has been most fortunate in providing against a weakest spot will be most fortunate in the encounter.

R. H. THURSTON.

* In the year 1897 Cornell graduated about 450 students. The income of the university was slightly in excess of a half million dollars. Sibley College, its school of mechanical—including marine—engineering, graduated 130 students on an annual expenditure estimated by a committee of the Board of Trustees as about $70,000 per annum. This enormous discrepancy, however, is partly explained by the fact that at the Naval Academy the subjects, in the usual variety, are all taught by officers of some rank and high compensation; while, at the universities, larger classes and comparatively large sections of classes are taught by men of more modest grades and with that comparative insignificance of compensation that distinguishes the professional teacher in all times and in all places.

OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH ARMY.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM.

THE first Napoleon said that there were no bad regiments, but only bad colonels. After their captivity in Germany (1870-71) those generals and colonels who had been most signally beaten by the enemy, opined that the greatest captain of modern times had been wrong, that, at any rate in France, there were no bad colonels, but only bad regiments, that the defeats inflicted on France had been due entirely to the latter, and they forthwith set to work reforming them.

Nearly five and twenty years have elapsed since then, the reform is still going on, and if exercise, drilling, vexations, as distinct from well-considered discipline, finnikin concern for petty details could make an efficient army, that of France ought to be the best in the world. Very competent military authorities—neither French nor German—are inclined to think that the rank and file, if not the very best, is next to it; these same authorities are not quite so sanguine with regard to the progress of the officers in all that pertains to the higher branches of military science. The optimistic among those critics ascribe the shortcomings of the French officer in the matter of "grand tactics" and "grand strategy" to the inherent faultiness of the system of recruiting the officers and of the rules that govern their promotion; others attribute them to the nature of the French themselves, although they are by no means disposed to approve unreservedly either the system of recruitment, or of the rules that govern the promotion of officers. To begin with; they say that the Frenchman with all his incontestable intelligence is not sufficiently of a plodding nature; secondly, that he is still too much wedded to the idea that dash and devil-may-care

pluck will, at a certain moment, make up for soberly conceived and ruthlessly executed design.

From personal observation I am tempted to side with them in those latter strictures. Reichshofen, which as a purely heroic feat, *sans phrase*, ranks next to that of Balaclava; Mars-la-Tour, Gravelotte, and Sedan ought to have taught a terrible lesson in that respect to the young French officer, and to his elders who still survive; I am afraid that such is not the case. Nay, more, I fear that if the opportunity presented itself, those experiments, in spite of their previous disastrous results, would be once more sanctioned by the latter and accepted by the former, in virtue of the apparently logical, but really fallacious, plea that the regiments they are handling now are superior on all points to those of the Second Empire. One cannot make a silken purse out of a sow's ear. And yet there is something equally difficult to that, namely, to make a sow's ear out of a silken purse. A protracted period of hard fighting will sometimes make a plucky man out of a coward; no length of inactivity will make a nation of cowards out of a nation of fundamentally brave men; and though it may sound paradoxical, the courage of a nation may prove as baneful to her as the most arraut cowardice. Not the most persistent and cantankerous detractor of France will deny her dare-devil pluck in the hour of danger, and even Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose testimony is all the more valuable in this instance, inasmuch as he never suffered from excess of physical valor, said, that "a man's pluck compensates for nearly all his other shortcomings in the eyes of his fellow-men." In spite of the Duke of Wellington's maxim, I, for one, do not believe that "every man is brave," and I feel certain that there are nations who are innately the reverse of brave; consequently, I am not going to utter the commonest of all platitudes, that of deriding or underrating pluck.

Nevertheless, there is such a thing as overrating pluck, and it has often struck me that the exaggerated value the French themselves set upon that and their equally indubitable natural intelligence, or to put it more correctly, their "spontaneity," has seriously influenced for the worse the wished-for higher education of their officers by not modelling the recruitment of these, and the rules governing their promotion, upon the system prevailing in the German army, from which, I need not say, they

have borrowed many things. In order to make this clear, we must look at the two systems side by side.

There are two ways of getting a commission in the German army. 1st. By entering one of the schools for cadets. 2d. By contracting an engagement in the active army as an *avantageur*. The late Chancellor of the German Empire, Count von Caprivi, was an *avantageur*.

The cadet, who, as a rule, is the son of a living or deceased officer, begins his military training and education at the age of ten. Even his first examination, without which there is no admission, is not easy. I have heard an erstwhile English *attaché* in Berlin, a man of very great attainments, say that there is not a single boy of twelve either at Eton, Harrow, Rugby or Marlborough who could successfully stand that test. It would appear, though, that it is literally child's play compared to the subsequent ordeals the German would-be officer has to undergo until he is nineteen. If everything has gone well with him until then, he is considered fit to enter the Superior School for Cadets, the curriculum of which is of about a twelve-month's duration and terminated by another examination, which, I fancy, would make most of us turn tail. The latter test, if victoriously confronted, opens the officer's career to him, for, on leaving the Superior School, the young fellow is in point of fact an officer, though as yet neither in name, nor legally. Nominally, he is only a *fähnrich*, that is, an ensign, a standard bearer, and he remains such until a vacancy among the sub-lieutenants of the regiment to which he has been appointed gives him a chance of a commission; for, as will be seen directly, even then there may be a slip 'twixt the cup and lip. We will leave him for a moment to have a glance at the *avantageur*.

The latter is generally a youngster belonging to a good family, for unless he be, the attempt to enter the army in that capacity would almost prove a forlorn hope. Circumstances may not have revealed to him his vocation for a military career until it was too late to adopt the first named method, or his parents may have had neither the means nor the influence to secure an admission to a school for cadets, of which there are six, exclusive of the superior school. The education at the schools is not gratuitous, albeit that the fees are not excessive; but we must bear in mind, first, that those fees have to be paid for ten years,

and increase in amount as the pupil advances in his studies; secondly, that the incomes of even the well-to-do middle classes in Germany are very restricted. No doubt there are certain concessions made in favor of the sons of meritorious officers, whether living or dead, but these privileges are jealously guarded by the whole *corps* of officers in the German Empire, and rarely, if ever, conceded to the sons of civilians. We must not lose sight of the fact that in spite of many assertions to the contrary, the *corps* of officers throughout Germany is a kind of State within the State, which acknowledges only one chief, the Emperor, to whom it is devoted body and soul. "War," said Mirabeau a hundred years ago, "is the national industry of Prussia." Prussia and Germany have, by this time, pretty well become synonymous terms, as Queen Victoria, in a letter written to the late Princess Alice, nearly a quarter of a century since, predicted they would; and though war may have ceased to be a national industry in Germany, the barracks still outstrip the factory in sociological importance.

Hence, the young fellow whom circumstances have debarred from entering the school for cadets, but who, nevertheless, displays a liking for a soldier's career, has but one alternative left, that of joining the army as an *avantageur*, for even the most enthusiastic would scarcely care to depend upon the chance of rising from the ranks. Such an instance might almost be called phenomenal and needs no discussion here.

The *avantageur* can only become such on the recommendation of a superior officer, not lower in grade than a colonel, and after a minute inquiry as to his conduct, habits and tastes, his family and their social standing, and a very stringent examination of his general education: to which must be added a certain proficiency in military matters. After that he joins the regiment as a non-commissioned officer, whence, in a little while, during which he performs active duty, he is sent to attend the courses of one of the schools of war for about a twelvemonth. His examinations having proved satisfactory, he returns to the regiment as a *fähnrich*, and from that moment all distinctions between him and the *fähnrich* issued from the schools for cadets cease. Both await their turn for a commission under absolutely similar conditions. When a vacancy occurs, the colonel proceeds to summon all the officers of the regiment and they decide whether

the senior *fähnrich* (the senior in point of nomination) is *worthy* of being invested with a commission. If the majority decides against him, the matter is at an end, and the next candidate in point of seniority is proposed. If, on the other hand, the majority is in favor of his election, the adverse minority are bound to state their objections in writing, which documents, appended to the report of the meeting, are forwarded to the Emperor who finally decides.

And now let us look at the dual system of recruitment that obtains in France.

The young Frenchman aspiring to a commission and corresponding to the German cadet begins, first of all, his military training and education, in some cases seven, in most cases, eight years later than the latter, according to the branch of the service he elects to join. In Germany the selection is not left to himself or to his parents but is determined by his tutors, professors and instructors—the three are very distinct—in view of the pupil's aptitude during the course of his studies. The French lad goes to St. Cyr if he wishes to be an infantry or cavalry officer, to the Polytechnic School if he intends to join the artillery or engineering corps, albeit that, on leaving the latter institution, he need not join either branch, but may simply don once more the civilian's garb and start life as a civil engineer under the auspices of the government, as did the late President of the Republic, or independently of the State.

At St. Cyr the pupil officer is supposed to get in addition to his instruction in the higher branches of military science, a practical knowledge of the routine regimental duties which the German cadet acquires while with the regiment itself as a *fähnrich*. The *régime* of the "1st Battalion of France" (*) consisting of eight companies, instead of the regulation four of the line battalion, is with a few exceptions similar to that of the ordinary regiment in barracks. Some people pretend that it is both harder and stricter, and to look at the programme one would be tempted to indorse their opinion. Personally, I am inclined to think that that programme contains too much if the whole of it has to be absorbed in two years. The pupil-officers rise at five in

(*) The official title of the aggregate of the pupils at St. Cyr is "1 *Bataillon de France.*" It is inscribed on the Verso of their standard, the, recto of which bears the inscriptions—"*Ecole Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr*" and "*S'instruire pour defendre la Patrie.*"

summer and winter, and for sixteen hours and a half have scarcely a moment to call their own. Their food, accoutrements and clothing are superior to those of the common soldier, but in all other respects they lead the life of the latter, being subject to the same punishments, confinement to barracks, guard room and cells, etc., etc. But the common soldier, knowing that three years at the utmost will see him restored to civil life, has not to worry his brain with the imbibing of a lot of knowledge for future use. Nine times out of ten—in spite of all patriotic high-faluting to the contrary—he cares little whether he leaves the army as a sergeant or as a private ; and, when he has mastered his drill and his "theory," his main concern is to keep himself out of trouble by carefully attending to his duties, keeping his kit and arms in good order, and to spend the remainder of his thirty-six months of servitude as pleasantly as possible. Not so the aspirant officer; he knows that there are examinations looming in the distance, at the end of the first year and at the end of the second, and that failure in either would entail more than unpleasant consequences all round. There would be, to begin with, the disappointment of his parents, especially if the latter have been compelled to pinch and scrape at home in order to provide him with the necessary funds to pursue his studies; secondly, if he and they were still bent upon his pursuit of a military career, there would be the disagreeable necessity of joining the colors as an ordinary private to get his commission finally by way of St. Maixent, the school for non-commissioned officers, about which I will have something to say almost immediately.

Consequently, the pupil-officer crams excessively, with or without success as the case may be. Mental digestion will resent gluttony as well as material digestion ; and two years of mental cramming, accompanied by irrational bodily fatigue, will prove as injurious to the brain as would two years of material gorging, unaccompanied by any exercise at all, to the stomach. Of course there are exceptionally endowed constitutions that would stand either or both, but I am treating of the average young man. In Germany the bodily and mental training is spread over ten years, in France over two, at the most over three. The sub-lieutenants of the cavalry, artillery and engineers, go respectively to Saumur or Fontainebleau for a twelvemonth after having received their commission.

We will leave the St. Cyrien for a while and have a glance at the non-commissioned officer aspiring to a commission. It is only within the last fifteen or sixteen years that the latter has been required to furnish more or less solid proofs of his general knowledge. Formerly, if considered apt to become an officer, he was proposed as such by his colonel, examined by the inspector-general, and according to the rotation of proposal, not of efficiency, nominated to a vacant commission. That system had two serious defects; on the one hand, all those who failed in their examinations at St. Cyr, but whose birth, social standing, means or parentage could command a certain influence, got their commission nearly as quickly as their more hard-working and intelligent fellow pupils of St. Cyr; on the other, this or that non-commissioned officer, exceedingly valuable as a non-commissioned officer, an excellent penman and accountant, enjoying high consideration at the hands of his captain, liked by his colonel, was found to make an indifferent officer. Neither his general education nor his technical instruction was adequate to the dignity of a commission, especially in view of the fact that, with the actual rules governing promotion in the French army, every sub-lieutenant is sure to become a captain if he live long enough, and irrespective of his mental attainments. Considering that the duties of the captain are becoming more important each day, the dangers of such a system must be patent enough even to the most casual observer. There is, moreover, an additional cause for friction. The sub-lieutenant, whether he hail from St. Cyr or from St. Maixent, is always the social and intellectual equal of the majority of his rank and file; most frequently the erstwhile St. Cyrien is their superior in both respects. Of course, under the present dispensations, there are privates in the French army, who belong to the oldest families in the land, and dispose of the most ample means; there are others who, though not belonging to that exclusive caste, have their roots in *la haute bourgeoisie*, there is a third section, the sons of the middle classes, whose professional studies render them the intellectual superiors of their officers, but those three sections combined constitute, after all, only a minority. Discipline, their own dignity and good sense, enable them to swallow many a bitter pill; their resignation to the inevitable is fortified by the

knowledge that in thirty-six months at the most they will be free men again. But what of the sub lieutenant or lieutenant of refined habits and good attainments, who finds himself condemned to live cheek-by-jowl, or at any rate to associate for at least six years, with fellow lieutenants and captains, virtually risen from the ranks and, what is worse, "smacking of their origin?" What of the prospect of being lorded over by a captain whose captaincy has converted him from a clod in manners into a martinet and bully, and into an ignorant and therefore all the more conceited bully into the bargain? And St. Maixent, if everything were known, has had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing such characters in the French army. Competent but at the same time most lenient critics are reluctantly compelled to admit that, even as a temporary sop to the demon of democracy and equality at any price—who, unlike the Cerberus of mythology would let every one go in instead of keeping everyone out—the school for non-commissioned officers has not done its work. They say, that if, on the one hand, St. Maixent be an improvement on the old method, and the various experiments that succeeded it, in raising the standard of instruction, it has, on the other hand, opened the door to many serious abuses not thought of formerly. The erstwhile non-commissioned officer, promoted directly from the ranks, had, at any rate, to earn the goodwill of his colonel and the tacit support of all his immediate superiors before he could become a candidate for a commission. That goodwill was a certain guarantee of his moral worth as a man, though, perhaps, not of his intellectual fitness for a commission. That guarantee of his moral worth is no longer necessary. The non-commissioned officer wishing to enter St. Maixent has no need to solicit the support of his superiors; after three years with the colors, viz., six months as a private, six months as a corporal, and two years as a sergeant, he justifies his request to enter St. Maixent, by an examination, which, say the critics, is not half stringent enough. St. Maixent has, moreover, the unenviable reputation of being, of all the French military schools, the one where the least efficient work is done. The worst that can befall the non-commissioned officer, if he fail in his examination after a twelvemonth's stay, is to have to return to the regiment in the same capacity in which he left it; meanwhile he has had a year of superior clothing, superior food, superior pay, and freedom from the ordinary wor-

ries of the regiment, for the pupils of St. Maixent are treated as adjutants. But the examination which is to secure them their commissions, "*n'est pas la mer à boire?*" to use the French expression. I have seen some of the papers, and though I virtually left school many, many years ago, and was never apt at anything connected with mathematics or figures, I think I should have little difficulty in doing them myself and "on my head."

These, then, are the two absolutely distinct categories of officers to whom the destinies of the French armies are confided, for, as I have remarked just now, every sub-lieutenant has the certainty of getting his captaincy if he lives long enough, no matter what his intellectual attainments may be.

On the one side, there is the category of sub-lieutenants from St. Cyr and the Polytechnic, well-educated, but, the latter especially, without real knowledge of the practical side of a soldier's life. Those issued from St. Cyr are perhaps not so ignorant as the others, in virtue of their two years' training under a *régime* which is supposed to be similar to that of the ordinary regiment, for, according to those best qualified to judge, they are, on their joining the regiment, and in spite of that training, like fish out of water. These judges also assert that the two years' strain, bodily as well as mental, is apt to produce a reaction, when the first stage of their career has been reached. In other words, the young sub-lieutenant is prone to rest on his laurels for a while.

On the other side, there is the category, issued from St. Maixent, the members of which are generally four years older than their fellow-sub-lieutenants and possess the practical routine of the regiment, but whose education is lamentably superficial. The majority of these, it is argued, never look beyond a captaincy, their pension and the cross of the Legion of Honor after thirty years' of active service, all of which they are almost sure to get. They are either the failures of St. Cyr, in which case they generally have means beside their pay, or else the sons of the working classes, to whom a pension varying from 2,000 francs to 3,000 francs at fifty-five years of age is by no means a despicable goal. Not ten per cent. would have been able to get such a provision for their declining days in the ordinary pursuit of commerce, agriculture or industry, and, if they are still sufficiently active and energetic, they may find some light employment.

I repeat, the sub-lieutenant in the French army is sure to get his captaincy, if he do not advance further. I am aware that the provisions of the new law have endeavored to "put a spoke in that indiscriminate wheel of promotion," by insisting upon certain further examinations in the cases of promotion both by seniority and by selection; but I am also aware that these provisions are virtually a dead letter and that the examinations are nothing less than a sham.

The German officer is not called upon "to cram" for an examination every two or three years of his career; for if the examinations in the French army are going to be taken *au serieux* at all, such tests will be required of its officers at frequent intervals, inasmuch as promotion is much quicker with them than with their German compeers. The German candidate for a sub-lieutenancy, whether he be a cadet or an *avantageur*, has to justify his candidature by an excellent educational foundation. In the one instance he has a ten years' training in the schools; in the other, the very fact of his belonging to the better middle classes, without which there is not much chance of his admission as an *avantageur*, presupposes a higher intellectual training than that of the young Frenchman, who joins the regiment as a private because he must and springs from an altogether different class, and endeavors to work his way up. The German superior officers see the *fähnrich* at work often for two or three years, and have a veto upon his further advancement; the French superior officers have no veto at all; the St. Cyrien or Polytechnicien—the X, as the latter is more frequently called—comes to the regiment with his commission in his pocket; his superiors have never cast eyes on him until that day. Nor is there a veto with regard to the non-commissioned officer who has successfully passed through the school of St. Maixent.

Promotion in the German army goes by seniority alone. Up to the rank of captain inclusively, it is regulated per regiment; beyond that rank it extends over the whole of the army. There are a few exceptions to these rules in favor of aides-de-camp to the Emperor and other sovereigns and officers leaving the *Kriegschule* with a staff-brevet. But in all other cases, the system of seniority is strictly adhered to, and the officer who sees a junior promoted over his head knows that he has no alternative but to apply for half-pay or send in his resignation. He

need not console himself with the thought that he has been accidentally overlooked or that there has been any favoritism. He has been plainly given to understand that he is not considered capable of occupying a rank superior to that which he holds. In that way and without the least fuss the officer of inferior attainments is quietly eliminated. I have said that promotion in the German army is slow. A French sub-lieutenant may confidently count upon a forward step in his career after three or four years, the *minimum* is two ; the German sub-lieutenant has often to wait ten and never less than eight. The French lieutenant gets his captaincy after two or three years; two years being still the *minimum ;* the German lieutenant does not get his company before six. The French captain has at an average to wait for his next promotion five or six years, four being the minimum ; the German captain twelve or thirteen at the least.

I need pursue my comparisons no further. If I have been at all explicit, the reader will be able to fill in the rest for himself.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

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I.

THE epidemic of yellow fever which has been raging throughout several Southern States for the past three months has aroused anew in the lay mind the question of the relation of the national government to the public health. I say in the lay mind, for, almost without exception, physicians and sanitarians in all parts of the country who are most competent to speak on this subject have long since decided that a well-equipped strong, active department of health in the national government is a pressing necessity. The American Medical Association has for years passed resolutions at its annual meetings urging the importance of such legislation, and year after year a committee appointed from that body for that purpose has endeavored in vain to induce Congress to pass a proper national health bill. President Cleveland in two of his messages urged Congress to make such provisions as would improve the facilities for extending the aid of the national government to local and State health authorities in their fight against disease at all times, and especially in times of epidemic.

In 1894 the New York Academy of Medicine and the New York Chamber of Commerce, acting together through committees appointed for the purpose, drafted a bill providing for the establishment of an efficient Health Bureau in the Treasury Department of the United States. This bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress and referred to the proper committees. Large

numbers of petitions and letters from distinguished physicians and medical societies in every State of the Union were sent to their respective representatives in Congress, urging the passage of the bill. Leading physicians, sanitarians, and bacteriologists of the country appeared before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the Lower House, to which the bill was referred, and demonstrated the need of such a law.

Notwithstanding all this, the bill was not favorably reported. It was defeated because of the cry raised by members from certain sections that it would be an interference with "State's rights" for the Federal government to assume the function of general supervision over the health boards of the various States, and by advice and suggestion endeavor to secure uniformity in their health laws and concert of action in enforcing them.

The opposition argued that it would savor too much of centralization for the Federal government, either under the direction of a Cabinet Officer of Public Health, or of a National Health Board, to step in and suppress epidemics when they appeared in any one of the States outside of the District of Columbia, even though such State had demonstrated its inability to cope with the situation alone. Carried to its logical conclusion, the argument amounts to this : A State's rights are more precious than the lives of its people, and though all should die, yet must not the assistance of the other States of the Union be accepted by the afflicted one, because their power can be exerted only through the common central government.

Members of Congress from the Southern States, where the opposition to national health legislation was greatest, boasted that sanitary conditions in the Southern cities had been so much improved, and the local and State boards of health had become so efficient, that all fear of yellow fever becoming epidemic again was without cause, although the leading sanitarians and scientists of the country held a contrary opinion.

It has taken less than four years to prove that this boasted sense of security was false. The recent epidemic of yellow fever long and obstinately defied the utmost efforts of the local and State health authorities to stamp it out. It is no reflection on these afflicted States that they failed, and were obliged to ask aid from other sections of the country. Similar failure is liable to be the experience of any State when attacked by an epidemic

disease, because no State can have at hand proper resources in money and organization to repel promptly and effectively an extensive invasion of disease germs, any more than it can be expected single-handed to repel an invasion of its territory by a foreign army.

It is unjust and unreasonable that one State should have to bear alone the brunt of suppressing an epidemic which appears within its borders. By reason of climate and geographical location some States are more liable than others to epidemic outbreaks, and the burden of protecting all other States in the Union should not fall on the State attacked. Disease germs have no respect for State lines, and no effective warfare will ever be made on them until the resources of the whole country are united in a thoroughly equipped national health department, which will stand ready at all times to promptly stamp out infection wherever it may appear, regardless of political divisions of the country.

Scarcely any two States in the Union have the same health laws, and many of them have none at all, or they are so inefficient, both in construction and enforcement, that they are unworthy of serious consideration in the light of modern knowledge of the causation and prevention of disease. This present condition of chaos in the health laws of the various States of the Union destroys all hope of stamping out, or materially lessening, the micro-organisms which produce any one of half a dozen diseases which attack hundreds of thousands of our people annually. The efforts of any one State to destroy within its borders disease-producing germs will be neutralized by the failure of all the other States to act in concert.

Some of the States, New York and Massachusetts, for instance, have taken steps to stamp out tuberculosis through their Boards of Health. It is well known now that one of the principal occasions of infection of human beings by tubercle bacilli, is eating the flesh and drinking the milk of tuberculous cattle. A system of inspecting the cattle throughout the States above-mentioned has been in operation for several years, and large numbers of diseased cattle have been killed and paid for by the State. But the existence of this law in one or two States alone makes those States a market for diseased cattle from all other States which have no such law; and as the State pays a fair price for

each animal destroyed, a thriving business can be done by buying tuberculous cows in other States and bringing them into a State which has an inspection system. And, furthermore, the facilities for shipping beef and milk from one State to another are so great that anything short of a united effort of all the States to get rid of tuberculous beef and milk will be comparatively ineffectual.

Similar difficulties will be encountered in stamping out any of the communicable diseases so long as each State acts independently of all the others.

Not long ago an epidemic of typhoid fever appeared in the city of Elmira, New York. A large number of persons were attacked by the disease in a few days. The New York State Board of Health promptly discovered that the water supply of the town was infected with the germs of typhoid fever, and they proceeded to trace up the various streams which contributed to the general water supply, to find the particular one which was furnishing the infection. The little stream which was finally found to be the source of all the trouble was over the line in Pennsylvania. The difference in the health laws of the two States, the conflict of authority, etc., etc., caused great delay in getting rid of this stream of typhoid fever germs which was infecting all the water that went to the city of Elmira.. As a result, some hundreds of persons were seized with the fever, and a large percentage of them died. Numbers of such instances could be cited.

A unifying and supervising force in the national government which will direct, harmonize and render efficient the agencies of the various States is what is needed. The present efforts of the forty-four States of the Union to get rid of disease germs suggests nothing so much as if forty-four persons were set to work to sweep clean a large floor, and each one, acting on his own account, should decide to sweep only in a little circle around where he stood. The dust from each sweeper would simply be tossed into the circles of the others and back again, and so on for ever, without the floor becoming cleaner. Now, let some directing force insist that all sweep in one direction, each aiding the other, and the work is soon completed.

There is no longer any mystery about the etiology or cause of a number of the most common and destructive diseases. The modern microscope in the hands of accomplished investigators in

all civilized countries has in the last fifteen or twenty years revealed a new world of animal life, which in numbers and variety exceeds the animal life we see around us with the natural eye. A vast majority of these microscopic creatures are harmless when taken into the human system, as they constantly are ; but among them are found what correspond to the lions, tigers, rattlesnakes, tarantulas, etc., of the visible world, and when one of these secures a foothold in the human body, establishes a colony, and begins propagating its kind, some form of disease is the result.

Physicians have known for generations that such diseases as cholera, yellow fever, diphtheria, etc., were distinct and peculiar affections, and capable of being communicated, but just what the poison in any one of them consisted of, in which of the fluids or solids of the body it resided, and what the conditions under which it could be communicated from one person to another, were until recently pure matters of speculation. Now we know certainly that each one of these communicable diseases depends for its existence upon the presence in the system of a peculiar and specific poison, which produces just that one disease, and nothing else. We also know that in each of these diseases the poison consists of a micro-organism or living germ, which in appearance and manner of attacking the human body is always the same, and produces the same symptoms. Each one of these forms of life can be separated from all the others and cultivated outside the human body.

When placed in the proper culture media, they grow, propagate, reproduce themselves, form colonies and pass through their various stages of existence, much like what happens in a bee-hive or an ant-hill. The germs are living things, and each variety has its own definite life history. Generation after generation of them may be raised outside the body as the farmer raises cattle or sheep. A few years ago, Professor Koch still had growing in his laboratory at Berlin tuberculosis germs which were descended in direct line from ancestors planted in 1881. A modern bacteriological laboratory reminds one of a zoological garden. One shelf contains tubes in which are the living germs of cholera, another diphtheria, another typhoid fever, etc., just as in the animal house one cage contains leopards, another hyenas, etc., etc. There is another important fact in this connection. Modern science has taught us the habitat of these differ-

ent germs, that is, where they exist naturally outside the human body, so that we can trace with almost unerring accuracy the source of infection in a given case or epidemic, and by the scientific application of disinfection and sanitation destroy the germs in their lair. Legislation has not kept pace with these great discoveries, and the result is, that the people have been deprived of the blessings which would flow from their application on a large scale by the national government.

As corresponding secretary of the committee appointed by the New York Academy of Medicine to draft the bill providing for a national health organization, and to secure, if possible, its passage by Congress, I became thoroughly familiar with the views and feelings of the medical profession in all parts of the country, and I know that I voice their sentiments when I say that the national law-makers should, on the grounds of humanity, pass the laws necessary to enable the government to begin the extermination of these microscopic scourges of the human race. But if the annual death and suffering of hundreds of thousands of our people have no effect on our practical statesmen, then we appeal on the ground of economy. The annual pecuniary loss to the people of the United States caused by the sickness and death resulting from attacks of disease germs is incalculable. And any expenditure made under intelligent direction to destroy these death-dealing creatures would return a thousand-fold increase in saving to the people. A Department of Agriculture, with a cabinet officer, was established a few years ago. And why cannot a Department of Public Health be also established under the Constitution? If the Constitution forbids it, then alter the Constitution to meet the requirements of modern discovery.

Health legislation in the past, both in States and nation, has been almost entirely confined to the establishment of efficient quarantine regulations at our ports of entry. Everything has been done to *keep out* disease germs, but practically nothing has been done to destroy those disease germs which are *already in*, which, like the poor, are always with us, and year after year send hundreds of thousands of our people to their graves. It is as if hosts of wild beasts were destroying the people throughout the whole land, and we should content ourselves by setting a watch at each port of entry to guard against anyone bringing in

any more. We in this country can never enjoy the full benefits of the tremendous discoveries of recent years as to the causation and means of preventing communicable diseases until our law-makers dispel from their minds the illusion that their whole duty is done when they have devised the best possible system of seaboard quarantine. I am not arguing against quarantine stations along our seaboard ; though many authorities look upon that system as an antiquated one, which gives a poor return for the outlay. England has entirely abolished it in her ports. Quarantine, or rather disinfection stations, at our ports of entry would be *only one*, and by no means the most important, feature of a proper national health organization. Our point is, that Congress should look away from the coast line to the interior, and not only legislate to *keep out* disease, but establish an efficient national health organization which would also result in a practical application of our knowledge as to the prevention of those diseases which always exist among us. Cholera, yellow fever, typhus fever, and bubonic plague are practically the only diseases which quarantine stations pretend to keep out, and these diseases taken together have not caused an average of one thousand deaths per year in the United States for the past twenty years. On the other hand, three diseases alone, viz., tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and diphtheria, destroy 157,072 lives annually.* And be it remembered that we are as familiar with the cause and means of preventing these three scourges of our people as we are with those of the diseases against which we quarantine. If it is contended that the low death rate from those communicable diseases against which the nation keeps up a quarantine is directly and solely due to the quarantine, we will admit the contention, and that fact at once becomes the strongest argument why the national government should also carry on a successful warfare on those other disease germs which already exist within our borders.

When an epidemic of yellow fever, such as has been in the Southern States this autumn, appears the public is thrown into a condition of semi-panic ; business and transportation are interfered with,† and that disgrace of the close of the nineteenth century, the shot-gun quarantine, is established. These same people who are so afraid of an occasional epidemic of communicable dis-

* See United States Census for 1890.

† Dr Holt, ex President of the New Orleans Board of Health, estimates the loss to New Orleans from scare and quarantine during the late epidemic at $25,000,000.

ease are not at all disturbed by the fact that three or four other diseases, just as communicable, and just as eradicable, are always in their midst causing a hundred and fifty thousand deaths per year. And, worst of all, their representatives in Congress have hitherto opposed every effort to secure legislation which would make all three sources of all the people available for the immediate suppression of these periodic epidemics which they so much fear, and what is of greatest importance, for keeping up a steady and efficient warfare on all the microscopic enemies of the human race within our borders until, like the buffalo, they shall become extinct.

There is certainly no higher function of government than the protection of the lives and property of its citizens or subjects.

Millions of dollars are expended annually by the United States to maintain an army and navy to protect the lives and property of the people against possible enemies in the form of armies and navies of other nations; while at all times, right in our midst, we have actual enemies in the form of various kinds of disease germs which not only destroy life and health, but cause untold financial loss, and on which war could be waged by the government with intelligence and effectiveness almost equal to that required for warfare on the ships and soldiers of a foreign nation, or upon lawless mobs within our borders. Such a war would be a victory from the beginning, for no sooner would it be inaugurated than the death rate would begin to decrease. This is demonstrated in countries like Germany and England, where the means are being applied, and the death rate, especially from tuberculosis, is steadily decreasing. Tuberculosis causes more deaths than any single disease. Ask any up-to-date physician what would be the effect on the death rate from this disease if the United States should destroy all tuberculous cattle within our borders; and this would only be one of the many methods which a well-equipped national health department would adopt to rid humanity of these various scourges. An effort is to be made to induce the present Congress to pass national health legislation, and let us hope that the time of waiting has at last come to an end.

JOHN H. GIRDNER, M. D.

II.

THERE are few subjects relating to the public health which have been more frequently discussed than the management of the quarantine service of the United States, and the recent outbreak of the yellow fever in the South has again brought this matter into prominence. Thus far the agitation has been mainly confined to those who have been directly or indirectly affected by the rigorous methods established at the seat of infection, but there is little doubt that the subject will attract the attention of the medical profession and Congress during the coming winter. This matter has so long been the subject of controversy that any legislation which will aid in securing an arrangement satisfactory to all will be received with favor. Inasmuch as the subject has been discussed largely on theoretical grounds, a consideration of it from a practical standpoint will not be out of place.

The quarantine system of the United States, which is generally understood as referring to the coast service, consists at the present time of fifty or more stations, of which all but ten or fifteen are comparatively small in size and connected with unimportant ports. Most of the entire number, including those at the larger ports, such as New York, New Orleans, and Boston, are under State or municipal control. Some of the smaller stations, particularly at Southern ports, have at different times been placed in the hands of the Marine Hospital Service, a branch of the Treasury Department of the United States. These stations, which were formerly in charge of the local authorities, were turned over to the government for lack of appropriations, or from apathy on the part of the health officials or community with which they were identified. The work performed at these points, however, is comparatively small. For instance, out of 12,127 vessels entered at seventeen quarantine stations (during 1896), including ports of larger size, 6,241, or more than one half, entered at the port of New York, 1,322 at New Orleans, and about 1,000 at Boston. Of 252,350 steerage passengers arriving in this country during the same period (1896), 190,928 arrived at the port of New York and were examined at the quarantine station at this place. Almost all of the remainder were received at other ports where State or municipal quarantine exists. It

will thus be seen that the quarantine service of the United States is practically in the hands of the State or municipal authorities. Most of these stations are well equipped with proper apparatus for the disinfection of ships, buildings for the care of the sick and those held for observation, and are in charge of experienced officers, who, as a rule, have been long in the service.

The occasional outbreak of yellow fever in the South, and the rigid and frequently unnecessary restrictions imposed by the health authorities at the seat of infection, and also in cities and towns some distance away, have caused considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the public, at least the commercial element of it. This is due principally to the annoyance and loss of business caused by the stringent methods employed to arrest the extension of this disease. The unsatisfactory condition has been aggravated by a want of harmony on the part of the health officials in charge, particularly in the smaller towns, who have apparently been unable to allay the fears of a certain portion of the citizens in their immediate localities. As a result, "shot-gun" quarantines have been inaugurated, trains stopped, railroad tracks destroyed, and fear has expressed itself in other ways which savor somewhat of the sanitary methods of the Middle Ages. Although, as a rule, these difficulties occur in inland towns, and have really nothing to do with the quarantine or coast service, it is the belief of some that the government control of the quarantine stations, that is, the substitution of Federal officers for those already in charge, would be the remedy for the evil above described. In the different outbreaks of yellow fever, smallpox, etc., which have occurred from time to time throughout the country, no specific charges have been made that they have been due to the carelessness of quarantine officials. In the present outbreak, the Louisiana State Quarantine on the Mississippi has neither received, nor is it deserving of, censure. The avenue through which New Orleans and other Southern towns have recently become infected is at present unknown. The charge that the disease came through the Federal Quarantine at Ship Island has not yet been proven. The vast extent of the United States coast furnishes ample opportunity for the illegal landing of small craft at some distance from a port of entry. In this manner infectious diseases may be introduced into the country. Refugees from Cuba have frequently entered the United States in this manner,

and it has been necessary for the authorities at Washington to detail vessels from time to time to watch the Southern coast to prevent the landing of these people. It is evident, therefore, that the appearance of an imported infectious disease in a community is not necessarily to be attributed to a lax or improper quarantine, and when we consider that the lack of uniformity in the regulations relating to the treatment of infectious diseases, which so seriously interferes with the business of the country, is mainly confined to the interior, particularly to small towns, and to the municipal sanitary administration of the coast cities, and does not appertain to quarantine, it seems strange that this matter has not been considered in a broader sense and a remedy suggested which will be far-reaching enough to affect the interior as well as the coast.

Those who advocate the government control of quarantine declare that the advantages to be gained are as follows:

First. A uniform treatment of all vessels and persons subject to quarantine.

Second. The prevention of the annoying and unnecessary regulations, which interfere with business and travel during an outbreak of yellow fever in the South.

Third. The abolition of fees which are now charged vessels for the support of quarantine, and the maintenance of this service by appropriations made by Congress.

It cannot be denied that in former years the treatment of infected ships, passengers, and crews was based largely on theory. The origin of infectious disease was unknown, and therefore the treatment was in a great measure empirical. The agents for disinfection were employed according to the opinions or experience of the official in charge, with no fear of criticism, as at that time none was competent to criticise. As a result, quarantine methods, not only in this country but throughout the world, were at variance with each other, and in a measure justified the censure and ridicule which were frequently expressed by the people. Within the past few years, however, a change has taken place, and a new era in marine sanitation has begun. Bacteriological researches have given us indisputable evidence of the germ origin of infectious disease. The pathogenic organisms have been carefully studied, and as a result a flood of light has been thrown on the methods for the care and treatment of these affections.

Following this work came careful and exhaustive investigations as to the germicidal power of various disinfectants. The result of this work has been satisfactory in the extreme, and recently the value of these agents has been very clearly defined. As a consequence, the manufacture of new and improved apparatus for disinfection with steam, formaldehyde gas, etc., is now carried on with great vigor in large centers. The change to which I have just referred removes whatever excuse may have formerly existed for the employment of erratic, impracticable, and unjust quarantine measures.

Those who are conversant with quarantine work fully understand that the same rules cannot properly or safely be applied to all ports. Each section has its own climatic conditions and peculiarities. The character of shipping and commerce differs, and methods which are admissible, practical, and just at Southern ports within the yellow fever belt cannot consistently be enforced at New York or Boston without deserved censure. It thus follows that certain differences in the requirements of quarantine regulations in the various sections of the country are not only admissible but imperative. This is not generaliy appreciated, and therefore is not taken into consideration when the subject of quarantine is under discussion. A careful consideration of the facts we now possess regarding marine sanitation will show that the tendency is toward quarantine methods which as far as practicable are uniform.

The second reason advanced by those who favor the direct control of the quarantine service by the national government is that the change will insure a harmony of action throughout the infected district; that "shot-gun" quarantine will be a thing of the past, and that the injury to business will be reduced to a minimum during the prevalence of yellow fever and other infectious diseases.

To those who do not appreciate the distinction between the quarantine service as it is now understood (*i. e.*, that which protects the coast) and the management of health matters in the interior, the second reason given is at least plausible, but when properly analyzed it is not only illogical but absurd. It is not rational to expect that a Federal quarantine officer, whose jurisdiction is practically at a port of entry, could consistently visit an interior town where an infectious disease existed, and

demand recognition as a health officer or even recommend himself as an arbiter. The inherent belief in local rights, if nothing else, would prevent it; with the characteristic energy with which Southerners usually resent interference, a suggestion of this character in that section of the country would probably be followed by ejection. If this were admissible, the United States government could with equal propriety send Federal troops, unasked for by State authorities, into interior towns to quell slight disturbances. Both State and municipal health officers are, as a rule, clothed with sufficient power, if properly and intelligently exercised, to protect their respective localities against infectious disease; this power they are usually jealous of, and they resent outside interference, particularly from one whose authority is not well defined. It is evident, therefore, that a Federal quarantine officer, with power at the coast only, could not be relied upon to create harmony among health officials in the interior.

The proposition to abolish the fee system, now depended upon for the support of the quarantine service, and to call upon Congress for large appropriations for this purpose, will probably not appeal to taxpayers or students of economy. The State quarantines are practically self-supporting. The fees, which are now comparatively small, are paid principally by foreign vessels. These vessels bring with them all classes of people, some of whom are frequently a menace to the health of the country. For the transportation of these people and also for the freight which is carried the owners of the vessels are well paid. It is pertinently asked, why should they not pay a reasonable fee for the inspection of their ships, and why should the Federal government be asked to appropriate money for this purpose.

To one versed in sanitary science it is inexplicable that a national control of the quarantine service should be specially advocated as a means of protecting the general health of the country, when the obstruction to business and travel, the enforcement of foolish and unnecessary rules governing the entrance and exit of persons and goods during the prevalence of infectious disease, are confined mainly to the interior towns, or at least to those places outside of the jurisdiction of quarantine officers.

In order to appreciate the absurdity of this it is only necessary to consider the great mortality in the interior, due to infectious diseases, which frequently results from carelessness and ig-

norance, not on the part of the people alone, but also of the health authorities. Small towns have been subjected to great loss of life by outbreaks of diphtheria. In one week fifty deaths have occurred in a place of two or three thousand inhabitants without causing much consternation outside the immediate locality, and without any action on the part of the government officials, who are so solicitous regarding the coast quarantine.

Serious outbreaks of typhoid fever are constantly occurring as the result of a polluted water supply. This occurs from year to year without any apparent concern on the part of the community affected. Another danger to which the public is exposed, particularly the infantile portion of it, is the milk of tuberculous cattle. When it is considered to what extent milk is relied upon as the sole nourishment of children, the gravity of this danger cannot be over-estimated, particularly as we know this disease to be very common among cattle, frequently involving 10 to 50 per cent. of an entire herd. Although bacteriological work has confirmed the danger from this source, but little effort outside of the large cities has been made to protect the consumers. The loss of life in the United States from yellow fever is absolutely insignificant compared with the deaths resulting from causes just enumerated. If it is necessary for the protection of the people, that the government should assume *direct* control of health matters at the coast, it is equally if not more important that it should take direct charge of the health of those living in the interior.

The recent outbreak of yellow fever in New Orleans and other Southern towns has been of a particularly mild character. The mortality has not exceeded 13 per cent., which is extremely low. At no time in New Orleans has the disease passed beyond the control of the efficient Health Department, the officers of which deserve praise for the energetic manner in which the emergency has been met. This much, however, cannot be said of the methods for protection employed by the health officials of some of the smaller Southern towns invaded by yellow fever. The want of harmony which has here prevailed, and the absurd and unnecessary rules enforced, have been followed by an irreparable injury to business, and it is not a surprise that the business community should demand some change which would prevent a repetition of the experiences which have followed the recent outbreak. This, however, is not the first time that this disease has

invaded the South, and although the lesson each time has been severe, it is rapidly forgotten; otherwise, the construction of proper sewers and clean streets would be demanded. This, I am sorry to say, is not the case, nor is the importance of such measures fully appreciated. If Southern citizens and legislators, who are now clamoring for a change in the administration of the quarantine service, would expend the same energy in securing appropriations for the construction of proper sewerage systems, and means of securing good sanitary conditions, the danger from yellow fever would be reduced to the minimum, and the fear of this disease, which now prevents the proper execution of sensible health ordinances, would doubtless soon be a thing of the past.

It is evident that the substitution of a national quarantine system for the present one is not the remedy for the evil complained of. It is not sufficiently comprehensive. Therefore, the question arises, what change can be made which will best protect the public of this country against the danger and annoyance from infectious disease both at the coast and in the interior? I believe that the consensus of opinion of those who are best able to decide this matter is that the establishment of a National Bureau of Health offers the best solution of the problem. This bureau should be sufficiently distinct and separate from any other body in order that it may not be embarrassed in its work. Its functions should be to co-operate with State and municipal authorities, and to see that certain general health laws applicable to both the coast and interior are enforced. This body should assume direct control only on invitation or when the State or municipal officers are unable by reason of lack of funds, etc., to perform the work. This would insure a uniformity of action without interfering with the rights of the State or municipality, and would in a measure be educational. It has been suggested that this work be placed in the hands of the Marine Hospital Service; this suggestion, however, is not seriously entertained by many who are fully conversant with the subject.

The Marine Hospital Service, which is a branch of the Treasury Department, and under the control of a Supervising Surgeon-General, was created for the relief of disabled American seamen. For this purpose hospitals, laboratories, etc., have been equipped in different parts of the United States. The character of this work demands the highest respect, and it would seem that, with

the facilities now at hand for the investigation of disease, ample employment could be furnished the medical officers of this service, particularly as scurvy, beriberi, and other like maladies which affect seamen are not as yet well understood. It is certain that the Marine Hospital Service is not properly constructed for the management of a national bureau of health in addition to its own work. It is so considered by the American Public Health Association and other medical bodies.

There is a matter to be considered which is of great importance, and which has a distinct bearing on this question. I refer to the proper education of medical men in this line of work. The majority of graduates of medical colleges leave these institutions without having seen a single case of any quarantinable disease; they know practically nothing of disinfection or disinfectants, or the care of infected ships or houses Therefore, when they have been brought face to face with these conditions, they are frequently powerless to act. This is only too soon recognized by the public, and a want of confidence in a health officer of this kind is naturally followed by such excesses as shotgun quarantines, etc. That the necessity for this education is appreciated by the profession is evident from the fact that a special course in the study of infectious disease and sanitation will probably soon be added to the curriculum of the different medical colleges.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

III.

THE recent epidemic of yellow fever in the South has fully demonstrated that State and municipal health authorities are inadequate to prevent the entrance and spread of infectious and contagious diseases, and has emphasized the necessity of national action in dealing with cholera, yellow fever, smallpox and the plague. So far, the most efficient means of preventing the entrance and spread of these exotic diseases is unquestionably the enforcement of strict, scientific quarantine and sanitary regulations.

The numerous conflicting and, in many instances, ridiculous quarantine regulations, formulated by State, county, and muni-

cipal authorities, and enforced oftentimes by excited and inexperienced men, aided in some cases by the shotgun, during the epidemic of yellow fever which has just prevailed in the Gulf States ; the utter disregard of commercial and railway interests, and in the end the complete failure to arrest the passage of the contagion from town to town and from State to State, form a telling object lesson, which must convince the staunchest supporter of State autonomy that the Federal government should take entire and complete control of quarantine in these several diseases.

Illustrations of confusion and conflict of sanitary and quarantine regulations during the recent epidemic were to be found everywhere in the territory involved. Unreasonable quarantine restrictions were imposed. One State quarantined against another State, and one town against another town. One or two small villages in Alabama and Mississippi quarantined even against the world. Travel was interfered with or wholly suspended ; commerce was paralyzed throughout Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and greatly hampered in all contiguous States ; while the movement of railway trains in these States was either entirely forbidden or limited. The United States mails were stopped and more than once destroyed by local authorities. The requirements of State and local boards of health for disinfection were in many instances as absurd as they were incompatible with each other, and the absence of uniformity in regulations imposed unjust hardships upon the travelling public and the railways interested. The loss to the country must be estimated by millions of dollars. The South was on the very threshold of prosperity ; crops were abundant in yield, manufactories were opening up, and new life and hope were ready to enter. In the presence of this happy condition, a single case of yellow fever was introduced, and the disease was allowed to spread, producing a panic among the people, destroying commerce and traffic, and affecting injuriously every enterprise in the section. State and municipal authorities found themselves unable to cope with the disease or to stamp it out, because they lacked experience and the machinery for effective quarantine and for the enforcement of sanitary rules and regulations.

The very inception of exotic epidemic disease in this country

is of national concern. The appearance of a single case of yellow fever in Galveston affects Boston, and, like leaven in the commercial mass, its influence extends to every centre of trade and manufacture in the country. As epidemic diseases when existing in this country are factors in interstate commerce, Congress has the constitutional right to enact laws governing the same.*

The act of Congress approved February 15, 1893, provides for limited quarantine rules and regulations, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service. Rules and regulations were formulated by the Surgeon-General, assisted by an advisory board of the Marine Hospital Service (the members of which were all experts or had had large experience in quarantine matters), and these were promulgated by the Bureau. The powers of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury are not broad enough to meet the exigencies of the case. It is made the duty of the Supervising Surgeon-General, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to "co-operate with and aid State and municipal boards of health in the execution and enforcement of the rules and regulations of such and in the execution and enforcement of the rules and regulations made by the Secretary of the Treasury; . . . but if the State or municipal authorities fail or refuse to enforce said rules and regulations, the President shall execute and enforce the same." It is, therefore, plain that the Marine Hospital Service cannot intervene in an early effort to stamp out infectious or contagious diseases, unless the local authorities fail or refuse to act, and State and municipal pride too often prevent local authorities from asking for Federal aid until the disease has made progress in spreading. And the fact must not be lost sight of that quite often local health officers are not sufficiently acquainted with the symptoms of epidemic diseases to be able to make prompt and correct diagnoses. There is also danger of concealment of epidemic diseases by local physicians and health officers in order to save their friends and patients from the inconvenience of quarantine stations and detention camps, and to protect the local interests of towns and States. Discrimination by State and municipal officers in control of

* See Section VIII., paragraph 3, U. S. Constitution.

quarantine involves danger, as recent experience has shown, in the spread of contagious diseases. Small towns in the South and Southwest, where cholera and yellow fever are most liable to gain a foothold, do not maintain eminent medical experts in these diseases, and few of the physicians in these smaller towns have had laboratory and hospital training. It requires reasonable and uniform quarantine laws and skilled and well-trained medical men to meet the exigencies of an epidemic. State, county, and municipal boards of health are too often created by favoritism, and their tenure of office is short-lived. Local health officers are not always selected for their ability, experience, and fitness—often merely for political reasons; and the cost of maintaining thorough and efficient quarantine is apt to have a deterrent influence on cities with depleted treasuries.

The expenses incurred in preventing the spread of contagious diseases from one State to another, and from State to Territory, should properly fall as a burden upon the Federal government. The national government maintains at Washington through its Marine Hospital Service one of the best and most efficiently equipped biological and bacteriological laboratories in the country, and is constantly carrying on investigation and training members of the corps in work connected with contagious diseases, quarantine and sanitary matters. It has the machinery and the experience necessary to stamp out epidemic diseases promptly, when such have been brought to our shores. Notable instances of the prompt handling and the prevention of the spread of yellow fever may be cited as in the epidemics at Jacksonville, Florida, in 1888, and Brunswick, Georgia, in 1893. In both of these epidemics the disease was circumscribed in territory, and its spread prevented by the Marine Hospital Service. In addition to having complete outfits for detention camps, which are placed at convenient points and can be put in service on twenty-four hours' notice, the bureau has representatives, as experts and experienced surgeons, at every important port of entry along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. These medical gentlemen are specially trained for this work, and nearly all have been in the service for a considerable number of years. Surgeons entering the Marine Hospital Service are required to pass a rigid examination before the Board of Medical Examiners, and if successful, are then recommended to the President for appointment and

commission. Promotion in the service is attained by successful examinations.

In addition to the paramount importance of having trained and experienced men, and all necessary machinery, in the effort to prevent the introduction and spread of infectious and contagious diseases, instead of local and inexperienced men with local interests, it must be admitted, without taking into consideration the item of expense, that the government, exercising its prerogative of interstate commerce control, should take entire charge of quarantine relating to yellow fever, cholera, smallpox and the plague.

It is encouraging to note that a marked and radical change in sentiment throughout the South and Southwest has taken place regarding national control of quarantine.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Tri-State Medical Association of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee, at Nashville, resolutions were introduced and passed, placing that Association on record as favoring national laws giving entire control of quarantine to the Marine Hospital Service in outbreaks in this country of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, and the plague; and a concurrent resolution was recently introduced in the Georgia Legislature memorializing Congress to enact additional legislation enlarging the powers of the Marine Hospital Service. This resolution goes further and gives in charge to this Bureau all quarantine matters in the State of Georgia during the continuance of an epidemic.

Almost the entire press of the South has given its endorsement to these resolutions, and it is gratifying to know that the medical profession and boards of health and commercial bodies in the region affected by the recent epidemic of yellow fever have expressed their approval of national control of quarantine.

C. M. DRAKE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE LEGALITY OF PROGRESSIVE TAXATION.

THE Supreme Court of Illinois, with but one dissenting voice, has affirmed the constitutionality of the progressive inheritance tax law of that State, and the case* has now been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for a determination of the question whether progressive taxation is repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The law in question was passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1895, and imposes a tax of one per cent. upon the excess above $20,000 received by each direct heir; two per cent. upon the excess above $2,000 inherited by each nephew, niece, uncle, aunt, or descendant thereof; and for more distant relatives and all others three per cent. of estates of from $500 to $10,000, four per cent. of estates of from $10,000 to $20,000, five per cent. of estates of from $20,000 to $50,000, and six per cent. of all exceeding $50,000. Thus where direct heirs and other near relatives are concerned the tax is not progressive in the usual sense of the word, though the generous deduction from each taxable legacy or distributive share in these cases really does make the percentage of the whole claimed by the State greater when the amount is large.

Aside from the intrinsic importance of the case, the Illinois decision is the more noteworthy because the court which rendered it has the reputation of being a very conservative body; for example, a factory law limiting the hours of labor for women was recently annulled by this court on the ground that it interfered with freedom of contract. It is also worthy of notice that the court refused to follow the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court,† which had declared unconstitutional a similar progressive tax on direct heirs. The two laws were of course examined with reference to two different State constitutions, but so far as there was any difference between the constitutions in that respect that of Illinois was less favorable to progressive taxation. The Ohio court found nothing in the constitution of that State to prevent the tax in question, except the seemingly irrelevant propositions that "all political power is inherent in the people," and that "government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit"; while the Illinois constitution does require that a tax on a franchise or privilege shall be "uniform as to the class upon which it operates." The question was what was meant by a class, and how far the legislature might make its own classification. The court held that when the legislature levied a progressive tax at six different percentages, six classes were created, and that the tax was uniform as to each class.

* Kochersperger *v.* Drake, 47 N. E. Reporter, 321.
† State *v.* Ferris, 53 Ohio, 314.

Another line of reasoning based upon the law of inheritance also led up to the favorable decision. The court said in effect that the rights of inheritance and bequest being creations of statute law, the legislature might regulate and impose conditions or burdens upon them; that to deny the right of the State to impose such burdens would be to deny its right to regulate the administration of estates.

Arguments similar to both of these had been urged by the State in the Ohio case, but without avail, although the reasoning was equally applicable in both cases. It should be added, however, that the objections of the Ohio court were not wholly or even chiefly due to the progressive principle, as will be seen from the following language of the court: "The right to receive the first twenty thousand dollars of an estate not exceeding that sum is protected from taxation, while the right to receive the first twenty thousand dollars of an estate exceeding that sum is taxed the sum of two hundred dollars. This is not equal protection. Again, the right to receive fifty thousand dollars' worth of property of an estate not exceeding that sum is taxed five hundred dollars, while the right to receive fifty thousand dollars of an estate exceeding that sum is taxed seven hundred and fifty dollars. This is not equal protection." In other words, the court's first objection was concerned with the injustice resulting from the exemption, which might have been obviated by allowing a deduction of $20,000 from every direct inheritance, as in Illinois. The second objection was to this particular kind of progressive taxation, and this, too, might perhaps have been obviated by making each percentage apply only to the excess above the next lower class. Then the first $50,000, or the first $70,000, or any other sum, would be taxed the same amount in every case. The court's language does not make it clear whether a progressive tax of this kind would have been upheld, but it at least suggests that it might have been; and at any rate the tax would have been more equitable. Certainly the decision is not conclusive against this kind of progressive taxation, even in Ohio.

What, now, are the prospects of the Illinois law at the bar of the United States Supreme Court? It is contended by the appellant that by this act the State of Illinois deprives persons of property without due process of law, denies to persons within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, and abridges the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, all in violation of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. In determining whether this section is applicable to any new case, it is necessary, as the Supreme Court itself has pointed out, to look at the purpose for which it was enacted. That purpose, as every one knows, was to raise the negroes to the status of citizenship and endow them with certain civil rights. In other words, it was proposed and adopted with the double purpose of defining citizenship and making permanent the essential features of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gave to negroes "the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens." Although the amendment is naturally in more general terms than the statute, the latter shows about what was meant by "the equal protection of the laws." And the history of the provision showed so plainly that it was intended for the benefit of the negroes, that the Supreme Court long doubted whether any act not directed by way of discrimination against the negroes

as a class would ever be held to come within its purview.* In time, however, its application was extended to discriminations against the Chinese,† and finally to matters having no connection with race or color, but coming strictly within the language of the amendment.

But the application of the Fourteenth Amendment is still by no means so wide as is often assumed. In particular, the clause prohibiting the taking of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, though it refers plainly enough only to sufficiency of legal procedure, has been appealed to as prohibiting all sorts of new or unusual legislation. Mr. Justice Miller, in the case of Davidson *v.* New Orleans,‡ called attention to the "strange misconception of the scope of this provision." He described the situation in the present case exactly when he went on to say: "It would seem, from the character of many of the cases before us and the arguments made in them, that the clause under consideration is looked upon as a means of bringing to the test of the decision of this court the abstract opinions of every unsuccessful litigant in a State Court of the justice of the decision against him, and of the merits of the legislation upon which such a decision may be founded." In like manner Mr. Justice Peckham has recently § written: "It was never intended that the Court should, as the effect of the amendment, be transformed into a Court of Appeal, where all decisions of State Courts involving merely questions of general justice and equitable considerations in the taking of property should be submitted to this Court for its determination." And he repeated the general rule laid down in the New Orleans case, that whenever a tax, assessment, servitude, or other burden is imposed upon property for the public use, and the law provides for a mode of confirming or contesting the charge in the ordinary courts of justice, together with due notice to the persons affected or such proceeding as may be appropriate, the owner is not deprived of property without due process of law.

The clauses concerning the privileges and immunities of citizens and the equal protection of the laws do not refer exclusively to legal procedure, but they have no application to the present case. Their meaning has already been defined by the Supreme Court. The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States were enumerated in the Slaughter-House Cases, and more recently‖ a condensed definition has been given by Mr. Chief Justice Fuller, who says: "The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States are privileges and immunities arising out of the nature and essential character of the national government, and granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States." The other clause is interpreted¶ to mean simply "that no person or class of persons shall be denied the same protection of the laws which is enjoyed by other persons or other classes in the same place and under like circumstances."

The Court has been called upon to construe the Fourteenth Amendment in several cases in which questions of taxation were directly involved; and it has become a well-established rule that the amendment does not prohibit classification by State legislatures on any reasonable basis. Mr. Justice

* Slaughter-House Cases, 16 Wallace, 36; Strauder *v.* W. Va., 100 U. S., 303.
† Yick Wo *v.* Hopkins, 118 U. S., 356.
‡ 96 U. S , 97.
§ Fallbrook Irrigation District *v.* Bradley, 164 U. S., 112.
‖ Giozza *v.* Tiernan, 148 U. S., 657.
¶ Missouri *v.* Lewis, 101 U. S.. 22; Moore *v.* Missouri, 159 U. S., 673.

Bradley laid down the rule as follows:* "The provision . . . was not intended to prevent a State from adjusting its system of taxation in all proper and reasonable ways. It may, if it chooses, exempt certain classes of property from taxation at all, such as churches, libraries, and the property of charitable institutions. It may impose different specific taxes upon different trades and professions, and may vary the rates of excise upon various products; it may tax real estate and personal property in a different manner; it may tax visible property only, and not tax securities for payment of money; it may allow deductions for indebtedness, or not allow them. . . . We think that we are safe in saying, that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to compel the State to adopt an iron rule of equal taxation." In the words of Mr. Justice Field,† "the amendment does not prevent the classification of property for taxation." Mr. Chief Justice Fuller, in the opinion already quoted, stated the rule in the following words: "Nor in respect of taxation was the amendment intended to compel the State to adopt an iron rule of equality; to prevent the classification of property for taxation at different rates; or to prohibit legislation in that regard, special either in the extent to which it operates or the objects sought to be obtained by it. It is enough that there is no discrimination in favor of one as against another of the same class." Finally, Mr. Justice Lamar summed up the situation by declaring,‡ "This Court has repeatedly laid down the doctrine that diversity of taxation, both with respect to the amount imposed and the various species of property selected either for bearing its burdens or for being exempt from them, is not inconsistent with a perfect uniformity and equality of taxation in the proper sense of those terms; and that a system which imposes the same tax upon every species of property, irrespective of its nature or condition or class, will be destructive of the principle of uniformity and equality in taxation and of a just adaptation of property to its burdens."

Progressive taxation, moreover, is no new thing to the national government; on the contrary, it has the force of precedent on its side. The federal house-tax of 1798 was progressive, ranging from two to ten mills on the dollar. Again, the income tax of the Civil War period was levied at progressive rates from 1862 till 1867; and this progressive tax was in operation at the very time when the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress. Under these circumstances, if there had been the slightest intention of prohibiting progressive taxation it would have come out in the debates. Altogether, there seems very little likelihood that the Supreme Court will find progressive taxation unconstitutional.

The importance of the case now pending can scarcely be overestimated. In the extent and permanence of its results it is of vastly more importance, for example, than Governor Black's annotated pocket veto of a similar progressive tax law in New York, which recently attracted so much attention. An adverse decision would mean the prohibition of progressive taxation throughout the United States, and hence would annul not only the Illinois tax, but the inheritance tax of Missouri, the income tax of North Carolina, and the railroad taxes of several States; and it would put a quietus upon any thorough-going reform of State taxation. On the other hand, a favorable decision will doubtless prove a powerful stimulus to the

* Bell's Gap R. R. Co. *v.* Pennsylvania, 134 U. S., 232.
† Home Insurance Co. *v.* New York, 134 U. S., 594.
‡ Pacific Express Co. *v.* Siebert, 142 U. S., 339.

development of progressive taxation throughout the country. After such a decision by the highest court no State court will be likely to annul a similar act unless the State constitution very plainly requires all taxation to be proportional; a vague generality in the bill of rights will not be considered sufficient.

MAX WEST.

HOW TO REFORM OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

A CONVENTION was held in Indiana recently to discuss the question, how the United States could have a financial system which would secure the bill holder and furnish an adequate volume of currency for the needs of commerce, and it was resolved to ask Congress to appoint a commission to investigate it, and President McKinley at the last session of Congress asked that this commission might be appointed. A law for that purpose passed one branch of Congress, but failed in the other. This action is possibly in the right direction, although by a great many people the problem is considered simple. I do not think a commission necessary to find out whether we need a financial system, and whether the bank notes shall be secured or not, or whether it shall be adequate in volume. It goes without saying that we do need such a system. If any class of people are to be inquired of as to what that system shall be, it seems to me it should be the bankers of the country.

In asking an editor of a Texas paper not long since about this subject, and what he would do in relation to finances, he replied by asking the following questions: "If you want a man to manage a newspaper, would you ask a man who had never been in a newspaper office to manage it?" "If you want to know about matrimony, would you ask a man who had never been married to tell you about it?" "If you wanted to know about the financial question, would you ask a man who never had a dollar and did not know how to make one?"

Make it easy for the banks to lend money and their rates of interest will be low. If they can be permitted to use their securities, State and municipal bonds, in addition to their United States bonds, as collateral security for their circulating notes, it will be to their interest to do this, and it will enable them to lend money at a lower rate.

The government can neither create nor lend money, but it has occasion frequently to borrow. During the last administration of Mr. Cleveland, the Treasury required large sums of money above the revenues collected, and it had to go upon the market to borrow it, and it was borrowed of the banks.

Our National Bank Act with four amendments will supply a uniform circulating medium absolutely secured and of adequate volume for the needs of commerce.

First: Let the national banks issue their circulating notes up to the par value of the government bonds which are deposited in the Treasury to secure them, and relieve them of all federal taxation, except just enough to pay for the printing of their notes and the expenses of the Comptroller's office.

Second: Let the government fund its floating debt (including greenbacks, treasury notes, and silver certificates), and refund its bonded debt into three per cent. one hundred year bonds.

Third: Should the time ever come when the United States bonds are in-

sufficient in amount to furnish security for the needs of the national banking institutions as security for their circulating notes, then authorize a committee, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Treasurer of the United States to receive State and municipal bonds at a price which they shall fix as security for any additional amount of national bank notes which the banking institutions may apply for. This proposition may be objected to, but when it is known that Mr. Gage, the present Secretary of the Treasury and late President of the First National Bank of Chicago, and all other bankers, will lend money to any extent upon Chicago city or New York city, or any State, bonds, why cannot the bill holder be just as well secured by these bonds as he can be by United States bonds? This amendment will secure any additional amount of circulation which the business of the country may require.

Fourth: Repeal the Sub-Treasury Act and let the revenues of the nation be deposited in the national banks (which the government has created and supervises) where collected. This will relieve the government from doing business upon the safety deposit plan, and will keep all the money of the country in substantial circulation.

Our National Bank Act thus amended will give the nation a financial system second to none in the world. These amendments are not suggested for the benefit of the national banks, but on the contrary for the benefit of commerce and of the people who borrow.

C. B. FARWELL.

ADVANTAGES OF HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

A LITTLE over a year ago the writer had the opportunity of visiting the Hawaiian Islands, and of spending some time in studying some of the questions connected with this truly remarkable little Republic. The numerous articles which have lately appeared in opposition to the proposed annexation have led me to think that the impressions thus formed might be of interest. In presenting these I have tried to view the question purely from the standpoint of a citizen of the United States, with no other thought than the attainment of the greatest good for our own country.

Before my visit to the islands I was strongly opposed to the annexation of Hawaii or any other country. As a matter of principle, I am of the opinion that we have enough territory of our own to look after; but the Hawaiian Islands seem to be in a class by themselves, and I came away from there an ardent annexationist. I have yet to meet anyone who has visited the islands and studied the people who has come to a different conclusion.

The first impression received on landing in Honolulu is that one is in a New England city, far more "American," in fact, than many of our Western cities. The men who are now the governing class are the descendants of the missionaries and early settlers, reinforced by a strong body of English and Scotch, who have formed a government as clean as any in the world. These Islands, thus governed, are offered us as a gift. Why should we desire them?

The Hawaiian group consists of eight inhabited and a few uninhabited islands lying within the tropics at a distance from San Francisco of about two thousand miles. In the aggregate their area is nearly equal to that of Massachusetts. Agriculturally they have not begun to be developed. They

are situated in the most fertile part of the world, with a climate simply perfect, and are capable of producing all the sugar and coffee which this country can consume, to say nothing of rice and all kinds of tropical fruits. They would provide us with three excellent harbors for commerce and coaling stations, and would control the cable communication of the Western Ocean, besides aiding our shipping by giving the carrying trade to American vessels.

A second reason why we should desire these islands is their relationship to the protection of our Pacific coast. In case of war with Japan, or any Eastern country, Hawaii would be the key to our western coast in the same way that Bermuda would be the key to our eastern coast in case of war with England. Holding Hawaii, which can easily be fortified, our western coast would be safe against attack from any country, with the possible exception of Great Britain, and in the unfortunate event of war with her the advantages of a detached coaling and supply station are apparent. It is admitted, I believe, even by the opponents of annexation, that the United States should never allow a foreign power to obtain possession of the islands, and if this is true it would always be necessary for us to be in a position to defend them in case of war, without being in a position to fortify them or reap any of the advantages of ownership in time of peace.

Another reason why we should desire these islands is the fact that they have been christianized and civilized by Americans. It was American missionaries who won the people from the debasing rites of a religion which sacrificed human beings to cruel and repulsive deities, and to-day the men who represent the higher life of the islands are thoroughly American.

What are the objections to annexation? The articles in *Harper's Weekly*, by Mr. Schurz, present, I think, all the arguments against annexation as strongly as they can be put. To take them up in order. Mr. Schurz says: "Annexation will be a radical departure from the traditional policy of this republic, etc." Is this true? Did we not annex Alaska, Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas, California, and other States, whose value at the time of their annexation was less apparent than is the value of Hawaii? Is not Alaska much farther away and less accessible than Honolulu?

Again he asks: "Have the natives been consulted?" No, but were the American Indians consulted in the early days here, or the natives of Alaska in later times? The natives have proved themselves to be incapable of governing and unfitted for the condition of civilization, as is shown by their rapid decline in numbers and their inability to adapt themselves to changed conditions; and the importance of their supposed opinions on annexation has been greatly exaggerated. Numbering 500,000 in the time of Captain Cook, they are now reduced to about 30,000, and occupy much the same relation to the white population as our Indians do here. Indolent and easy-going, they are perfectly content with any form of government which allows them to sun themselves, bedecked with flowers. This view is borne out by the failure of the recent mass meeting in Honolulu organized solely for the purpose of proving that the native Hawaiians are actively opposed to annexation. It is natural that the white man should become the governing power; and, in the exercise of this power it is equally natural that he should wish to turn over his territory to a strong civilized nation for protection and advancement; since, if they rely solely on their ability to defend themselves, it is impossible for the islands to maintain their independence for any length of time. Indeed, the question of deepest concern is

not annexation—for this is inevitable—but to what country shall Hawaii be annexed? Shall it be Japan or England or the United States?

It must, however, be conceded to the opponents of annexation that the mixed character of the population is a real drawback; but the difficulties it creates are not insuperable, as our laws already cover the question of Asiatics.

The Chinese are not yet dangerous. Their numbers are large; but they are a peaceable people, without cohesion, and would give no more trouble than the same race does in our Western States, where the battle has been fought and the question is now practically settled. If annexed, they would be readily amenable to our laws.

The Japanese element is by far the most serious difficulty. Since the war with China these people have become exceedingly arrogant and self-assertive, and the spirit of national aggrandizement extends from the Mikado to the lowest coolie. From the standpoint of the Japanese this spirit may be most commendable, but it will have to be firmly met by the United States when our own interests are at stake.

The Portuguese are a harmless element. I can see no reason why we should not expect people of the Anglo-Saxon or German race to become dominant, not only in power, but also in numbers, as soon as the question of government is finally settled. Certainly, few Anglo-Saxons or Germans would care to become the subjects of a dusky queen under a constitution like the one which caused the revolution of '93.

The question of statehood has not been raised, and is not more imminent than is the statehood of Alaska. The annexation of Hawaii would not "launch us on a course of indiscriminate aggrandizement," would violate no precedent, and would leave every other case of annexation to be decided on its merits as the former cases have been.

Another argument of those opposed to annexation is that, if it is wise to annex Hawaii, it is equally wise to annex Cuba, and all of the West Indian Islands. It would, no doubt, be of immense advantage to this country to possess Cuba or some of the other West Indian Islands, if the conditions were the same as in Hawaii. If Cuba were populated by the native Caribs, and virtually owned and governed by our own people, there would be no question as to its desirability, but it is thickly settled by a mixture of the negro with the scum of a decayed Latin race. The same conditions exist, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the West Indian Islands, with the possible exception of St. Thomas.

There are many other facts which make the annexation of one or all of the West Indies a question of an altogether different nature. Hawaii is comparatively limited in area, and is entirely isolated so that its possession would not involve us in further acquisition. But if we should annex one of the Islands in the West Indies, the geographical position of the group would necessitate our assuming control over all in order to protect ourselves. The establishment of such a policy would be the signal for many European complications.

Hawaii holds the same relation to the Pacific coast that Bermuda holds to the Atlantic; and I think there would be no opposition here should England offer to make us a present of that valuable colony.

ARTHUR CURTISS JAMES.

INDEX

TO THE

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

Administration and Hawaii, The, 379.
Advantages of Hawaiian Annexation, 758.
Africa, Central, Since Livingstone's Death, 318.
Alleged Repeopling of Ireland, The, 383.
Alliance, The Franco-Russian, 111.
American Parents, Are They Selfish? 37.
American School Histories on the Revolution, 257, 639.
American Trade, Thirty Years of, 572.
Another View of the Union Label, 431.
Are American Parents Selfish? 37.
Are Our School Histories Anglophobe? 257.
Athletics, The Influence of Climate in International, 333.

BATTERSHALL, WALTON. The Warfare of Science with Theology, 87.
Beautiful Evil, 638.
Beauty, Health and, 509.
BISLAND, ELIZABETH. Are American Parents Selfish? 37.
BLAIKIE, W. G. Central Africa Since Livingstone's Death, 318.
BLAND, R. P. The Present Status of the Silver Question, 469.
British Warships' Design, The Progress of, 192.
BROSIUS, MARRIOTT. The Greenback and the Gold Standard, 11.
BUCKLER, G. G. "The Lesser Man," 295.
Burke, Edmund, and His Abiding Influence, 666.
Business Alliance, A New, 380.
BYRNE, EDWARD. The Alleged Repeopling of Ireland, 383.

Canada and the Dingley Bill, 418.
CARNEGIE, ANDREW. Some Important Results of the Jubilee, 497.
Census of 1900, The, 660.
Central Africa Since Livingstone's Death, 318.
Central American Canals, Our Diplomacy in Regard to, 364.
CHARLTON, JOHN. Canada and the Dingley Bill, 418.
China, Commercial Trend of, 63.
Chinese Slavery in America, 288.
City Noises, To Abate the Plague of, 460,
City, Problem of Next Century's, 343.
Civil Service Orders, Shall They be Amended? 174.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, The, 452.
Climate, The Influence of, in International Athletics, 333.
COLOMB, P. H. The Progress of British Warships' Design, 192.
College Discipline, 403.
Coming Sea-Power, The, 444.
Commercial Trend of China, 63.
Commercial Value of the Shipyard, The, 527.
CONANT, CHARLES A. Effect of the New Gold Upon Prices, 540.
Contract, The Right of, 265.
COWDRICK, E. L. The Tenure of the Teacher's Office, 507.
CRAMP, CHARLES H. The Coming Sea-Power, 444.
CROWNINSHIELD, A. S. The Dream of Navigators, 695.
Cuban Question, A Review of the, 610.
Currency, Suggestion for a Stable, 636.

Dingley Bill, Canada and the, 418.
Discipline, College, 403.
Diplomacy, Our, in Regard to Central American Canals, 364.
DOTY, ALVAH H. Quarantine Methods, 201, 741.
DRAKE, C. M. The National Government and the Public Health, 748.
Dream of Navigators, The, 695.
DUNN, E. B. The Storing of Atmospheric Electricity, 121.

ECKELS, JAMES H. The Menace of Legislation, 240.
EDSON, CYRUS. Health and Beauty, 509.
Education in the Hawaiian Islands, 20.
Educational Test, Immigration and the, 393.
Effect of the New Gold Upon Prices, 540.
Egypt, England's Absorption of, 682.
Egyptian Prisons, 276.
Electricity, The Storing of Atmospheric, 121.
Engineer and His War-Engine, The, 711.
England's Absorption of Egypt, 682.
English Literature, Ten Years of, 139.
English Poor, The Housing of the, 52.
Ethics, Theosophy and, 213.
EUSTIS, J. B. The Franco-Russian Alliance, 111.
Evil, Beautiful, 638.
Export Bounty Proposition, The, 223.

Farmers' Institutes and Their Work, 350.
FARWELL, C. B. How to Reform Our Financial System, 757.
Financial System, How to Reform Our, 757
FOSTER, J. ELLEN. Woman's Political Evolution, 600.
Franco-Russian Alliance, The, 111.
French Army, Officers in the, 722.

General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1,129.
GHOSH, A. S. India's Case for Silver, 477.
GIRDNER, J. H. To Abate the Plague of City Noises, 460; The National Government and the Public Health, 733.
Girls' Private School, The Opportunity of the, 252.
Gold Standard, The Greenback and the, 11.
Gold, The New, Effect of upon Prices, 540,
Golf, Psychology of, 649.
GORMAN, LONGFIELD, The Administration and Hawaii, 379.
GOSSE, EDMUND Ten Years of English Literature, 139; The Life of Tennyson, 513.
Grant's (General), Letters to a Friend, 1,129.
Greenback and the Gold Standard, The, 11.
GRIFFITHS, ARTHUR. Egyptian Prisons, 276.

HALL, PRESCOTT F. Immigration and the Educational Test, 393.
HARGER, C. M. A New Business Alliance 380,
HARGROVE, E. T. Theosophy and Ethics, 213.
Has Judaism a Future? 149.
Hawaii, The Administration and, 379
Hawaiian Annexation, Leprosy and, 582.
Hawaiian Islands, Education in the, 20
Hawaiian Annexation, Advantages of, 753.
HAZELTINE, M. W. Speaker Reed and the House of Representatives, 232; The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 452.
Health and Beauty, 509.
Health (the Public), National Government and the, 733.
HICKS, WM. EVERETT. Taxing Human Legs, 511.
HOLDER, C. F. Chinese Slavery in America, 288.
Homicide, Why it has Increased in the United States, 641.
House of Representatives, Speaker Reed and the, 232.
Housing of the English Poor, The, 52.
How the Red Cross Society Works, 249.
How to Reform Our Financial System, 757.

IDE, HENRY C. Our Interest in Samoa, 155.
Immigration and the Educational Test, 393.
India's Case for Silver, 477.
Influence of Climate in International Athletics, The, 333.
Institutes, Farmers', and Their Work, 350.
Ireland, The Alleged Repeopling of, 383.
ISAACS, ABRAM S. Has Judaism a Future? 149.

JACKSON, EDWARD P. Beautiful Evil, 638.
JAMES, A. C. Advantages of Hawaiian Annexation, 758
Japan. The Coming Sea Power, 444.
JERNIGAN, THOMAS R. Commercial Trend of China, 63.
Jew, The Rejuvenation of the, 487.
JORDAN, DAVID STARR. College Discipline, 403.
Jubilee, Some Important Results of the 497.
Judaism, Has it a Future? 149.
Judaism, The Rejuvenation of the Jew, 487.

KELLEY, M. E. J. The Union Label, 26.

Label, The Union, 26, 431.
LATCHA, J. A. Pooling Railroad Earnings, 247.
Legality of Progressive Taxation, The, 753.
Legislation, The Menace of, 240.
Leprosy and Hawaiian Annexation, 582.
"Lesser Man, The," 295.
Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies, The, 70, 356, 553
Life of Tennyson, The, 513.
LOGAN, DANIEL. Education in the Hawaiian Islands, 20
LOMBROSO, CESARE. Why Homicide has Increased in the United States, 641.
LUCY, H. W. The Queen's Parliaments 99.
Lynch-law Epidemics, 119

Machine, Man and the. 385.
Man and the Machine, 385.
Man, The Lesser,' 295.
Menace of Legislation, The, 240.
MENDES, H. PEREIRA. The Rejuvenation of the Jew, 487.
MICOU B. The Torpedo Boat in Naval Warfare, 409.
MONEY, H. D. The Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies, 356.
MONKSWELL. The Rt. Hon. Lord. The Housing of the English Poor, 52.
MORROW. PRINCE A. Leprosy and Hawaiian Annexation, 582.
MULHALL, M. G. Progress of the United States. 43, 183, 310; Thirty Years of American Trade, 572.

National Government and the Public Health, The, 733.
Naval Warfare, The Torpedo Boat in, 409.
New Business Alliance, A., 380.
NEWCOMB, H. T. The Present Railway Situation, 591.
NICHOLS, STARR HOYT. Another View of the Union Label, 431.
NIXON, LEWIS. The Commercial Value of the Shipyard, 527.

Officers in the French Army, 722.
Opportunity of the Girls' Private School, The, 252.
OSWALD, F. L. Lynch-Law Epidemics, 119.
Our Diplomacy in Regard to Central American Canals, 364.
Our Interest in Samoa, 155.

PARKER, JANE MARSH. How the Red Cross Society Works, 249
Parliaments, The Queen's, 99.
PENFIELD, FREDERIC C. England's Absorption of Egypt. 682.
Political Evolution, Woman s, 600.
Pooling Railroad Earnings, 247.

PORTER, CHARLOTTE W. The Opportunity of the Girls' Private School, 252.
PORTER, ROBERT P. The Census of 1900, 660.
POTTER HENRY C. Man and the Machine, 385.
POWER, J. O'CONNOR. Edmund Burke and His Abiding Influence, 666.
Prices, The Effect of New Gold Upon, 540.
Present Railway Situation, The 591.
Present Status of the Silver Question, 469.
Prisons, Egyptian, 276.
Problem of Next Century's City, 343.
Progress of British Warships' Design, The, 192.
Progress of the United States, 43, 183, 310.
Progressive Taxation, The Legality of 753
Psychology of Golf, The, 649.

Quarantine Methods, 201.
Queen's Parliaments, The, 99.

Railroad Earnings, Pooling 247.
Railway Situation, The Present, 591.
RAUM, GREEN B. Shall the Civil Service Orders be Amended? 174.
Red Cross Society How it Works, 249.
Rejuvenation of the Jew, The, 187.
Review of the Cuban Question, A 610.
RIDEING, WILLIAM H. Tennyson in the Isle of Wight, 701.
Right of Contract The, 265.
ROBINSON, LOUIS. The Psychology of Golf, 649.
ROMERO M. The United States and the Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies, 70; The United States and the Spanish-American Colonies, 553.

Samoa, Our Interest in, 155.
SANFORD, E. J. Suggestion for a Stable Currency, 636.
SAVARY, A W. American School Histories on the Revolution, 639.
School Histories, American, on the Revolution, 639.
School Histories, Are Our, Anglophobe? 257
Sea Power The Coming, 444.
SEARS, HAMBLEN. The Influence of Climate in International Athletics, 333.
Shall the Civil Service Orders be Amended? 174.
Shipyard, The Commercial Value of the, 527.
Silver, India's Case for, 477.
Silver Question, Present Status of the, 469.
Slavery, Chinese, in America, 288.
SMITH, ALEX. R. The Export Bounty Proposition, 223.
SMITH, GOLDWIN. Are Our School Histories Anglophobe? 257.
Some Important Results of the Jubilee, 497.
Spanish-American Colonies, The Liberation of the, 70, 356, 553.
Speaker Reed and the House of Representatives, 232.
Stable Currency, Suggestion for a, 636.
Storing of Atmospheric Electricity, The 121.
STRONG, JOSIAH. Problem of Next Century's City, 343.
Suggestion for a Stable Currency, 636.

Taxing Human Legs, 511.
TAYLOR, FREDERIC. Farmers' Institutes and Their Work, 350.
TAYLOR, HANNIS A Review of the Cuban Question, 610
Teacher's Office, The Tenure of the, 507.
Ten Years of English Literature, 139.
Tennyson, The Life of, 513.
Tennyson in the Isle of Wight, 701.
Tenure of the Teacher's Office, The, 507
Theology, The Warfare of Science with, 87
Theosophy and Ethics, 213.
Thirty Years of American Trade, 572.
THURBER, F. B The Right of Contract, 265.
THURSTON, R. H. The Engineer and His War Engine, 711.
To Abate the Plague of City Noises, 460.
Torpedo Boat in Naval Warfare, The, 409.
Treaty, The Clayton-Bulwer, 452.

Union Label, Another View of the, 431.
Union Label, The, 26.
United States and the Spanish-American Colonies, 70 356, 553.
United States, Progress of the, 43, 183, 310
United States, Why Homicide has Increased in the, 641.

VANDAM, ALBERT D. Officers in the French Army, 722.

War Engine, The Engineer and His, 711.
Warfare of Science With Theology, The, 87.
WELLS, KATE GANNETT. Why More Men do Not Marry, 123.
WEST, MAX. The Legality of Progressive Taxation, 753.
WHITELEY, JAMES GUSTAVUS. Our Diplomacy in Regard to Central American Canals, 364.
Why More Men Do Not Marry, 123.
Wight, Tennyson in the Isle of, 701.
WILSON, JAMES GRANT General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1, 129.
Woman's Political Evolution, 600.

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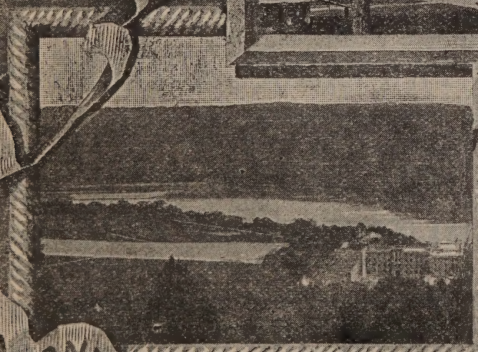

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BULLETIN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, JULY, 1897.

A UNIQUE feature of the July number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is the presentation in its opening pages of the first portion of a number of what are simply entitled "General Grant's Letters to a Friend." These extremely interesting letters, which now appear in print for the first time, were addressed by General Grant to his intimate friend, the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, and extend over a period of some eighteen years. An introduction and notes by General James Grant Wilson accompanies them.

"The Greenback and the Gold Standard" is a timely and important article from the pen of the Hon. Mariott Brosius. Mr. Brosius was born in Colerain Township, Lancaster Co., Penn., and received a common school and academic education. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Ninety-seventh Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers, and was severely wounded in the fight at Green Plains. At the conclusion of the war he took a course of law at the University of Michigan, and was admitted to the Bar in 1868. He was elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, and Fifty-fourth Congresses, representing the Tenth District of the State of Pennsylvania.

Information upon Hawaiian affairs has an interest peculiarly its own now-a-days, and in this connection a paper on "Education in the Hawaiian Islands," by Daniel Logan, editor of the Honolulu *Evening Bulletin*, merits attention. Mr. Logan has had unexampled facilities in getting together material for his article, and his statements are accurate in every particular.

Under the title of "The Union Label," Miss M. E. J. Kelley gives a description of the development of an economic force which promises to grow constantly stronger as it becomes more widely known. Miss Kelley is greatly interested in labor movements generally, but more especially in the Anti-Sweatshop League, the New York Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and the Social Reform Club, of which last she is the Vice-President.

"Are American Parents Selfish?" is the question very seriously asked by Elizabeth Bisland, who sharply contrasts the prudent and affectionate solicitude exhibited by the majority of foreign parents for their offspring's future welfare with the prodigal extravagance and seeming disregard of the future

so frequently shown toward their children by heads of families in our own land.

Michael G. Mulhall, F. S. S., presents in this number the third paper in his series of articles on "The Progress of the United States," directing his attention in this instance to "The Southern States." The remaining papers on the Prairie and the Pacific States will follow in regular order.

A most interesting contribution is that on "The Housing of the English Poor," from the pen of the Right Hon. Lord Monkswell. His lordship was born in 1845 and was educatad at Eton and Cambridge. Turning his attention to legal and public affairs, he became in 1884 an official examiner of the High Court of Justice, and later on was appointed Under Secretary for War.

An important and valuable paper is that on the "Commercial Trend of China," by Thomas R. Jernigan, United States Consul General to China. From Mr. Jernigan's carefully compiled figures the business man may form an intelligent opinion as to the direction in which the volume of China's trade is moving, and the probable extent of the demand in Asiatic markets for American wares.

"The United States and the Liberation of the Spanish American Colonies" is elaborately dealt with by M. Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, and serves to show that independence was achieved by the Spanish colonies in America solely by their own efforts.

Attention is directed to a cleverly written article on "The Warfare of Science with Theology," by the Rev. Dr. Walton Battershall. Dr. Battershall is a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church. He was born in Troy, N. Y., and was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1864, and from the General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1866. For the last twenty-one years he has been rector of the historic and important parish of St. Peter's, Albany, N. Y.

The second and concluding portion of H. W. Lucy's delightful contribution on "The Queen's Parliaments" is contained in this number and touches solely upon the characters and episodes which, in a lightsome, attractive way, have succeeded each other in the Parliaments of the last sixty years.

"The Franco-Russian Alliance" is a theme ably treated by the Hon. J. B. Eustis, late United States Ambassador to France. Mr. Eustis was born in New Orleans, and is a graduate of Harvard Law School. At the beginning of the civil war he entered the Confederate army, in which he served till peace was declared. He has been a member of the United States Senate and was appointed Ambassador to France by President Cleveland.

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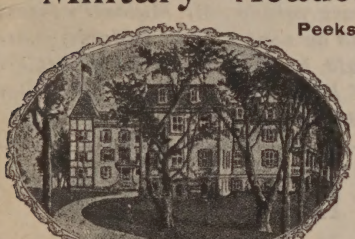

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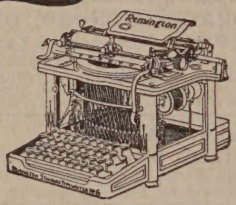

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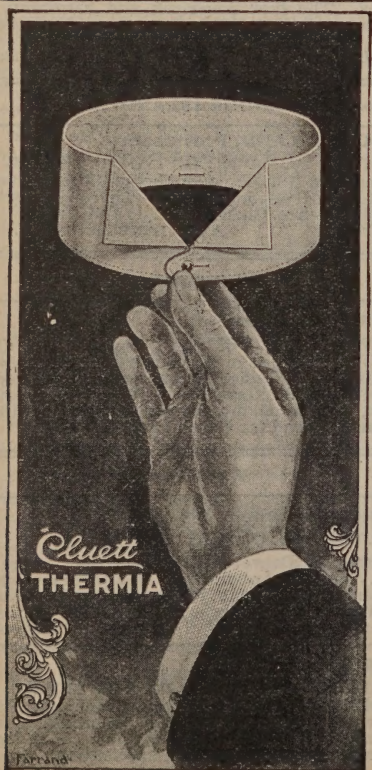

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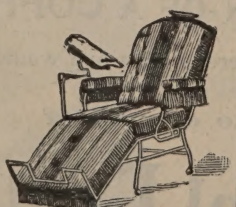

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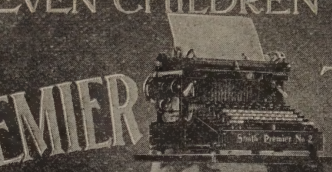

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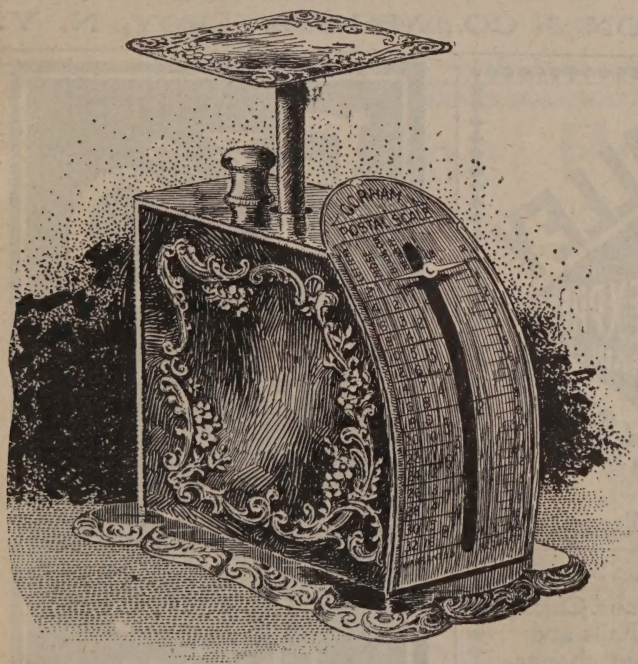

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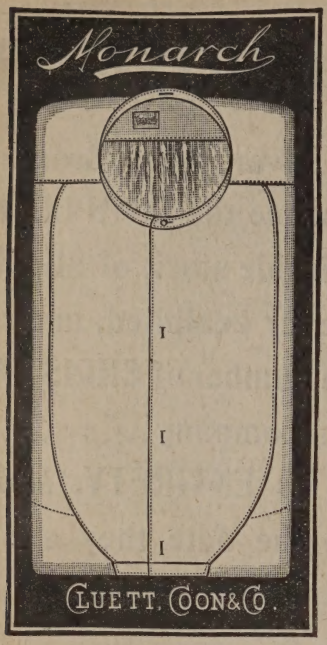

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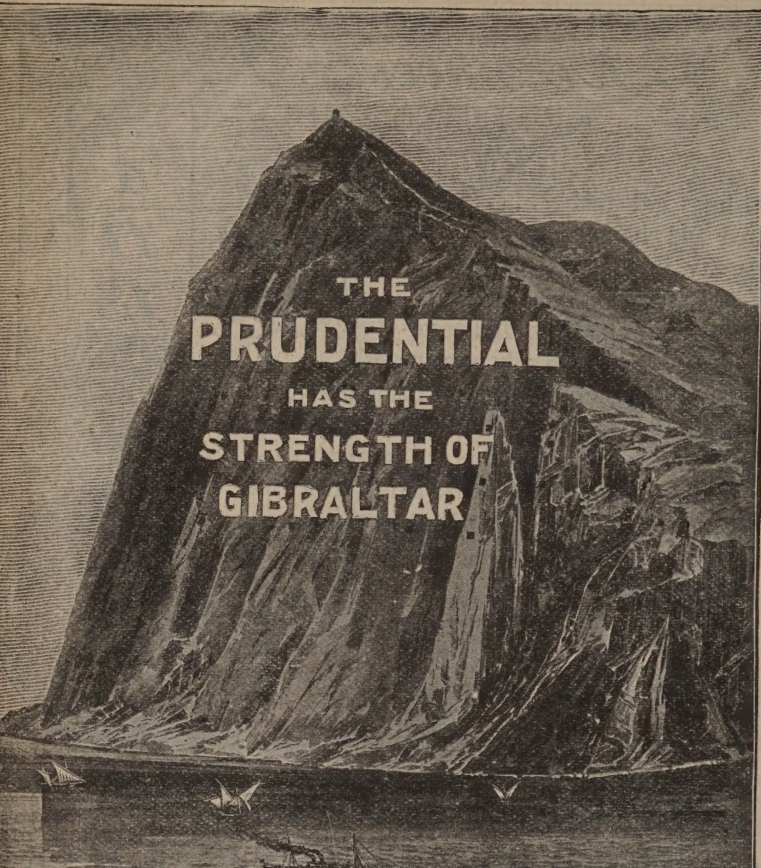

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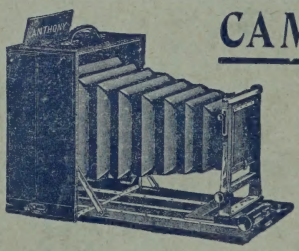

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